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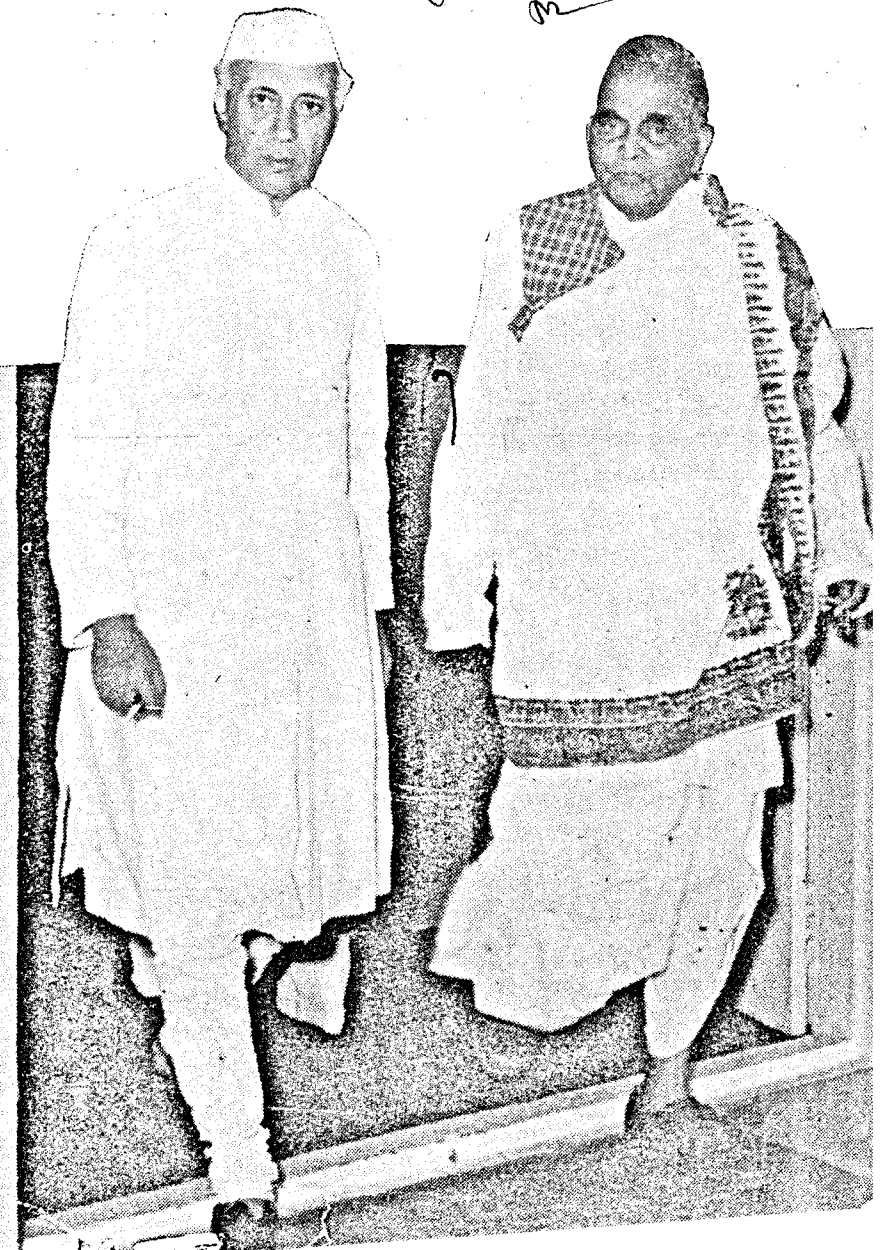
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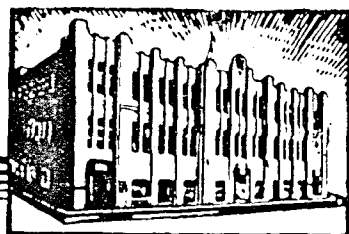


L. VII No. 48

JAN. 3, 1953

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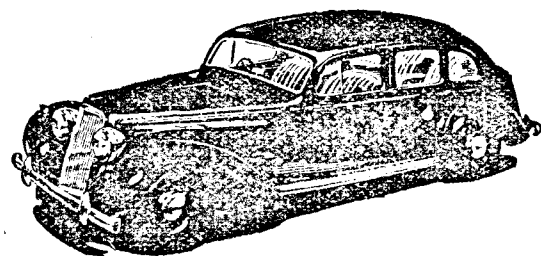
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It is the doctor of our poor peasant
As it cures most for the least that is spent.
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("The Heart of India"—by S. N. Garimella)

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ON THE COVER: Dr. S. Radhakrishnan at a reception held in the City in his honour by Mr. H. D. Rajah and some other M.P.s.—Photo By R. Krishnan

Amrutanjana

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("The Heart of India"—by S. N. Garimella)

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ON THE COVER: Photo taken at the Film Stars' Cricket Match played at the Corporation Stadium. Seen in the picture are Nargis and Begum Para.

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Amrutanjay

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("The Heart of India"—by S. N. Garimella)

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SWATANTRA

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No. 48

SATURDAY, JANUARY 3, 1953

ISSUED
WEEKLY

ANDHRA STATE PROSPECTS

THE demand for an Andhra State having been conceded, it will not be long before further extensions of the principle of linguistic division are claimed by others from the Prime Minister. Pandit Nehru will do well to anticipate the onrush of public opinion and make suitable administrative arrangements intelligently in advance to meet it, instead of being caught helplessly by fate at a late hour. Resistance to what one considers undesirable, or not of first importance at the moment, may be the stamp of leadership, but there is no virtue, if yield one must, in doing so after paying a heavy price and going through a long spell of preliminary refusal. If the Prime Minister's response to Potti Sriramulu's fast had come in time, a life might have been saved. If the fast had failed at the end, as it had done at the beginning, to make an impression on him, he would have given proof of unswerving pursuit of the dictates of his own will, however terrific the pressure of counteracting external forces. Actually Pandit Nehru compromised with the demand for the Andhra State only to save further immediate trouble, but he does not seem to have read aright the lesson of the fast for future benefit.

The Andhra leaders, for their part, failed signally to set matters right by helping the Prime Minister to correct his attitude. They were so ready to accept any miserable pittance that was offered and call it a State that in itself it was a temptation to those in authority to offer nothing better. A truncated Andhra State, with nearly half the Telugu-speaking area continuing to be held

under a separate administration in Hyderabad, is the very negation of every condition connected with the concept of a linguistic State, and yet this is the utmost that, even after Potti Sriramulu's soul-shaking martyrdom, the Prime Minister is impelled to grant! A similar offer would have been spurned with scorn by any other community similarly placed. It has been reserved only to the Andhras to greet with joy and jubilation a parsimonious gift which insults the demand it is supposed to meet far more than it honours it.

It is tinkering with this issue of linguistic division to group together a few districts only of the Andhra area under one State, while allowing several others to remain under another State. The Andhra State cannot be well and viably rounded off unless the Telangana region of Hyderabad is also included. With a capital ready-made in Hyderabad, it is not commonsense to put the new State, so cruelly exposed from the one side to C. R.'s ruthless elbowing tactics, to all the expensive waste of building up a new metropolis from scratch. After having given a filip to the redistribution of Madras territory on a linguistic basis, not even Pandit Nehru can sustain in the form of Hyderabad in the heart of India a patent violation of the principle underlying it, for any indefinite duration. Dismemberment into its component linguistic units is the inevitable destiny of Hyderabad State, and the balance of advantage is all in favour of its being immediately effected now when it would be helpful towards the solution of prominent difficulties connected with

the creation of the Andhra State, rather than later, with much heart-burning, possibly after further repetitions of agonised pressure of the sort manifested in Sri Potti Sri-ramulu's fast unto death.

The people of Hyderabad are not averse to the State being disintegrated into its component linguistic units. They on the other hand wish it. The interests of the Andhra State make it not only desirable but imperative. There is nothing against it except Pandit Nehru's sentimental disinclination to disturb the status of the Nizam which unfortunately does not correspond with democratic opinion in any part of the country. There is no half-way house for a democratic Prime Minister in the matter of waiving his own wish when public opinion and the balance of public and national interests run overwhelmingly counter to it.

Sri Prakasam and other Andhra leaders will be more profitably engaging their energies if they concentrated attention on the inclusion

of Hyderabad City and Telangana within the boundaries of the Andhra State. As for Madras City, it is reasonable to look upon it as a zone of common enjoyment for all the linguistic denominations in South India. It is on an all-India basis that the future of multi-lingual cities like Madras and Bombay should be determined. Wrangling between Andhras and Tamils will not settle the issue. Repetition of the same arguments with multiplied vehemence will not take the parties an inch nearer settlement. In diplomacy and political warfare, Andhras are novices. Tamils are adepts. The parties are so unequally matched that no fairness can result from a straight tussle. The whole issue of linguistic division should be handled as a national issue and principles of common applicability to all should alone be applied to the Andhras, the Government at the Centre acting as the guardian of the weaker side instead of washing its hands of responsibility to see fairplay done.

Sotto Voce

UNCOMMON AKADAMI

LIKE Minerva from the head of Jove, "Sahitya Akadami" in full dress has sprung out of the fruitful loins of the Ministry of Education. The name, a miracle of hybridisation, should alone insure it immortality, if the common fate of Bumbledom's incursions into the groves sacred to Apollo should overtake it. Incidentally, 'Akadami' is an eloquent commentary on the creative potentialities of our "national" language. We shall no doubt attempt in due course musical variations on that much-vowelled word. 'Ekedemi',

'Akadeimi' ('e' long), 'Akaadomi' (like dichotomy), 'Akadamee' (with a long-drawn last syllable in the full-flavoured Andhra style), are just a few of the infinite mutations in which the protean genius of Hindi may break out like rashes all over Bharat.

If they had to borrow a word could they not have got it nearer home? Finding myself by chance the other day in the city which boasts the oldest Academy in the world, I fell to wondering that no-

body among the brilliant galaxy of talent that is incubating the New Culture in our Capital should have heard of Madurai or its famous Tamizh Sangam, that millennial foundation of whose late harvest we have a tantalising glimpse in anthologies compiled before Christ was born. The Tamils of those days chose the Sanskrit word 'Sangam' to describe their Academy. Did the fathers of the new Akadami of All-Bharat ever give a thought to it? At least euphony might have been served.

But perhaps 'Sangam' was thought not sufficiently august. For the portentous foundation which is to rear our imperial literature will not merely enjoy the official *imprimatur*. It will live, move and have its being in the gilded halls of the North Bloc and bask in the meridian sun of the Maulana. The old Tamil poets had, it must be confessed, over-bold notions of what was due to themselves. The Lord Sundareswara was but *primus inter pares* in the inspired brotherhood of the Sangam. Once He laid himself open to the suspicion of log-rolling for a favourite. And, when foiled, He opened His baleful eye in wrath; but His thunders rolled harmlessly over the head of the intrepid Academician who dared to stand up to Him. New Delhi would be vastly surprised to hear that Nakkirar said in effect, "But still it moves," 2,000 years before Galileo did.

Those cantankerous Tamils, who were not prepared to surrender their judgment to the Lord, let alone any human potentate, put their trust, strangely enough, in an insentient thing. That was the famous *Sanga Palagai* which, though invisible to the fleshly eye, still informs, according to the devout, the semi-circular stone seat in the alcove behind the Meenakshi shrine in which the Academy, with the Lord presiding, is sculptured in perpetual session. The candidate for election, if he was worthy, had a place made for him on the board, the magical seat hospitably expanding. The impostor on the other hand was repulsed by a wholly wooden unresponsiveness.

Incredibly naive as this might

sound to our sophisticated ears, tradition has a way of prefiguring truths as in a glass darkly. The impersonal fellowship of the wise is your true *Sanga Palagai*. And it is the one thing that no batoned beadle can make or break. When Stalin propounds a new aesthetic the 'decadent' writers, who feel themselves rebuked, abase themselves with a thoroughness which makes one wonder how they ever climbed so high. When our Akadami is fully formed, we may find it includes a generous proportion of 'mute inglorious Miltons' whose names are destined for the Idealogues' Dunciad.

With its official Head and solid corps of nominated members, its power to repress the independent and to reward the obsequious, its duty "to promote the cultural unity of the country" through all the Indian languages,—I can see them in fancy curtsying and crooning like the chorus in *The Mikado*—this Leviathan summoned from the vasty deep by Presidential fiat will certainly be unique. The French Academy in its most pampered days never came within miles of enjoying anything like the same official status. But, then, neither did the Forty at their most fatuous attempt such things as our Akadami is solemnly charged to do. Imagine Richelieu asking the Immortals to propagate the Germanic script out of admiration for Goethe!

Academies have their uses. But it is fatal to that freedom which is the life-breath of all creative art, to seek to regulate it by a set of rules framed by bureaucrats and administered by stool-pigeons. What organised Academies have done for some literatures the alert and informed appraisal of critics has done for others. But no Academy worth the name has thought of by-passing the artist or annexing him for ends which have nothing to do with art. We may some day have a genuine Academy or congeries of Academies brought into existence by the pressure of the writer's inherent necessities. A mechanical contraption imposed from above will not fill the bill.

VIGNESWARA.

SIDELIGHTS :

OF late, large inscriptions in white on the black tar of some of the roads of the City, have appeared, calling upon Andhras to quit Madras, as though, with the emergence of the Andhra State, Andhras in Madras City have no right to be there and should take cover within the boundaries of the new State.

The creation of the Andhra State makes no difference to the rights of Andhras in any other State. No Government of any State is constitutionally empowered to discriminate against them. An Andhra in Tamil Nadu has all the rights that a Tamil citizen possesses. He can seek and obtain employment, hold property, participate in public and political life, and act in every other way as though to the soil born.

The attitude of mind that relates political importance to percentage of population-strength is fatal to sound constitutional judgment. Sri Rajagopalachari let loose an ocean of pettifoggery when he disposed of the Andhras contemptuously as a negligible fraction of barely 16 per cent in the City's population. Exaggeration of littleness apart, size is not an indication either of character or of superior or inferior possessive title. The distinction of a city like Madras lies in the multiplicity of resources and constructive energies that have contributed to its structure and variety. Andhras, Tamils, Kannadigas and Malayalees have given of their means, skill and zeal to the development of the charm and beauty of the City. Their very co-existence in its precincts in all the vividness of their distinctive individualities constitutes no small part of its captivating appeal. It is not easy to trace back from the City as we now know it the different streams of devotion and effort that have gone into its making, and concretise in assessable terms the Andhra share. C. R.'s simple plan of annexing Madras to Tamil Nadu differs only in degree from the demand of some Andhra leaders for its exclusive possession. Neither side

takes note of the rights of other parties not involved in the partition, nor does it bestow any thought on the origins and causes of the peculiar attractiveness of Madras City and the method by which it could be preserved and saved from diminution.

The first effects of prospective linguistic division have not been auspicious for the cementing of inter-linguistic peace. On the other hand, there has been a flare-up of illwill. By and by, no doubt, the present acerbities will vanish and political life resume an even tenor. Instead of the prevailing illwills, cooperation between the different linguistic sections will be re-established under more decent leadership after today's fomenters of strife have run their course and achieved their futilities. In the process of restoration to sanity, it seems advisable that cities like Madras and Bombay should survive as multilingual pockets with an effective common citizenship blessing all inhabitants, from whichever part of the country they come, irrespective of the language they speak.

The important thing for Madras is its own welfare. A large exodus of the Andhra element would dislocate its economy completely. The sort of possessiveness that destroys is a curse, and in the battle between the combatants for its possession, the City stands the risk of losing its most precious life-giving assets, the multiple character of its resident population, its cosmopolitan atmosphere, its freedom from narrow linguistic oppressions, its fine blend of homeliness and civilization, and its welcoming hospitality to visitors from all over the world. As the common property of the four linguistic sections of South India's population, who have grown to love and cherish it for over two centuries, Madras has a bright future. Any twisting of it to suit the possessive instincts of any of its component elements, will mutilate it spiritually, impoverish its social and political content and sow the seeds of illwill for all time.

—SAKA.

REFORMING THE U. N.

(By A Special Correspondent)

(This is the second and concluding article on the present defects and possible reform of the United Nations as a world organisation for securing peace. The first article, entitled "Are We Loyal To The U. N.?", appeared in Swatantra of December 13, 1952.)

IN no community governed by law is any individual permitted to exempt himself by choice from the legal obligations and sanctions of society. Mr. Grenville Clark's plan for peace* proceeds on the logical corollary that so, too, in the society of nations all nations and persons are bound by certain minimum duties and sanctions.

The Charter of the United Nations must therefore be amended to provide for membership of all the nations of the world, without any right to resign.

There must then be created, by further Charter revision, a binding and enforceable world law in respect of war prevention. This law, Mr. Clark suggests, should incorporate a detailed plan for general disarmament.

Because the abandonment of arms must proceed on the basis of confidence, resting upon carefully certified inspections, and because an effective world police force must be simultaneously developed, the disarmament plan would proceed by stages. He proposes, therefore, proportionate disarmament by all nations in three stages of four years each. In the first stage all armed forces and all their weapons of every description would be reduced by one-third. When this result has been certified by United Nations inspectors, a further one-third reduction would be made in each of two succeeding four-year periods. At the end of 12 years all military forces and weapons would be eliminated, save only certain lightly armed local and national forces for the sole purpose of internal order.

The manufacture of all war weapons would be prohibited to the member nations. Such manufacture would be confined to arms required

by the world police force, and would be conducted solely in arsenals owned and operated by the United Nations.

To avoid uncertainty and suspicion, the precise maximum strength of all local and national police will also be prescribed in the Charter. This should be in proportion to population, but with a maximum for any nation, however large. They would have no tanks, no military planes, no bombs, no cannon, no warships—nothing that would enable a nation to make serious war.

The General Assembly and Security Council of the U. N., as at present constituted, are obviously unfit to be entrusted with the operation of a world police force such as is envisaged. At any stage during the proposed gradual disarmament a Big Power can commit aggression and protect itself from the consequences by applying the veto.

There will be no right of veto for any nation in the reformed United Nations. Nor will tiny States such as Cuba or Ecuador have equal voting strength with countries as large as India or the United States. Mr. Clark believes, and many will agree with him, that the most just and practicable basis of representation is that of population, but with a maximum and minimum limit.

The specific plan proposed is that Representatives shall be in the ratio of one to every five million people (or major fraction thereof) but with a ceiling of 30 members for any nation; and that every nation shall have at least one Representative (except only the very few with under 100,000 population, which would have Delegates without votes).

Since membership would be compulsory, it would be universal. And the result (on the figures of 1950) would be to constitute a United Nations of 79 nations and an

* A Plan for Peace (Harper & Brothers, New York, 1950).

Assembly of 372 Representatives and three Delegates. The U. S., the Soviet Union, China and India would alone have the maximum of 30 Representatives.

What would be the powers of such a rationally reconstituted, vetoless United Nations? Mr. Clark believes that the legislative powers of the revised Assembly should be quite narrowly circumscribed. It could make no law, for example, dealing with immigration or emigration or with tariffs and international trade. Its power to legislate would be confined to matters directly concerned with the prevention of war; and even in that field its authority could be exercised only within the strict limits set forth in the revised Charter.

Within those limits, however, its powers would be considerable. They would include a carefully guarded but definite authority to raise revenue, most of which would be for the maintenance of the United Nations Peace (or police) Force. The annual quota of each nation's contribution would be determined in accordance with a formula reflecting national income and capacity to pay. The net effect of the whole plan of revision would be largely to reduce that part of the burden of taxation throughout the world which is caused by national armaments.

Will the proposed World Police Force become a new tyranny threatening the freedom of nations? Mr. Clark has many suggestions for making it "tyranny-proof." He would provide, for instance, that the military command of the Peace Force should be assigned to a Military Staff Committee of five persons to be appointed by the General Assembly for four-year terms, not one of whom could be a national of any of the six nations having the largest representation in the Assembly. No "Big Power" would thus be able to manipulate the World Police Force as an instrument of its own policy. Moreover, it would be provided that no two members of the Staff Committee could be nationals of the same country. Also, the volunteers would be carefully selected, well paid, and owing primary allegiance to the United Nations. They would be recruited mainly from the smaller

nations, and there would be a limit, say five per cent, on the permissible proportion from any one nation.

It will be obvious that a United Nations so re-modelled would in fact be a genuine world government. No other term could fairly describe it. But that government would be of a highly limited variety, having no resemblance—except in its general federal character—to national governments such as we are used to. Its sphere of legal power would be confined merely to enforcing world order by preventing nations, as has been well said, from "murdering each other."

To the objection that these proposals place undue emphasis on the creation of machinery for the direct prevention of international violence, and neglect the field of seeking to improve underlying economic and social conditions, Mr. Clark's answer is simple: "It is true that I place first the mere maintenance of world order. This is for the simple reason that in a world of anarchy and arms it is hard to see how the best-laid plans to improve food and industrial production, the flow of trade, education, human rights and the like can make much progress. It seems as true of the world at large as of a local or national community that the elements of order are the pre-requisite of economic and social progress."

Surely Indian statesmen can usefully devote their attention to the detailed study of a scheme of disarmament and world government such as this, no less than to specific points of tension such as Korea.

The plan detailed here would automatically admit Red China to the United Nations—which is one of the main planks of Indian foreign policy. It would reduce the mutual fear, based on and in turn promoting competitive rearmament, which is holding up the solution of such postwar problems as partitioned Germany and Korea.

It is perhaps time to lend concrete substance to the general aspiration for peace, by putting forward a well-studied and workable scheme of limited world government. Such a study might well start off with a consideration of the blueprint presented by Mr. Grenville Clark.

ARIYAKUDI

THERE are two modes in art—the romantic and the classical. The romantic method respects tradition but subordinates it to the freedom of fresh experiment and the pleasure of a novel form. The mind is for ever reaching out in a mood of creative adventure, towards the unexploited potentials of beauty in sound and shape. More often than not the summit defies the climber but the visions that are perceived along the way create the seeds of subsequent success. The classical mind, however, is nourished by the restraint of accepted procedures, but within the severity of the circumference, develops nuances that can show a hundred shades in one colour and a hundred notes between two intervals. Not that the two approaches are opposed in aim, but merely that the two emphases differ; so much so that the same artist may deviate from one to the other mode. The achievement of an equilibrium between the two methods is perhaps the ne plus ultra of excellence in art; not a blind balance that is gifted in a fortunate moment or two, but a permanent two-eyed sight that unfailingly sees the beauty in its entirety and in proportion. This is the great adjustment that Arnold referred to as seeing life steadily and seeing it whole.

The romantic—classical evenness reaches a point very near the zenith in Ariyakudi. His music is full of sly graces, studied coquetry, pulsating movement, and filigreed ornaments, but the graces are inherent and not imposed, the coquetry is manacled in chastity, the pulsation is even and unfeverish and the ornaments are few and not loaded in profusion. It would, for instance, sound paradoxical to say that a slow tempo and quick movement do not go together, but this flow of Madhyamakala (pardon the pedantry) within Vilambakala is precisely the chief characteristic of his Kriti renderings. Listen, next time, to his singing the piece "Dasarathe" in Todi and you will see this contradiction resolving in front of you; or the song "Akshaya Linga Vibho" in

Sankarabharanam. The singing is a piece of simultaneous double movement. Little speeds within a slow progress. There are artists who can shoot from the base of the first to the top of the second octave like greased lightning. There are artists who have schooled themselves to sing in a free and easy Madhyamakala. There are yet others who move with the unhurried ponderosity of the temple elephant. The first are said to have their larynx lined with semolina (how else to describe the "Ravai"?); the second tend to monotony; the third sit on the shoulders of each note and torture them. The "Vilamba" or slow movement is full of dignity and doubtless represents the consummation that should be desired, but not by itself. It should be handled by an artist whose manipulation brings out the graces of the middle movement. Otherwise the dignity of slowness becomes funereal, and, sad to say, several promising musicians have sung their way to their own funeral in this way. It is a tribute to Ariyakudi's art that he has got the best of both worlds, which may well be described as one of middle tempo in detail and slow tempo in construction.

He has been aided by his voice in reaching this goal. The "natural" voice is not suited to the highest music. Natural voices boom in the wilderness (no matter if it is one of trees or human heads) and instead of the voice being the vehicle of the art, the art becomes the vehicle for the voice. The true artist, on the other hand, has cultivated his voice by grinding exercise so that it has acquired a kind of second resonance and, one may add, a warmth that is peculiarly suited to music. There are several musicians who commence their concert with their "domestic" voice. As the concert proceeds the voice comes round and soon its roughness is subdued and in its place there functions a voice of controlled melody, moist not dry, pliable not recalcitrant, possessed of a ring that acts like an internal sruti (drone). This is the voice of true music that is capable of giv-

ing breadth and volume to the gandhara of the first octave and restrained (not full throated, please) melody to the gandhara of the second octave. Here is Ariyakudi's second gift, a trained musical voice, broad-based and melody crowned, which, by the time the lights are on and the audience have settled down and the drone and the drum and the song have had time to erase extraneous impressions on the wandering mind, reaches the manhood of its second birth and gets woven into the texture of the song.

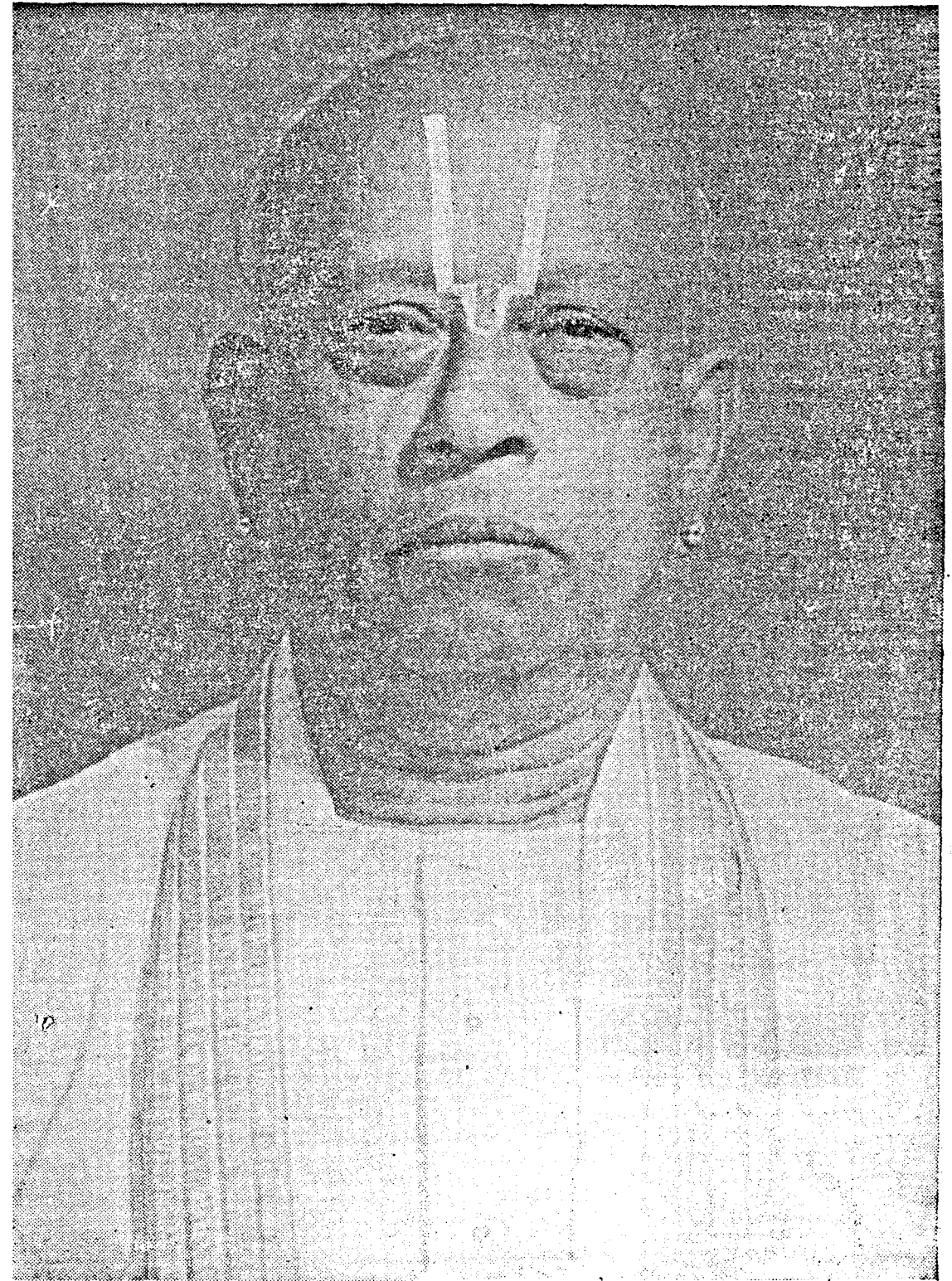
His sense of proportion is seen nowhere to greater significance and value than in the subordination of what may be eulogistically termed the intellectual and grammatical aspects of classical music. There is something repugnant in the parade of grammar, essential as it is to good music. The singing of swaras in accordance with recondite tala combinations or the elaboration of an obscure raga in which there is perhaps only one song known, may be suitable for special demonstrations but they represent mental, more than aesthetic excellence. They have a combat value in a profession in which competition is keen, always based on the verdict of informed criticism but great music should take grammar in its stride and not allow it to obtrude. Ariyakudi's grammar is faultless but it does not stand out. His swaras merge into the song quietly. They do not engage themselves in a duel with the drummer. His method, being crisp and quintessential, does not also admit of marathon elaborations. Indeed, whether by choice or by necessity, (it is immaterial what the cause is) his ragas are convincing rather than comprehensive, and leave one with the feeling of a desire not wholly satisfied rather than with one of repletion. Long winded elaborations very often conceal repetitions that escape the unwary and equally often consist of voice gymnastics that do not have any musical value. It is but rarely that as with the late Tiger Varadachariar they represent the creative effort of a great mind. So also, the singing of obscure ragas is very rarely anything more than the special study of a few of them;

outside which list the other obscure ragas are as obscure to the artists as to us. To sing the songs of the great composers in such ragas without padding them with alapana in front and swaras at the back is the path of wisdom. Ariyakudi places music first. The most excruciating intricacy in the technique, according to him, cannot make up for one little bit of cacophony nor one whole hour of a raga for a stifled yawn. His reticence and brevity are born of a sense of true musical values. His orthodoxy is selective, prompted by a scorn of non-musical appeals. Time itself has shown that, these qualities endure.

He is an anxious student of the art. Like many great artists, he seeks no mental diversion apart from his art. During the last thirty years he has been responsible for discovering and making popular (sometimes ad nauseum as in regard to Rama Nanu Brova) several pieces of real beauty. He is still at the task and recently he has set to music the noble words of the Vaishnavaita saint Andal. It is a genuine musical experience to listen to these compositions. Unlike some great musicians he has a flair for the little tit bits, the slender post-pallavi songs with jingling tunes, that revive the jaded spirit at the end of a long sitting.

It is the good fortune of music-lovers that he enjoys robust health. Persons who have heard him over a period extending well nigh into two generations have noticed that the strength of his voice has grown along with his age. To-day it is better than ever before, ripe and rich, and suited to the technique of a master.

It is difficult at all times to write critically about art and artists. It is easy to indulge in colourful panygerics that convey nothing more than a sense of goodwill and admiration. It is equally easy to highlight the defects, in the style of Lytton Strachey and derive a perverse enjoyment in iconoclastics. No words can bring out the qualities of an art which has to be frankly enjoyed. Sublimation is always a process induced by reflection. Hence one oscillates between tributes and tirades, and the critic stands the



Ariyakudi Ramanuja Iyengar

severest criticism of all. Ariyakudi is a great artist, has been great for long, and has succeeded in effecting a golden compromise between what is true in tradition and what is interesting in innovation. He has always aimed to please rather than show off. He has succeeded in ample measure. It would be wearying to

catalogue every single merit and every single defect that have contributed to his greatness and his limitations. The balance tilts in favour of a tribute. One feels no need, therefore, to apologise for erring on the side of praise for one who merits it so much.

—“Viswamitra.”

INDIANS IN TANGANYIKA

By R. D. WILLIAMS

THERE have been trading and other connections between Tanganyika and the West coast of India for several hundred years, and there is evidence of Indians having settled in Tanganyika before 1820. It was not, however, until the last fifty years that the Indian made any strong impression upon the territory.

A number of Indians were employed by the Germans and by 1914 there are believed to have been over three thousand in Tanganyika.

During the First World War, some of the Allied forces which drove the Germans out of Tanganyika were largely composed of Indian troops—men from the Indian Army and from the States Forces. There is in Dar es Salaam a memorial to those who died in the fighting, men from the States of Kashmir and Hyderabad and from famous regiments of the Punjab and the North-West Frontier and to quote the words of Mr. Winston Churchill: “The Sikh soldier bore an honourable part in the conquest and pacification of these African territories” (including Tanganyika).

However, it is only since 1920 that Indian influence has increased, and at the same time a fairly large influx of these people has taken place, so that today there are very nearly sixty thousand living in the territory, and about one-third of these live in the capital town of Dar es Salaam.

The total is composed of almost twenty thousand Hindus, about eighteen thousand Ismaili Khojas, better known as the followers of H. H. the Aga Khan, and another seventeen thousand Muslims of vari-

ous sects, including Sunnis, Bohoras, and Ithnasharis, together with a smaller number of Sikhs, Indian Christians and people of mixed descent from Goa and elsewhere.

These people are hardworking, thrifty and loyal to their respective leaders. They are accustomed to the tropical heat and humidity of many parts of the country and are thus acclimatised to life here.

The majority have come from Gujerat, and therefore the predominant language is Gujerati, though shopkeepers often understand Hindustani. The children are learning English and it seems that in due course this language will replace the mother tongue.

There are few towns and villages which do not boast Indian shopkeepers and traders, and indeed much of the present activity in the remotest parts of the bush would never have come about had not these Indians accepted the loneliness and risked the dangers (to health and sanity) of life far away from the beaten track—risks which few European traders have taken, and involving occupations to which the African was not often suited.

Whenever the European has opened up a mine or projected a railway, the Indian has been summoned to help. He has built houses, erected and operated machinery, laid down railway lines and built bridges and generally performed a large part of the constructional tasks necessary to the opening up of a jungle country.

Many large estates, whether they grow cashew nuts, kapok, cotton,

sisal or coffee are often owned, partly owned or worked by Indians. Most of these estates and most of the large mining companies employ Indians as clerks and book-keepers, as mechanics and storekeepers, and in some cases the managers are Indians.

In the growing inland towns, the wholesale and retail trades are more often than not controlled by Hindu and Muslim businessmen. This is also true of the ports, though few Indians seem to have penetrated into the shipping world except as clerks.

In Dar es Salaam and the main towns, there are rice mills, oil mills, soap factories, bakeries, furniture manufacturers, garages, and numerous other minor industries owned and operated by Indians, and wherever the European has set up similar organizations, there the Indian has found employment as an artisan or clerk—he is the blacksmith, the tinsmith or goldsmith, the mason or carpenter, and the shoemaker or hairdresser and fulfils a long list of other occupations too.

Indians, therefore, have a vital position in the trade and commerce of the territory; they are also found as employees of the customs, of the Post Office, with the Railways and Harbours, and in the vast majority of Government offices, loyally performing all manner of duties from those of office superintendents and chief clerks in the law courts to inspectors of police, telegraphists and locomotive engineers.

A traveller arriving in Dar es Salaam will probably have his passport and health documents examined by Indian inspectors, have his baggage inspected by an Indian customs' employee, then travel to the town in an Indian owned taxi and perhaps driven by an Indian, and he is quite likely to land in an Indian-owned

hotel, though the managers will be Europeans.

Such is the impact of the Indian on the life of all who come to Dar es Salaam and indeed to many other parts of the territory—and this is only part of the story. What little known stories lie behind the facades of the huge number of modern buildings built by Indians during these last ten years? One quarter of all the new buildings in Dar es Salaam are Indian-owned, and the town has doubled itself in size since 1945 and the same is true of the other big towns.

Now, on the horizon, are the beginnings of a political consciousness. For years, Indians have occupied positions on the legislative and executive councils and in local affairs. The much respected second Mayor of Dar es Salaam was an Indian (his family has been on this coast since 1825), and no doubt many more influential and important positions in the community life of Tanganyika will fall to Indians in the future.

All signs point to an ever increasing willingness on the part of Indians in Tanganyika to take up responsible positions in the local and even central affairs of Government, and perhaps nowhere else in the world (or at least in Africa) are there greater opportunities for the practical demonstration of that mutual respect and tolerance which is often so elusive in multi-racial societies—and the Indian, forming as he probably does more than one-half of the English speaking inhabitants of Tanganyika, holds at least one-third of the key to this success. For he is neither Eastern nor Western, but very much in the centre of the two, and he is a law abiding citizen of this Trust Territory owing allegiance to the Crown of England—*N.N.F.—Copyright.*

There is no doubt that rhetorical questions should only be indulged in with the greatest caution, and at one's own risk. We must not forget the painful experience of the chaplain of a lunatic asylum who asked his congregation dramatically: “Why are we all here?” only to receive the devastating reply: “Because we are not all there.”

—LADY VIOLET BONHAM CARTER in a BBC broadcast.

CAN HYPNOTISM AID CRIME?

By Dr. P. V. R. PILLAI

IT is a popular belief, handed down the ages, that a somnambulist subject will always tell the truth, and that his hidden ideas can be obtained from him by mere asking. It is obvious that, on ordinary enquiries, the harmless fact is always let out from the subjective mind. A hypnotised subject will often say, during his trance, that which he would otherwise not say in his waking moments.

A subject 'D' was instructed not to smoke, lest smoking should harm the harmony of clairvoyance. One day when a scene was conducted with 'D' as the medium, 'D' revealed that he was unable to commune with the spirit, as he had smoked a cigarette that evening. He also disclosed that he had kept a packet of cigarettes concealed in his pocket. As soon as 'D' woke up from his trance he was amazed to learn how the audience came to know of his secret smoking, which fact he desired to hide in his waking condition.

The instinct of self-preservation, always alert to avert any danger which threatens the individual, steps in to his defence. Instinctive auto-suggestion plays here its subtle role; and no suggestion from another can prevail against it. If the defence involves falsehood, the falsehood would be told without the slightest hesitation and it will be told with preternatural acumen, and with plausible circumstantiality of detail as to perplex the very elect.

A sanyasin 'Y' was going about declaring himself as a great sage, capable of even waking the dead from the grave. A spiritualist 'R' came in contact with 'Y' who by slow degrees almost entrapped 'R' in his mesh. With a view to dragging 'R' into his fold, 'Y' fixed a date for administering a certain drug to 'R'. Luckily the night previous to that date, the spiritualist was conducting a scene when the medium 'T' warned 'R' not to take any medicine from 'Y' and further advised 'R' to invite the chief disciple of 'Y' to be

present during a scene. Accordingly the chief disciple was present one day during the experiment, when the spiritualist suggested to the medium to expose the hollowness of the sanyasin on the very face of the disciple. The result was beyond expectation. The medium spoke very high of the powers of 'Y' describing him as divine-incarnate and bade the disciple leave the scene room. As soon as the disciple had left the place, the medium explained to the spiritualist that what all he had told the disciple was a white lie, firstly, to save his (medium's) own skin lest the sanyasin should do him (medium) harm in his own evil ways, and secondly, to protect the spiritualist from the curse of the sanyasin.

Thus, it will be seen that the rule holds good not only to matters which involve the personal safety of the individual, but in all matters pertaining to the interest of his friends, irrespective of the contra-suggestions induced to the individual.

Nevertheless, a hypnotic subject never betrays a vital secret. For instance, neither secrets concerning examination question papers nor the answers to the clues of cross-words can be pumped out of a hypnotised subject. Attempts made for this purpose had never succeeded. In all these years during which the science of hypnotism has been practised, no one has ever been known to betray the secrets of any society or order. So far, there is no crime in the practice of the art.

Yet the idea is being very generally propagated among the people that the ability of one man to hypnotise another implies the possession of a very dangerous power and one which, in the hands of an unscrupulous man, may be utilised for criminal purposes. A few friends are called together, a few well-trained subjects are invited and a hypnotist is employed to give an exhibition for the benefit of science.

A subject is deeply hypnotised and a cardboard dagger is placed in his

hands. An imaginary man at some distance is pointed out and the subject is given the suggestion to attack the man taking him as his mortal enemy. This he has no hesitation in doing, and does it with great dramatic effect. Another subject who is deeply hypnotised is informed that he is a noted pickpocket and is suggested to commit theft. The subject accepts the suggestion and thieves cunningly.

This is the turning point of the problem. If the average subject in a state of deep hypnotic sleep is so amenable to the power of suggestion as to plunge a false dagger into an imaginary enemy at the suggestion of a hypnotist, it leads to an inference that a criminal-minded hypnotist is likely to possess unlimited power to cause any one of his subjects to plunge a real dagger into any victim whom the criminal-hypnotist might select for slaughter. Another doubt similarly arises if a criminal hypnotist can make his subject a mere tool at his hands to make him steal or plunder as he might illegally aspire for.

The reason should be analysed thus: The subject knows that he is among his friends and has also confidence in the integrity of the hypnotist. He is aware of the nature of the proposed experiments. Moreover, he enters into the state of sub-consciousness to carry out his part of the programme knowing full well that no possible harm would arise.

One who recognises the law of suggestion and its universal application to the psychological phenomena could understand that hypnotism could not be made the instrument of crime for two reasons. The first proposition is that when two suggestions contrary to one another are offered to the subject, the stronger must prevail; the second proposition is that auto-suggestion, as a factor in hypnotism is no less weak in potency than any alien suggestion. Mr. Moll recognises the power of auto-suggestion as a potent factor which must be taken into account in conducting experiments. Expressions of the will which spring from the individual character of the

subject are of the deepest psychological interest. The more an action is repulsive to his disposition, the stronger is his resistance. It is very difficult to suggest anything that is opposed to the confirmed habits of the subject. The surroundings also play a fairly large part. A subject will decline a suggestion which will make him appear ridiculous. A conflict of suggestions invariably causes confusion in the subject's mind and generally results in restoring the subject to normal consciousness. In short, it is impossible for a hypnotist to impress a suggestion so strongly upon a subject as to cause him actually to perform an act in violation of settled principles of life and law of the land.

This gives rise to a question whether hypnotism can be successfully employed for criminal purposes and this aspect must be determined in each individual case by the character of the persons engaged in the experiment. If the subject is a criminal character, he, as an accomplice, might follow the suggestions of a criminal hypnotist. But suggestion works spontaneously only in trance condition under calm atmosphere. For criminals, hypnotism is of poor appeal or significance and is comparatively of little help. Hypnotism is of no use to their ravenous mind and therefore committing palpable crimes by criminals through the agency of hypnotism is incredible.

Criminal abortion is another of the crimes which people consider can be performed by means of hypnotic suggestion. It is here that another strong instinct prevails against a suggestion of the character, namely, the desire inherent in the soul of the mother to preserve her offspring. It is possibly true that conception could be prevented by hypnotic suggestion, and it may be also true that barrenness is sometimes caused by unconscious auto-suggestion; but a very different state of affairs exists after the foetus is once formed. The instinctive desire to preserve the life that exists, constitutes an instinctive auto-suggestion which no suggestion from another, nor even the objective auto-suggestion of the mother, could prevail against.

Turning now to the curative aspect, we are confronted with the efficacy of the art employed. There are drugs in the medical field, a few of which work at various degrees of effectiveness as sedative, curative and even fatal. Therefore, it depends much upon the physician who employs the drug for the cure of a malady. What guarantee is there that the thought of every physician is perfectly pure? Can there be no physician who is not taking advantage of his confidential relations with his patients? But in the larger and wider interest of the benefits derived from science, minor and

negligible deviations are either ignored or set aside. Products of scientific discoveries bring forth good as well as bad for the society. In view of the advantages and benefits derived from them they are encouraged and nourished unmindful of their little injurious potentialities.

Hypnotism as an art is also governed by the universal law in its theory as well as practice. Hypnotism, with its wonderful psychic powers and marvellous therapeutic value, can be held in par with the other curative agents absolved of the criminal implication likely to be attributed to it.

BELLARY PRESSMEN RESENT ENGINEER'S REMARKS

THE Superintending Engineer, Rayalaseema Power System, who presided over the electricity switching-on ceremony at Yemmiganur on December 18, contrary to the natural expectation that he would deal with the potentialities of electricity to that weavers' industrial centre, provided the first surprise to the gathering by asking: "Those among you who produced two children but planted at least one tree, lift up your hands!" None did. Then he started to criticise the public for their apathy to tree planting. Continuing the role of a mentor, he turned his attention suddenly to the Press. Charging Pressmen with keeping on attending meetings even when uninvited, he related the parable of twenty dogs biting persons but not getting publicity, but a man biting a dog being given full publicity. Inspired by the ovation he received from his staff who were present in a considerable number at the meeting, he accused the Press of lack of a sense of proportion, saying that unimportant events received more publicity and "important things" like his earlier speech at Rayadurg on tree planting were ignored.

Mr. M. Somappa, President of the Madras Handloom Weavers' Co-operative Society, who was the convenor of the meeting, in the course

of his vote of thanks provided a good report to the engineer's harangue on the local apathy to tree planting, by saying that thousands of trees were planted by the local people all over the place and those having eyes could themselves see them without any need for putting questions to the people. He congratulated the gathering on not lifting their hands at the question asked by the engineer, as only "Brass made much noise but not gold." Paying a special tribute to the Pressmen present, he avowed his full confidence that they always performed their duties properly.

This incident had a sequel. Three days later, the Executive Committee of the Bellary District Journalists' Association met and passed the following resolution:

"This urgent meeting of the Executive Committee of the Bellary District Journalists' Association, strongly protests against the irrelevant and bitter tirade indulged in by the Superintending Engineer, Rayalaseema Power System on the Madras Press in general and the Pressmen in particular, without any provocation or justification, while presiding over the switching-on ceremony at Yemmiganur on December 18.

"This meeting urges on the Government to hold an enquiry into the incident."

THE PRAGUE-WASHINGTON AXIS

By ANDREW ROTH

THE London Daily Worker is seldom defensive in tone. The stridence of its attacks has increased as its circulation has dropped. Communist Party membership has also dropped from its peak of 60,000 in 1945 to 30,000; its representation in Parliament has been eliminated and its influence in the country—except in certain key trade unions—reduced to a fraction of what it was at the end of the war. As the Communists' isolation has grown, so has their sectarian stridence.

On one subject however the *Daily Worker* has been very much on the defensive for weeks—the recent Czech trials and the charges of anti-Semitism arising from them. Whereas the British Communists usually shoot at their accusers with every weapon handy, on this subject they frequently take the unusual pose of 'Injured Innocence.' Thus, when the Jewish Board of Deputies recently announced it would hold a meeting on the subject of anti-Semitism in the Prague trials, the *Daily Worker* gently reminded them that they had held no such meeting to protest the rearmament of Germany and that, anyway, the Chief Rabbi of Czechoslovakia had told the *Daily Worker's* diplomatic correspondent in Prague (himself Jewish) that no anti-Semitism existed there. This interview was spread all over the front page of the *Worker* and has been widely distributed as a leaflet. Communists adopt that look of martyred indignation when one suggests that the Chief Rabbi of Czechoslovakia can be expected to be frank on this subject about as much as the head of the Russian Orthodox Church can be expected to give an interview attacking Stalin for being an atheist.

The crude brutality of the trial—in all its aspects, not merely its anti-Semitism—was clearly visible to many whose eyes had previously been unseeing. This was the first

Communist trial which British leftists could judge to any appreciable degree from their own experience, an important factor here where people act more on sentiment and human evaluation than in other countries. Previous Moscow-style trials were far-off affairs, with few in this country having had any contact with the accused. If the charges had frequently seemed extreme, pro-Communists could always fall back on their deep fund of faith that "Moscow can do no wrong" and fend off prying questions with "Well, the United States is spending millions of dollars for subversion in Eastern Europe, so it must be getting some results."

The Communists are still using this line of propaganda, but it falls on very rocky grounds with regard to the Prague trials. Several of the men who were hung spent the war years in London: the former Foreign Minister Vladimir Clementis was in the Benes Government-in-Exile and Otto Sling and Ludwig Freyka (originally Freund) were here as well. Freyka was a Sudeten-German Jew who joined the Communist Party in his youth and became editor of the Sudeten edition of the German Communist daily *Rote Fahne*. This was a dangerous job, particularly for a Jew, when the Nazis were taking hold of the Sudetenland. He continued until the Nazis marched. After that, with the help of a fund to which many British Liberals were prominent contributors, he was brought to this country with other Jewish refugees. During the war he worked on the *Daily Worker* here. The fact that he was rescued from the Nazis by a "capitalist organization" was one of the charges against him. And, as a final degradation, Freyka, pleading for a death sentence, was made to attack those who had once saved him.

Some attribute the attack of 'nerves' which the *Worker's* diplomatic correspondent, who covered

the Prague trials, seems to be having to the fact that he has had to justify the hanging of a former colleague. He covers this up remarkably well however. At one Iron Curtain function recently he predicted bigger and better trials in Eastern Europe with much gusto.

For most normal British leftists it is difficult to believe that a man who seemed, even to the practiced eye, to be a devout Communist was recruited by the British/American intelligence service virtually in his mother's womb. For Britons the Prague charges were made particularly ridiculous because of the manner in which ex-M. P. Konni Zilliacus and correspondent Alexander Werth were involved. "I can imagine Konni as a ballet dancer just as easily as I can imagine him an 'imperialist agent,'" was one joking reference to the bulky ex-M.P. Both Zilliacus and Werth have, as a matter of fact, been particularly unbending in their plowing of a determined left-socialist furrow, although self-interest would have made both of them bend more to the right. If they had bent Zilliacus would still be in Parliament and Alexander Werth might still be a *Manchester Guardian* correspondent.

The inevitable reaction here is that either the Communist leaders are an inordinately depraved group (if so many of them in every country turn out to be traitors of various assorted kinds) or that the Communist system is peculiarly depraved (if it must eat its children so regularly). Since the British tend to think of their own Communists as a misguided set of honest fanatics it is the Communist system which has aroused renewed indignation.

Disillusionment over the Prague trials has hit the Communists where it hurts—among the middle class intellectuals whose names it desperately needs to make an impression in a country still essentially aristocratic in tradition. Since many of these members and sympathizers were garnered in the period of anti-fascism, it is not surprising that a fair number are Jews. It was no accident that when the Communists added a second M. P. to their parliamentary 'contingent' in 1945 it

was from London's East End where many working class Jews live.

One of those who describes himself as having had a "revulsion of political feeling as a result of the recent judicial proceedings in Prague," was Benjamin Frankel, British composer and musician, who was a party member for 12 years until his resignation. When he wrote to the *Daily Worker* to protest against the "indecent haste with which the ultimate penalty" was being applied, he found its pages closed to him. He had to announce his resignation in the correspondence columns of the *New Statesman*. This has unleashed on him a vituperative but unilluminating letter from William Gallacher, Communist ex-M.P. but no mention in the Communist press, certainly not in the week following his letter.

From the flood of sympathetic letters to Mr. Frankel from former Party sympathizers it is clear that many "fellow travellers" have been effected similarly. As he explains, he had made many allowances for things that he considered to be undemocratic in Communist countries by explaining them as products of countries without a democratic tradition. When they occurred in Czechoslovakia, his eyes were opened.

Frankel's public resignation uncovered a number of other party resignations which have been going on quietly. Mervyn Jones, the successful young novelist, disclosed he had resigned 18 months ago. Many people have hoped for a public statement from Dr. J. B. S. Haldane, who quit the Party quietly in 1951 because he could not swallow Lysenko as a matter of faith.

This whole trial has, of course, made hash of the recent effort of the Soviets to cultivate non-Communist friends here. For a half year they have been attending functions they had once boycotted and speaking to people they had previously ignored. This was making some friends since there are a substantial number of people here, particularly on the left, who are willing to give the Russians the benefit of the doubt. Many who realise that Britain cannot afford to defend itself adequately would like to feel that it

does not have to. But the Prague trial threw cold water on their optimism.

It has also had a chastening effect on the Bevanites. No one with any knowledge of their history doubts the anti-Communism of Aneurin Bevan, R. H. S. Crossman or Harold Wilson. But, inevitably in their tussle with the comparatively pro-American rightwing of the Labour Party, the quasi-neutralist 'Bevanites' have played up American foibles and played down the vices of Soviet totalitarianism. "You can count on the Russians," said one discouraged and influential Bevanite, "to make a liar out of you just when you have convinced people that the Russians aren't completely devils."

In actual fact the Prague trial might have made the United States much more popular here in comparison had it not been followed by the indictment of Owen Lattimore, which reminded people here that that the U. S., in fighting Communism, has taken over some of its conformist pressures. There is no public comment on the case because under British law one does not comment on a case in the courts. But when Prof. Lattimore was here last January he struck everyone with his moderation: his position on China was more conservative than the British businessmen he worked with in China in the '20s.

Those who had been shocked by the brutal opportunism of the Com-

munist judicial system in Prague were somewhat disturbed to learn from *The Times* Washington correspondent (18th December) that the Lattimore indictment "was suddenly ordered by the American Attorney General soon after the election results were known.... (In) initiating the Lattimore trial, it is pointed out, the Truman Administration is covered whatever the result may be. It would, of course, be satisfactory to the Administration if the Professor's innocence were proved by the court in the first few months of Republican rule." But, if not, Mr. Truman could claim that his administration had had him indicted. It is not the man's innocence but the interests of the Party that count in Washington as well.

Of course there is a considerable difference in degree between the two types of trials. Instead of two years or so of solitary confinement under conditions of psychological torture, Prof. Lattimore has 'only' had three years of McCarthy-McCarran harassment. Instead of a farcical trial featured by pleas for hanging, Prof. Lattimore will be able to fight, with skilled legal support, for his complete vindication in an impartial court. Instead of *certain* hanging, the *worst* Prof. Lattimore confronts is the possibility of seventy years imprisonment. There is a difference even if the Professor cannot be expected to be over-impressed by it at the present.

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FILMINDIA OR MOTHER INDIA?

By S. RAJAGOPALAN

IN his Madras speech, Pandit Nehru rightly alluded to the 'great danger' of parties and personalities in India functioning as debating societies and viewing every problem from the sectional or individual point of view rather than from the point of view of the teeming millions in the country. Current discussions on the Five Year Plan illustrate abundantly this unfortunate tendency: its most obvious consequence has been that whereas most of the governmental policies and measures have elicited world-wide appreciation and support, inducing even the World Bank to come over to assist us, they are yet to satisfy the doubters and detractors at home. One can instance in this connection our river valley projects which, as our Prime Minister disclosed at Trivandrum last week, have won "exciting" approbation from foreign observers. The Five Year Plan is but a plan which can be improved upon in due course; it is noteworthy that world opinion has taken kindly to it. No doubt the proposals may appear big and even fantastic, but even the Soviet Five Year Plan was looked upon with misgivings although its critics have lived to see not merely its success but Russia's emergence as a world power of immense dimensions.

It is a truism that India has since independence become a world power, placed in a position to arbitrate between the major block, and holding as it were the key to peace in her hands. Now what was it that gave an obscure subaltern, such as she was before 1947, so coveted a place? Doubtless her own achievements at home and abroad. India has not played into the hands of the rival powers in the face of an all too powerful temptation. Her neutrality in world conflicts has not been construed by the powers themselves as a sign of weakness; she had been the better for not participating in Yalu raids or germ warfare which surely

would have evoked reprisals within her own borders. Within the country her leaders have succeeded in unifying the peoples, overcoming every obstacle which both nature and man combined to place. One solid achievement has been the nipping in the bud of so powerful and formidable an organization as the Communists' with its roots in Moscow—a feat which Western countries could perfect only with enormous American backing and money. Our constitution has been applauded by discriminating jurists and has already become a model for all rulers and shapers of government. As a consequence thereof women enjoy greater privileges than their sisters in the West and they occupy high posts and even diplomatic assignments. The Five Year Plan is the only way to remove poverty and illiteracy and to bridge the gulf between the rural and urban areas. The Estate Duty Bill, which has come not a day too soon, is vital to a country where wealth accumulates and men decay and tax-dodgers are not uncommon.

In India, opposition to the Government is many-sided and the oppositionists themselves form a motley group, an ill-assorted combination of Communists and communists, capitalists, protagonists of drink and racing and opponents of taxation. No one has so far emulated the small landowner of Tanjore who is threatened with extinction in the not too distant future, but is still the warm adherent of the Government and of order and progress. Journalism too falls into two categories, uncompromising supporters of the State policies and their unrelenting opponents. Certain journals which have a powerful hold on public opinion had in the past failed to size up the shortcomings of the administration in adequate measure, leading ultimately to the rise and even justification of the Yellow Press. Likewise the other

types, equally if not more influential with a record circulation, not only damn the Government but spread a lot of illwill and distaste all round, giving a completely distorted view of our country and our countrymen.

The cinema has a powerful hold on our people, and film journals have naturally a tremendous reader coverage. Many which have sprung up lately are good specimens of their kind from the point of view of their format, printing and photography. To a large extent they deal with their particular problems, with films and film stars. A common feature in some of them is what is styled the "Editor's Mail," being a series of questions and answers on the stars and their lives, which however seldom make edifying reading. Latterly a few of them have taken the lead in discussing political problems, but the way in which they are tackled has just been revealed in the current issue of a leading magazine. In the opening article, under the caption "The Mistake of Motilal Nehru" the Editor conjures up India, as a 'patently bankrupt nation' under a "leader from Cambridge," whose "glamorous life is the grim tragedy of 350 million people over whose destiny he holds supreme sway,"—a nation of 350 millions, he says, is paying for Pandit Motilal Nehru's mistake in sending an impulsive and sensitive mind to Cambridge where it was welded into a Hamletian personality. His remarks on the various governmental measures are best set down in his own words under each head:

The Indian Constitution—A hybrid with words and phrases borrowed from England and America and planted in a nation of sick and starving.

The Elections—Aping of Western democracies: We took over 94 million dumb driven cattle to the fountains of democracy.

Foreign Policy—We follow neutrality, the supreme virtue of the weak and the helpless. We love to remain weak and helpless to enable our Prime Minister to give his words the tone of justice and morality. Our greatest virtue is to be dead and non-violent like the Father of the Nation (May Allah bless him).

Women's rights—While the women in the West are 'economically independent, the Indian woman is still dependent on man for her living. Social and religious restrictions have imprisoned her within the four walls of her husband; a slave to her husband.

Economic Conditions—While the rest of the world including the Communists provide an incentive to work, prosper and progress, the rich are mowed down, the poor pushed down further, the middle classes hanged without ceremony, the salaries are cut down. Our scholars, scientists, teachers, poets, philosophers, writers and administrators live on starvation wages and swallow Nehru's words, morn, noon and night.

Five Year Plan—It took us 5 years to borrow words and ideas from foreign nations and put them on paper. It will probably take a 100 years more to transfer the Plan from the paper to the soil because to do so we require 2000 crores of rupees and we can still talk of the Plan because Cambridge has given us a leader who can talk a million words a day.

The Estates Duty Bill—This robs the dead of its last shroud without leaving for the widow even a rag to swab her tears.....We shall soon have a nation of prostitutes and procuresses, according to the widow's age and looks—for human beings have to live somehow and even mothers have sold their beds to feed their cradles.

Hardly less disgusting is the "Editor's Mail." Incidentally it may be mentioned that this feature in this journal is read with avidity throughout the country and even translated into some vernaculars. The Editor awards substantial cash prizes for the most pacy questions and answers; here are a few prize-winning ones:

Q.—Do you send any presents to our leaders on the eve of their birth anniversaries?

Ans.—I am reserving all my resources for their death anniversaries. The longer these guys live, the more people they will torture and kill.

Q.—I am proud to have shaken hands with you, sir!

Ans.—It is a cleaner hand than Nehru's: it has not the blood of partition in it.

Q.—Is Bombay proud of Morarji Desai?

Ans.—Yes: He will have the largest funeral any man ever had in recent memory.

Q.—What will happen to race horses after 1953?

Ans.—They will live longer than Morarji Desai.

Q.—How is G. L. Mehta qualified to be our ambassador in America?

Ans.—Scholar, economist, and gentleman with a plain homely wife. I do not know how he jumped over the last hurdle when Nehru inspected him.

Q.—What is the Five Year Plan?

Ans.—A design to beg, borrow and steal money and waste it.

Q.—In Madras parts, a woman never tells her husband's name. Can you guess why?

Ans.—Probably she does not want to be pinned to one man.

Q.—What is the most important quality of an actress's husband?

Ans.—He should be born a pimp.

Q.—What does a prostitute find in a temple?

Ans.—God dressed as a pimp to bring more prosperity to her bed.

In a word, "Filmindia" is "Mother India" in journal form. May India be saved from it, and may her sons and daughters wake up and realise the horrors of unchecked and unabashed journalism in the country and stop the calumny of our leaders and institutions forthwith and remove the terrible scourge from the body politic.

'ANDHRA STATE': TOO LITTLE AND TOO LATE

By D. ANJANEYULU

PRIME Minister Nehru's announcement in the House of the People on the formation of an Andhra State has been received with qualified approval and limited enthusiasm by the protagonists of the Andhra State in general. The two main reasons for the lukewarm manner in which it was welcomed by leaders of various shades of public opinion are that it was belated and that it does less than justice to the Andhra demand with special reference to Madras City. It is rather academic and hypothetical now to speculate if it would have saved the life of Mr. Sriramulu and avoided the commotion and upheaval that followed as an immediate reaction among the excited people. But, it is quite certain that feelings would not have run so high if Mr. Sriramulu's fast had not ended in his martyrdom, even if the Government's solution was not quite satisfactory. Further, if the announcement had come earlier, it would not have given scope for some persons to think that Mr. Nehru was forced to take the decision he did to pacify disturbance, and appease agitation.

Non-Andhras, who are eager for linguistic States in their own regions, as well as those who are not, seem to be more jubilant than Andhras themselves over the kind of Andhra State that is envisaged in the Prime Minister's announcement. The Maharashtrians, the Kannadigas and the Malayalees, who are no doubt earnest about their demand, but not so insistent as the Andhras, have hailed the decision on Andhra as the first, and by no means the last, in the linguistic series. Mr. Nehru has, of course, made it abundantly clear that he was, in the present context of national emergency and world crisis, very much against the idea of a complete redistribution of the component units of the Indian Union on a linguistic basis. For, he had specifically mentioned that he had made an exception in the case of Andhra where he had to bow to popular will. A section of the Tamils, which has never been too enthusiastic about an Andhra State, or a Tamil State for that matter, has not been slow to greet the proposal to form an Andhra State containing "(undisputed) Telugu-speaking areas

of the present Madras State but *not including the City of Madras.*" The operative portion for them is obviously "not including the City of Madras." Though the Dhar Commission, or the three-man commission (which submitted the J. V. P. report) or any representative of the Centre had never stated that Madras City should go to Tamil Nad, it is being taken for granted that if it does not form part of the Andhra State, it must necessarily go to Tamil Nad, if and when a Tamil State is formed. That explains the indirect elation at the pleasant prospect of a shrivelled and shrunken Andhra State taking shape under unsympathetic, if not unfriendly, auspices.

Discordance In Defeat

Among Andhras themselves the differences that were eloquently in evidence before the announcement of the India Government's intentions, persist, in almost the same acute form. The Communists must be taken first, for they form the single largest political group among the Andhra legislators. They have shown themselves to be commendably consistent (though consistency is not usually their strong point) by accepting Mr. Nehru's announcement wholly unreservedly and with no mental reservations of any sort. What they wanted was an 'Andhra State' and there is an immediate prospect of their getting it here and now, whatever might happen to minor issues like the City and Rayalaseema. But Mr. Sundarayya has said that "the cherished goal of the Andhras and the objective of the sacrifice of Mr. Potti Sriramulu has now been realised." Even if Mr. Sundarayya is convinced that a truncated and moth-eaten Andhra State is the *cherished goal* of the Andhras, it was definitely not the objective of Mr. Sriramulu's fast. Even a political tyro must know by now that the fast was undertaken for a specific and unambiguous purpose, which was vitally connected with the future of Madras City. It is different if one chooses to say that he does not agree with the aims of the fast, but supports the Andhra State demand in its vague and general sense. But it is nothing but inept equivocation to speak in two voices in the same breath.

The Andhra P. C. C. has not expressed its official reaction to the Prime Minister's proposal, but Mr. N. Sanjiva Reddy has given out his personal view that the Andhra State has become a 'reality' and there is no going back on the issue, though there was bound to be regret over the exclusion of Madras City. He had not omitted to mention that Mr. Nehru continued to be the Congress President, which implies that the Andhra P. C. C. is not likely to do anything that might go against Mr. Nehru's stand or give him displeasure. It must, however, be remembered that it was not very long ago that the Andhra P. C. C. which met in Madras, took strong exception to Mr. Rajagopalachari's opinion on the future of the City and pleaded for the constitution of Madras City into a Part C State like Delhi. Mr. Sanjiva Reddy himself had, in his speeches, prepared the ground for this clarification, but he perhaps thinks that no sacrifice is too big for an "Andhra State." It still remains to be seen what official stand the Andhra P. C. C. would take, though it is unlikely that it would be different from that of the Congress President and the P. C. C. chief.

The extreme section representing some of the permanent residents of the City and some interests in Rayalaseema has remained as uncompromising as ever. Speaking on behalf of the former Mr. Sami Venkatachalam Chetti said in no unambiguous terms that he and those who think with him would have nothing to do with an Andhra State that does not include the City, at least as a joint capital. A new State excluding the city is for him, verily, a body without the head and a shape without form. The Rayalaseema Mahasabha, which has been against an Andhra State that does not respect the terms of the Sri Bagh Pact (according to which the capital or the high court should be located in the Ceded districts and other safeguards ensured for the development of Rayalaseema) has reiterated its stand, as explained by Mr. N. Mrutyunjaya Sastri, that it would rather link its destinies with Madras City than with an Andhra

State, that has nothing to do with the City.

Mr. Prakasam and Mr. Tenneti Viswanadham have launched a campaign to achieve the Andhra State, which will not mean the bartering away of Andhra rights or injustice to the interests of other linguistic groups. They are frankly disappointed at the Prime Minister's announcement. It is no improvement on the position obtained at the time of the Partition Committee two years ago. The hitch arose then itself over the location of the temporary capital of Andhra in the City, the compensation payable to the new State for abandoning all claims to the City and the division of liquid assets as between the two States. When the Tamil members of the Partition Committee refused to budge an inch from their stand, Mr. Prakasam opposed the proposals of the committee and that was the end of the story. It is fair to point out that at that time Mr. Prakasam had nothing personal to lose by accepting the proposals; on the other hand he had the brightest chances for a political career in the new State. All the same he raised his lone voice of opposition. He must have felt that flagrant injustice was being done to Andhra interests and that acceptance of it would be too high a price for the setting up of a new State. History has repeated itself and Mr. Viswanadham has declared that he would not choose to be even an M. L. A. in the new Andhra State, if and when it is formed without the formation of Madras City into a Chief Commissioner's Province and the location of the capital also in it. No Andhra would nor any outsider should, quarrel with this proposal, as it seeks to safeguard Andhra interests in the City and elsewhere, with no detriment to the rights and interests of the other language groups.

The Other Side

Logically speaking, Mr. Viswanadham's stand is unexceptionable. But politics being a conglomeration of convenient, (and inconvenient, at times) compromises, the question arises how his objective can be achieved without cooperation and consent of other linguistic groups,

the Tamils in particular, who form the single largest group in the City. The proposal to constitute the city into a Chief Commissioner's Province with provision for the location of the two capitals in it may be a fair solution of the ticklish problem. But it is a solution that cannot be implemented without the agreement of the Tamils. For, any unilateral decision by the Centre in favour of such a proposal, which is highly unlikely, may be opposed as arbitrary and undemocratic by one group, if not the other. The problem has been rendered less easy of solution by the one-sided attitude taken by the Chief Minister, who has shown little of large-heartedness or sympathetic understanding, at any rate, on this subject. When there is a chance of getting the whole house for oneself, will anyone harbour the idea of claiming it as a joint property with no detriment to the interests of a weaker partner? Moreover, when a section of the Andhras appears to be happily content with half a loaf instead of one, it is but human for most of the Tamils to claim more than a loaf instead of merely one. The unfortunate tendency seems to be in favour of getting the City rid of as many Andhras as possible, which in turn might ease the acute housing problem. The question is asked, when these Andhras resent our interference in their administrative matters, why not they quit the City for good and migrate to the promised land?

Whatever be the psychology of Andhras and Tamils in the present crisis, no smooth or satisfactory solution is possible without mutual consultation and consent. It may be a welcome prospect for the Tamils to have Madras City in the residuary state, or even Tamil Nad for that matter. But, apart from the City losing much of its importance without being a common capital, is it not a perpetuation of discontent to have such a big minority as the Andhras in the City, if it were not to be set up as a separate Part C State? Andhra leaders must make a direct approach to Tamil leaders (as also other leaders) and impress on them the wisdom of a policy of live and let live.

TRIBAL WELFARE AND SOCIAL WORKERS

MY home town of Coimbatore bears the name of the Tribal Chieftain who planned and built it. The growing city is half-way between the Nilgiris and the Palghat gap. You meet the aborigines after a journey of less than two hours. The Kadars, Malasars, Irulars are less known than the Todas. As a social worker during the past four decades, I have had the advantage of occasional contacts with these tribes. I have thought over their problems in the light of what I learnt from competent field workers.

After all, personal acquaintance with eminent educators and investigators is more inspiring and useful than mere library knowledge of their books and pamphlets. Ramananda Chatterji, the talented Editor of the *Modern Review*, began to publish illustrated articles on the Mundas and the Oraons of Chota Nagpur from the pen of Sarat Chandra Roy. When the Thiestic Conference was held at Calcutta in December 1911, I gained valuable contacts. Nilamani Chakravarthi, the founder of the Brahmo Mission, was the first to give me an insight into the complex problems of the Khasis of Assam. In 1915 Prof. P. Geddes came over to Coimbatore and spoke to me about "our contemporary ancestors." It was from this time that Prof. C. F. Andrews made Santiniketan his spiritual home. He endeared himself to the Santhals—those shy people who daily pass through the Poet's abode of peace on their way to the fields and their little cottages. The Pearson memorial wells in Sriniketan tell their own pathetic story. Deenabhandu Andrews, with direct experience of the Himalayan tribes, was the first to focus public attention on the wide-spread system of *Begar* or forced labour.

It was the opportunity of a life time for me to act as a member of the party when C. F. Andrews and Rabindranath Tagore toured South India during the vacations of 1919 and 1922. I observed the poet's method of study and observation. He

was already familiar with the classic book on the Todas by Dr. Rivers of Oxford (Macmillan, London, 1906). He met them at Fern Hill. Many ethnographers from outside India had pursued the study of Toda life. The Poet was distressed to learn about the paucity of indigenous educators and social workers.

The Todas are now fast declining in numbers. The recent plan of rehabilitation is likely to save this picturesque people from extinction. The Veddas of Ceylon are in a similar plight as indicated by C. G. Seligman's book (Cambridge University Press, 1911) and R. L. Spittel's story (*Vanished Trails*, Oxford University Press 1950). It is well known that many other tribes in India and abroad have deteriorated after years of contact with the vices of modern civilisation. So, the educator and the social worker should beware of this crime against humanity and give up the tall talk about "uplift".

The truth is that the city dwellers have to learn some lessons from the Scheduled Tribes of India. Primitive Society is no doubt static and conservative, and not dynamic and progressive. Yet it is easy to list at least three vital factors which are helpful to the social service welfare state.

(1) Tribal life is based on co-operation, as described by Kropotkin in his famous book *Mutual Aid* or *Brotherhood Economics* as worked out by Dr. T. Kagawn. Recently Dr. K. N. Katju, the Home Minister, gave a graphic description of co-operative effort by one of the tribes of Assam. Our Co-operative Commonwealth has to preserve this noble heritage.

(2) The country's food problem is rendered difficult by the greedy people of the plains. It is inspiring to note that the aborigines are free from the hoarding habit. How nice!

(3) The aborigines have a healthy attitude towards sex as described by B. Malinowski, P. Geddes, Edward Carpenter and many others. Modernised people are baffled by

Gandhi's message of continence and self-control. But he spoke from wide experience of men and measures. From 1893, he became familiar with the Bantu Africa. C. F. Andrews and Kaka Kalelkar have given us interesting glimpses of life in Gandhi Asrams of South Africa. One adorable trait of the African women should be remembered with humility. "In some African tribes, women nurse their babies for four years and have no intercourses with their husbands during lactation" (Report of the British National Committee, December 1952, p. 334). This is said to be the case with most simple communities who have recognised methods of controlling population.

There is great need for social thinking. While attending the Sixth International Conference of social work, I listened to the learned men and women who spoke on family planning and population. By mentioning the life work of the late Mr.

K. Natarajan, my esteemed chief, I spoke about the lack of social thinking in our midst. Dr. A. Lakshmanaswamy Mudaliar, who presided over this Group meeting, deplored the lack of social thinking by even university men in India. It is a remarkable confession from such a leader of international reputation. At the same time I venture to draw pointed attention to Nehru's cautious message to the family planning conference recently held at Bombay.

When Gandhi returned to India in 1915, he entrusted the work of social service among the aborigines to Thakkar Bapa. Both of them had to remonstrate against Dr. B. R. Ambedkar's demand to give top priority to the claims of the Scheduled Castes. The position will be clarified by the proposed Commission on backward classes. The need of the hour is to mobilise an army of educators and social workers who can apply the healing touch to the wounds of society.—M. Lakshmanan.



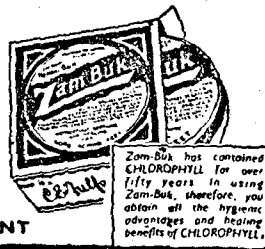
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THE DENIAL OF INITIATIVE

By VICTOR FEATHER

WHEN Britain declared war on Hitler in September, 1939, the Communist Party leaders in Britain agreed that was a proper thing to do. But less than three weeks later they wanted to stop the war. They had forgotten for the moment that Molotov had signed a treaty with Ribbentrop. Molotov is a Russian, and a Communist Party member must believe that what a Soviet bureaucrat does is always right and everyone else is wrong.

In 1941 Hitler attacked the Soviet. And the British Communist Party stopped talking peace. They started telling us what we ought to do to win the war; they shouted for us to start a second front almost before they had joined up with the first front. They didn't want a people's peace now but were all in favour of a war, whether it was a people's war, a women's war, an engineers' war, or even an imperialist war. You see, the Soviet Union had been attacked.

In 1942 they urged us to increase production. Don't strike, they said. It went on like that all the time, just as though every party member was Ilya Ehrenburg himself. And when the war ended in 1945 and production was improving, the Communist Party leaders still called on us to increase production. They said we ought to start production committees in every factory and increase our export trade.

Then suddenly in 1947, just as in 1939 and 1941, they did a somersault. They stopped shouting for increased production and tried to slow down industry.

But while they tried to impede production in Glasgow and Liverpool and Birmingham and London, the Communist parties in Bulgaria, Rumania, Poland, and Hungary still went on asking their workers to produce more. Asking? That is a polite word. They were driving workers there to increase their hours, cut down their piece rates, sacrifice their holidays; everything

and anything to get more production.

In Britain our need was just as great; but the British Communist Party wanted us to slow down. Why? The answer is easy; increased production in the iron curtain countries was for the benefit of the Soviet Union; increased production in Britain and the democracies was to benefit the world and get rid of shortages everywhere.

Communists don't want to get rid of shortages except in the Soviet empire. They always have this different attitude towards the democracies. The British party wants Britain to cut down on her defence programme: but it says nothing about the Soviet Union.

London leaders of the Communist Party say we shouldn't have conscription in Britain; but they say it's all right for the Soviet Union and her satellites. They say Britain should cut down her armament production, but in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Hungary and Rumania, armament production must increase.

The atom bomb is another example of how the Communist Party member, wherever he is, must put the welfare of Russia first. Before the bomb was dropped on Hiroshima, President Truman told Stalin the United States had a new bomb. Stalin did not say 'ban it' but 'drop it quickly.' It was in the Soviet interest for America to use it. So every Communist Party in the world—even Japanese Communists—agreed with the bomb being dropped because the Soviet had said 'yes.'

And before very long British and American atomic scientists were being told by Communist Party members that it was in the interest of the world peace for the Soviet to know how to make the atom bomb. And one or two scientists, thinking they were helping peace, became traitors to their countries.

The Cominform is now sending instruction bulletins from Bucharest

and propaganda from Prague calling for Communist Party action in London and Washington to get the bomb banned. But they send no message to Moscow for the Soviet Government dominates the Soviet Communist Party which in turn dominates the Cominform. The Cominform dominates the Communist Party in every other country, and every Communist Party demands blind and unswerving obedience from every member.

Therefore, every member of the Communist Party in the various countries of the world, whether he understands it or not, is working solely in the interests of the Soviet Government. The only formula he must remember is that Russia is always right and the end justifies the means.

That formula lets the member of the Communist Party sneer at sincerity, despise democracy and leer at loyalty. It is the excuse for twisting the truth and downright lying. It lets the communist cheat his comrades and doublecross his friends; it lets him go back on his pledged word and renounce the obligations he undertakes; it lets him sell his class and his country: the end justifies the means.

It may sound a formidable task to counter communist control but dictatorships are more vulnerable than democracies mainly because they dare not admit their failures and mistakes. People who live under dictatorships and who commit these 'crimes' live very close to the hangman's noose. Because of this, very few people dare use initiative. It is safer for them to carry out instructions and keep mouth and mind closely shut. For it is also dangerous in a dictatorship to have thoughts.

But progress in anything depends on thought, and discussion and debate. Progress demands the disclosure and examination of all the facts, not merely those facts that fit a theory. But in the communist state it is the theory which is important:

and only those 'facts' must be found which suit the theory.

It is this denial of all individual responsibility and thought and initiative that makes the communist states lag behind, in inventive genius and skill. They know they lag behind. That is why they have their new iron curtain to prevent those inside from seeing out.

Where free scientists can freely exchange views and show initiative and independence of mind, discoveries have been made in medicine, agriculture and engineering which annihilate time and space, which speed up production and harness the atom which conquer the diseases that have scourged mankind.

It is in the democracies that the best equipped and most efficient factories can develop, and produce in increasing flow and with the most accurate and scientific instruments, everything the world requires, whether it is tractors or tanks, aircraft or locomotives, ocean liners or battleships, or needles and cotton and sewing machines.

The communist states have their propaganda, but they have no future. The future lies with the democracies who are rapidly harnessing science for the service of all mankind.

Communism may beat down the flame of freedom that burns within a nation, but the embers will still glow. From those embers will spring a flame which will sear through the rubbish and the fungus and reach the free air.

The love of freedom and liberty is in all men; it is the essence of democracy. So long as men breathe, democracy cannot die. And since democracy cannot die, dictatorship cannot last.

(Victor Feather has been assistant secretary of the Trades Union Congress since 1947. He joined the National Union of Distributive and Allied Workers in Bradford when he was fourteen. He joined the T. U. C. staff in 1937 and was secretary of T. U. C. delegations to the Soviet Union in 1943 and to Greece in 1945. He has lectured on trade union topics in Germany, Finland, Norway and Sweden.)

TRUMAN FED UP WITH MACARTHUR

By P. G. KRISHNAYYA

PRESIDENT Truman, after due deliberation, has teed off on Gens. MacArthur and Eisenhower in cold blood. He told his aides that he could just see the editorial writer and columnists deploring him as a bitter old man but he'd had enough of the demagoguery about Korea. Hence the unusual permission accorded television and radio to film and record his news conference on last Thursday. The President wants his remarks played up.

President Truman is particularly fed up with MacArthur. He believes firmly that President-elect Eisenhower's campaign promise to go to Korea was the "just" pure "demagoguery" that he labelled it, but he inclines to the view that Ike, a political novice, was "sold" the idea. Eisenhower also, as Mr. Truman pointed out, has punctiliously obeyed military etiquette in his dealings with the Commander-in-Chief and the Pentagon. Mr. Truman may seem somewhat rough and ready at times but he has a very keen sense of the Presidency, its prestige and powers. When he thinks the Presidency is affronted, he gets mad and stays mad.

MacArthur has been a unto himself, of course, and a rarely challenged one. When the President and Commander-in-Chief landed at Wake Island for the conferences in 1950 MacArthur strolled over to the President's airplane, the Independence, and instead of saluting, held out his hand to Mr. Truman. The President shook hands but that was not the kind of incident he forgets. Since his return to the U. S. MacArthur has continued, though with greatly diminished powers, his potentate role. He receives carefully screened callers; he dispatches emissaries, he shows himself on select occasions to large audiences and to the people. Certainly MacArthur has a hard core of devotees, as anyone who ventures to discuss him analytically, much less critically, can

testify. Whether the great mass of Americans accord him only that interest it lavishes on its favourite actors, sports figures and such public personages, is hard to tell. They clearly did not respond to him as a political leader; his Presidential candidacy was virtually ignored and his choice, Senator Taft, gained no appreciable strength from his backing.

Apart from the conflict of personalities, Mr. Truman made certain factual points against MacArthur. Instead of displaying no interest in his views, as MacArthur claimed, the President travelled 14,000 miles to Wake—at some personal risk, it might be added—to see him. MacArthur, according to Mr. Truman, gave him three pieces of misinformation: That the Chinese Communists would not enter the Korean conflict, that it would be possible to send a division from Korea to Germany for occupation duty, and that the war in Korea was practically over.

Although a five-star general on active duty—again, according to Mr. Truman—MacArthur did not report to the Commander-in-Chief when he returned from the Pacific or that he had any other ideas for the good of the country.

All-White Tenants Again

Peace and the lily-white status quo have finally returned to Cicero, the Chicago suburb where race rioters ran wild for three nights 17 months ago and finally were quelled by National Guardsmen. The three-storey, riot-scarred apartment building where a Negro family was routed and its furniture tossed out and burned has now been completely repaired and reoccupied—by all white tenants.

Now owned by the Polish National Alliance, the once wrecked building has been rented to German, Italian, Greek and Jewish tenants but not a single Negro. Riot damage ran to \$20,000 after a violent mob tore out plumbing, walls, windows and doors

and set the building afire to prevent war veteran Harvey E. Clark from moving into a flat he had rented. Repairs took more than two months.

The Clarks now live on Chicago's South Side at the Rosenwald apartments. Clark when told of reoccupancy of the Cicero building, commented: "If they had only rented an apartment to a Negro, it would have gone a long way in erasing the shame of Cicero." Clark lost all his family belongings valued at \$8,500, but people all over the world sent contributions of \$4,800 to replace the loss. The Clarks are now suing Cicero officials for \$100,000 damages. Four officials were convicted and fined last June in a Federal Court for their role in the Cicero riots. In the November elections, the suburb, which is normally Democratic, voted overwhelmingly against Gov. A. Stevenson for President, because of his role in calling out the National Guard to halt the riots.

Seaweed Food

Hope of some day alleviating the world's critical food shortage through use of *Chlorella*, a microscopic alga of the sea, is held out in the annual report of the Carnegie Institution of Washington.

The report, issued by Dr. Vannevar Bush, president of the private research foundation, covered the year ended last June 30. Dr. Bush stressed that the Carnegie Institution had always devoted its main resources to fundamental research leaving practical applications of its discoveries to industry. But in the case of *Chlorella*, an alga rich in protein, he said the institution is proceeding much further in cooperation with other organisations and industry toward actual production.

While the alga has a great potential as human and animal food in protein-starved countries, like Japan, India, China and Israel, the report emphasized that its actual practical use as human food and even its economical production may be a long way off. Yet the engineer firm of A. D. Little, Inc., was engaged, with the aid of the Carnegie Corporation of New York, and it has already constructed a pilot plant at Cambridge, Mass.

Before this step was taken, an exploratory programme had been

conducted with the aid of the Research Corporation and the Stanford Research Institute. Dr. Bush recalled an important instance where industry ignored an important development of hybrid corn made under the institution's auspices. After a decade it was taken up and it was now estimated that the use of hybrid corn, as compared with the older methods, represented an economic advantage in this country alone of some \$3,000,000,000 a year.

"The question naturally arises whether some action on the part of the institution itself could have shortened that decade of inaction," Dr. Bush said.

"We have the problem before us now in connection with the mass cultivation of algae. From a programme of research on photosynthesis at our Department of Plant Biology, it appeared a few years ago that it was possible to grow the green alga *Chlorella* in such a manner that it would produce 56 per cent dry weight of protein," and this was news of importance in a world where there are great protein-starved populations.

This time the institution proceeded somewhat further than it has on previous occasions; for while it devoted its own energies almost entirely to the fundamental aspect of the subject, it did collaborate with other institutions in exploring practical aspects.

Because the plant is microscopic it looks like a green liquid in experimental production. By "56 per cent dry weight of protein" is meant the finely powdered residue left by dehydration. This compares with the 15 per cent dry weight from alfalfa, and 12 per cent from hay.

A spokesman for the institution said that seaweed and algae were being used as a supplemental diet by Japan, where fish was the chief protein food. He also said the director for a leper colony had been using it experimentally as a food for his patients, while Dr. Victor L. Loosamoff of the United States Fish and Wildlife shell fish station at Milford, Conn., had been eating some oysters made more than ordinarily succulent because he fed them *Chlorella*.

NEED FOR REVISION OF FOOD ZONES

By G. SRINIVASA RAGHAVACHARIAR

HAVING regard to the fact that conditions for production of foodgrains are not the same or similar in all districts and that therefore some districts produce more and some less than what is required, I suggested, in an article published in *Swatantra* of May 10, the division of the State into suitable zones, so that the deficit districts in each zone might, as in normal times, meet their deficit from the next or the nearest surplus districts in that zone. The Government, in adopting the zonal system, made certain changes in the zones proposed, by transferring some districts from one zone to another, and reconstituted the zones as below:

Zone I: Srikakulam, Vizagapatam and East Godavari, with a normal average deficit of 84,293 tons.

Zone II: West Godavari, Krishna, Nellore, Chittoor, North Arcot, Chingleput, and Madras, with a surplus of 5,00,399 tons.

Zone III: Cuddapah, Kurnool, Bellary, Anantapur and Guntur, with a surplus of 2,33,001 tons.

Zone IV: South Arcot, Tanjore, Madurai, Ramanathapuram, Tinnevely, Trichy, Salem and Coimbatore, with a surplus of 66,884 tons.

Zone V: South Canara, with a surplus of 21,336 tons.

Zone VI: Nilgiris and Malabar with a deficit of 2,41,324 tons.

As constituted, the zones require revision with reference to the following defects that have come to light during the course of actual working of the scheme:

East Godavari and West Godavari, which formed one district, was bifurcated some years ago for the purpose of efficient revenue administration. But the exclusion of the latter from Zone No. 1 has caused considerable hardship to the people of that district, who have much landed interest in the former district and been prevented from

bringing, as usual, their foodgrains from East Godavari as will be seen from the frequent complaints appearing in the papers. The transfer of West Godavari from Zone No. II to Zone No. I is, therefore not only desirable but also necessary.

South Arcot District included in Zone No. IV, which is normally a surplus one, has been a customary rice supplier to the upland dry areas of that district and also to adjoining Chingleput, by reason of its having four assured sources of irrigation, Lower Coleroon Anicut system, Shattiatope Anicut system, Thirukoilur Anicut system and Vriddachalam Anicut system, while it made little or no supply to any of the other districts in Zone No. IV. Its proper place is Zone No. II and must be included in that Zone.

The inclusion of Salem and Coimbatore in Zone IV, along with the three deficit districts of Madurai, Ramnad, Tinnevely, has caused a large drain upon the surplus resources of Tanjore by reason of the wealthy merchants of the more highly deficit districts of Salem and Coimbatore having rushed to Tanjore and depleted that district not only of all its available surplus but also more, by offering abnormally high prices which Tanjore landholders readily and freely availed of to the prejudice of the landless population of that district and also of other adjoining deficit districts of Madurai, Ramnad and Tinnevely included in the Zone. The exclusion of Salem and Coimbatore from Zone IV and its transfer to Zone No. II is a matter of urgent necessity.

The inclusion of Krishna in Zone No. II is proper but the other deficit districts included in that zone have not been able to get rice, as freely as they should, on account of the Guntur district included in Zone No. III, intervening Zone II and IV, with the result that the merchants of Madras depleted Nellore of all surplus by offering abnormally high

zone in charge of a Deputy Director of Agriculture, who should, in consultation with the Revenue and Public Works Department officers, find out ways and means of increasing food and other agricultural products in his zone. The Deputy Director of Agriculture should also be made responsible for collection of agricultural statistics instead of the Revenue Department as at present. It must be the duty of the Agricultural Department to see that a buffer stock is maintained in each zone to meet emergencies due to failure of monsoon or other causes. To demonstrate the possible improvements to crops in the area at minimum cost, every zone should maintain a well equipped agricultural farm.

We have enough cultivable lands lying waste, enough idle hands and vast scope for increasing second crop cultivation the extent of which is now only 31.64 per cent of the first crop area. And all that is now necessary is a wise and well-conceived agricultural programme and food production and distribution policy.

The zonal decontrol recently introduced has, in spite of the few defects indicated in this article been effective to some extent in checking the abnormal rise in prices. And there will surely be further improvement in that direction, if the zones are revised and movements from one zone to another, except under a permit, prevented completely. The zonal decontrol, if it is to have the desired effect, must be simultaneously followed by effective control of prices and prevention of hoarding and black-marketing by land-holders and merchants. It is because of failure to do this, the present zonal de-control resulted in pushing up of prices as happened during the previous experiment of complete Food-de-control policy. In this connection I would invite attention to the following extracts from the Congress Pamphlet, entitled 'Our Immediate Programme' published in 1950.

"Some time ago an experiment was made in de-control. But it did not succeed due to the lack of co-operation of industry and trade on the one hand and the spirit of sacri-

fice on the part of the people and the weakness of the Government machinery to deal with anti-social elements of black-marketeers and hoarders. Controls which had been lifted only six months before were to be reimposed and the integration of controls which had been developed in course of time was lost in this haphazard experiment in de-control. Prices shot up every where in India and at some places by almost 100 points with the consequent repercussion on production and the finance of the Government. The changed economic condition and also the loss of morale due to imperfect administration of controls demand a review of the position. While the demand for and the supply of the commodities decontrolled should be precisely examined, no less important is the assessment of the social consciousness against the 'anti-social' elements and the ability of the Government machinery to take drastic action against these elements. If necessary, there may be stock "piling" at strategic points of articles to be decontrolled."

There is yet one other strong reason for control of prices. It is a notorious fact that prices and wages (including salaries) move in a vicious circle. With every increase in price of essential articles, there is agitation for increase of wages or salaries, which, when not complied with, results in strikes and lock-outs and dislocation of business. As it may not be possible to go on increasing wages or salaries with every increase in prices, the only course open is to fix, in consultation with officers in charge of demonstration farms and not with producers or merchants or their organisations, the ceiling prices of the several essential articles with reference to their cost of cultivation with a reasonable profit added to it.

Even if the Andhra State, which is impending, is formed, the zonal system, as at present revised, will have to be continued, though it may require slight modifications and adjustment as between the Andhra and Tamilnad area.

HONG KONG TODAY

By LEWIS GEN

HONG KONG has become a rare place in the Far East, a place in which a large measure of freedom and security can still be enjoyed, especially if one has plenty of money to spend. The Government does not interfere with private life; the currency is comparatively stable; and those who once suffered from the unprecedented inflation in China no longer find their money diminishing every hour.

The phenomenal development of Hong Kong from a fishing village into a trading port of international importance can be attributed to several factors, the chief ones being the expansion of Western capitalism and the political and economic backwardness of China during the last 100 years. Owing to its situation at the mouth of the Pearl River, Hong Kong served the Western traders as a convenient "siphon" to South China, and meanwhile as the first base in their trade with the coastal ports of China, from Swatow to Dairen. The interior of China provided a vast market for the Western goods, and this was further facilitated by the construction of the Canton-Kowloon railway and the long domination of Chinese customs houses by Britain, although there was considerable smuggling between Hong Kong and the mainland and the amount of goods which passed through the customs house was never more than a small fraction of what was actually brought in or out through smuggling.

The succession of revolutions and civil wars in China also made no small contribution to Hong Kong's prosperity. From the downfall of the Manchu Dynasty until the recent collapse of the National Government, who knows how many mandarins and warlords have fled to Hong Kong with their spoils and finally settled down here. Yet, all these become insignificant when compared with the mass influx of wealthy Chinese who were driven here by the Japanese invasion, by the KMT misrule and by the recent spread of Com-

munist. The rapid rising of light industries in Hong Kong was in no small measure owing to the flight of capital from China during the last 15 years or so.

It is now evident that the main factors which contributed to Hong Kong's development are nearly all gone. As a result of the establishment of Communist rule in China, foreign trade in that country is in the hands of the Central Government. What is more, the officials in the new Government, being under constant watch and mutual criticism, are less corruptible and smuggling has been made almost impossible. Hong Kong's situation today is also greatly aggravated. Complete lifting of the embargo would not improve the situation, since China is rapidly becoming more self-sufficient and adjusting her economy with Europe through channels other than through Hong Kong. The strong competition from Japan and the railway service between China and Europe, as well as the increasing traffic of the new air routes between Peking and Moscow, should be also taken into consideration.

These adverse factors do not mean that the end of Hong Kong is at hand, though it is generally agreed that the best days of Hong Kong have definitely gone. In the first place, Hong Kong's trade with South China will be at least partially restored, once the relations between Britain and China are straightened out, especially when the embargo and control is lifted. Secondly, Hong Kong, after all, does not exclusively depend upon China; it is also the entrepot to the countries of the Far East in general, and its extensive banking and insurance activities contribute much both to the prosperity and surviving power of this colony.

The population of Hong Kong, having been under British rule for over 100 years generally, adopts an attitude of indifference towards affairs in China, and most of the newcomers who take refuge in Hong

Kong display a strong dislike for the Communists. This is not surprising, considering that their interests are incompatible with the policy of Communist China. But the people themselves in China never forget that Hong Kong was part of China wrested away by the British as the result of the Opium War, and to them the very fact that a British colony with a purely Chinese population should exist under their very noses is an insult. In their eyes Hong Kong is a colony used by Britain as a military and economic base against China, and the Chinese people living in Hong Kong are mere slaves and "white Chinese."

In spite of this, however, nearly all careful observers agree that Hong Kong will suffer no violence in the foreseeable future in the absence of an international war, unless the colony be made a hostile armed base directly threatening the safety of China. For, it must be realized that, besides the international implications which are sure to result from forcible seizure of Hong Kong, this colony will lose most of its value in the hands of China when it is cut off from the West. On the other hand, China can still make use of this colony in a number of ways, while she can easily keep it from doing her great harm by tightly shutting the door from within.

But when we talk of Hong Kong we are often too apt to talk of its trade, or its importance in world politics or cold war, leaving a population of over two millions entirely out of consideration. The local government, it goes without saying, is purely colonial in nature, headed by a governor appointed from London and responsible to the British Government. To deal with local legislation it has an appointive legislative council which consists of not more than nine official members and not more than eight unofficial members, the latter drawn from among the different national communities. As the administration is largely staffed with the native Chinese under the direction of a small number of British officials, there arise, like in any other colony in the world, a class of men directly or indirectly connected with the Government, who fatten themselves either at the expense of

the Government or by preying upon the people. The Europeans always excuse themselves by saying that corruption is inherent with oriental Government but the Chinese only wonder how far it is so without the connivance of the supervising officials.

The poorer classes in this colony seem to be a mere nuisance to the authorities; and anyone who has observed the way in which the police deal with hawkers and thinks of the misery involved will certainly have doubts about the "paternal" system of government. The trial of *Ta Kung Pao*, a leftist paper published in Hong Kong last May brought to light many things, and one of the results is that it seems to have aroused the conscience of some of those who are in a position to do something about social injustice. When, on the one hand there are people living in fine houses on wooded hills who are carried up in chairs by coolies (the shade and paths of these hills are forbidden to the workmen for rest), and on the other hand, there are workmen who can only afford to hire a bed space—often with their whole families—in a stinking, crowded, dark room, then it is hardly surprising that among the population here the workers of the essential industries particularly, together with a small number of intellectuals, show a growing interest in the social revolution now taking place in China, and a reform movement is in existence to seek by constitutional methods to make Hong Kong a self-governing body. In view of the reported social progress made in China it may be well for the British Government to study its new social legislation and practice. Combine the best achievements there with the progressive measures prevailing now in Britain, and then let the same be incorporated as far as possible in the system of Hong Kong Government. Along with these a thorough inquiry should be also made into the actual working of some of the best local governments in China; and it will be interesting to compare it with Hong Kong, and see which of these is the more honest, more efficient, more democratic, and more beneficial to the people.—Copyright N. N. F.



By V. P. SATHE

THIS was an eventful week. On Tuesday, 23rd December 1952, the film producers met to discuss the problems confronting the industry, which as Shri Vasani said on another occasion, is 'in real trouble.' The main topics that came for discussion in which several producers including Chandulal Shah, Raj Kapoor, S. Mukerjee, Jaimani Dewan Kishore Sahu participated were self-censorship, control over publicity and employment of artistes and restriction on cost of production. There was a general agreement that unity and self-regulation alone can save the industry and a resolution supporting this principle was passed unanimously by over seventy producers who attended the meeting.

But as a producer friend told me afterwards, 'nothing concrete was achieved at the meeting.' For no detailed plan of action was chalked out and voted upon; and it appears doubtful whether the enthusiasm which was evident at this meeting would remain intact when the detailed proposals for self-regulation are formulated. Even at the meeting the producers seemed to hold divergent views on each subject and hence the producers themselves were doubtful if anything would materialize out of this move.

Doubts apart, unless the producers make their organisation strong and their voice effective the Government would not heed to their deputations and demands. No less a person than Shri S. K. Patil, Chairman of the Film Enquiry Committee, gave this warning two days later at a tea party given by Shri Tarachand Barjatya in honour of Shri Vasani.

Those who went to this tea party expecting it to be just another social event interspersed with boring flattering speeches must have been surprised at the brilliant and significant speeches delivered on the occasion. In fact this tea party became an important event, thanks to the importance of the speeches. Shri Tarachand set the ball rolling by drawing the attention of the gathering to the present depression and crisis in the film industry and called upon Shri Vasani to give his views on the subject.

In a forceful and vigorous speech Shri Vasani put up his case against the Government and proved beyond doubt that the present heavy taxation was mainly responsible for the plight of film producers. He quoted facts and figures about the most successful picture ever produced, *Chandralakha*, for which the public paid Rs. 4 crores. Out of this nearly Rs. 1-1/2 crores went to Government as entertainment tax, Rs. 1-1/4 crores was exhibitors' share, Rs. 25 lakhs was distributors' share. So only Rs. 1 crore was left to the producer. Out of this Rs. 40 lakhs was the cost of the picture, Rs. 17 lakhs cost of publicity and Rs. 10 lakhs cost of prints and Rs. 33 lakhs was the profit. Out of this profit the Government took Rs. 28 lakhs as income tax; so ultimately Shri Vasani got only Rs. 5 lakhs as profit while the Government got Rs. 1 crore and 78 lakhs.

And the tax was recovered even before Shri Vasani got his returns. He said that this heavy taxation was the main cause why 90 per cent of the producers went out of business.

He described entertainment tax as tax on capital and investment and as such 'illegal.' He pointed out that inspite of the clear recommendation of the Enquiry Committee the State Governments were not prepared to reduce the tax, while the Central Government could not force the State Governments to implement the Enquiry Committee's recommendation.

In a spirited manner he said that the film was the most honest business and the film performed a social function by providing amusement to millions of people and thus kept them away from doing mischief. He warned those who decried films and were indifferent to them that if the cinemas were to be closed for three months, there will be chaos and confusion in the country. With all earnestness he pleaded that the time had come to enlighten the so-called enlightened people. In the end he asked the film people to get together and find a way out of this crisis.

At his request, Shri S. K. Patil rose to speak. In a humorous manner he revealed how the motion picture was treated like an unwanted child by the Government; and it was attached to a Ministry which had no representation in the Cabinet. He concurred with the criticism of Shri Vasan and wondered why the Central Government did not compel the State Government to reduce the tax. While the State Governments acted as tax-collector, the duty of censoring was taken by the Central Government. The Government, he said, only told the industry "Don't do this, and don't do that." According to him the Government stood to gain more by reducing the tax.

Shri Patil advised the producers that if they wanted to achieve their objective they should try 'fear' and not 'love' tactics. The industry, he said, must have a strong organisation; only then the producers could make an impression upon the Government and compel it to hear their voice.

How one wishes that some of our Ministers were present to hear these speeches. Perhaps they might have changed their attitude to films. One thing, however, seems to be certain:

that strong organisation, discipline and unity would alone enable the film industry to fight the crisis on all fronts.

Picture Of The Week

Vasan's fifth Hindi picture *Mr. Sampat* marks a definite change in the trend of our pictures. Vasan who has always championed the cause of pure escapist entertainment and produced perhaps the greatest 'escapist' entertainer, has offered in *Mr. Sampat* a purposeful picture, a social and political satire on contemporary conditions of the country.

Not only that, the picture breaks away from the tradition of the usual story twists, suspense and sob stuff without which no Indian picture can be made. In fact, it has no story. It has merely a character, Mr. Sampat, and a very thin plot to illustrate his character and gives an opportunity for delineation of other characters like gheewala, a typical capitalist and Miss Malini, the stage star. All the three characterizations are equally interesting. Mr. Sampat is the gay man about town, a happy-go-lucky rogue who thinks he knows all the tricks of the trade and almost succeeds in his every design. Almost because in the end he always finds himself in an embarrassing position and walks out of it by saying 'Sorry, I have an important engagement.'

And though the picture is 11,000 feet long, the audience never meets Mr. Sampat alone and knows the real truth about him. Was he a villain who cheated others—who cheated Miss Malini and Makhanlal Gheewala and Restaurant-keeper for his selfish gain? Or was he a lovable character—for after all even after cheating everyone he is going in the end again in a train dressed as a *Sanyasi* without ticket? Puzzling, well Mr. Sampat remains a puzzle till the end.

Miss Malini, on the contrary, is no puzzle. She loves her work and her director who believes that the plays should have bearing on contemporary life. It is Mr. Sampat who exploits her ego for his own sake, estranges her relations with the director and forms a stage company for her and leaving her in the end to face the creditors. A simple, good

character, her portrayal gives an inkling of the star problem and how firmly it must be dealt. The director's slogan that if the show is good, people come with or without Miss Malini should be noted by all film producers.

Makhanlal Gheewala sells 'Shudh' (pure) ghee which is anything but pure. He falls in the hands of Mr. Sampat when after trying to be a Mahasabhaite and Congress candidate he stands for Municipal election as an Independent. He wins the election and forms a bank which gives 20 per cent interest. The bank ultimately goes into liquidation and Gheewala finds himself on streets selling 'Pani-puri.'

In these three roles Motilal, Padmini and Kanhayalal acquit themselves creditably. Padmini is however too plump for her role, though she does her dance-numbers exquisitely. Agha is the restaurant keeper who worships Miss Malini while Swaraj is the ideal director.

This satire is embellished with several lavish song and dance numbers and most of them are keeping in with the spirit of the picture. The song and dance number, "*Jaga Nahi Khali*" (No Room) is a biting satire on overcrowding. But the best piece of satire is that which exposes the insincerity of Congress M.L.A., Communist, religious leader and artist who show great concern for the poor in their speeches but who lack the ordinary human character of helping a poor man. Ultimately it is a common Rikshawala who comes to the rescue of the dying poor man.

Unfortunately, most of the highlights of the picture are incorporated in the first half and had the picture ended with the interval it would have been a great piece of work. But there is a second half dragging in parts and stale in others. The satire loses its sting and the dance numbers fall back to old traditions while the novelty of the character wears off.

If for nothing else "Mr. Sampat" will be remembered as the first post-freedom Indian motion picture which offers some scathing comments on the present administra-

tion and focuses our attention on contemporary problem in a light and entertaining manner. I, for one, wish it every success since it would start a new trend of purposeful satires on our screen.

Star Of The Week

For the second time I have chosen Ranjan as the star of the week because of the interesting talk I had with him last week. I met him on the sets of G. R. Productions' *Shahenshahi* which is being made in Gavacolor in English and Hindi. Once again I felt that he does not look like an actor at all; he struck me as a refined, mild-mannered person who would have been more at home perhaps in the sphere of education. And he himself later revealed that had he got the lectureship for which he had applied, he would never have become a film star. He lost the opportunity because he is a Brahmin. In his talk he also divulged how this Brahmin Non-Brahmin issue pervades the whole atmosphere of South and how he feels as if he is a refugee who has found home in Bombay.

Since he had established himself in Bombay, Ranjan has forgotten even Telugu. He finds it more easier to speak Hindustani which he picked up only after coming to Bombay. He is busy now working in films but he would like to go abroad especially to South America. Incidentally, Ranjan was impersonal and dispassionate in his talk and like a true gentleman never got heated up. Seeing him in life, it was always difficult to imagine him as a ferocious expert fighter. And yet that is what he exactly looks like on the screen.

News Of The Week

—The distribution rights of De Sica's "Shoe Shine", the picture that brought him into limelight, have been secured by Krishnamohan Gupta of India Film Exchange.

—Premnath has been signed by Neeldhara Films to play the role of Chandrashekhar Azad in their maiden picture "Bhagat Singh" written by Inder Raj Anand and directed by Vishram Bedekar. Shami Kapoor will play the title role.

—Ranjit has launched a picture entitled *Dhobi Doctor*. It will be directed by Phani Majumdar.

GERMAN AND JAPANESE COMPETITION IN INDIA

BRITAIN FEELS THE PINCH

INTERESTING particulars of the threat to British trade in India from the double barrier of import restrictions and tariffs are disclosed in a survey from New Delhi published by *The Times*. The report says:

More and more it is becoming apparent that to retain their place in the Indian market for consumer goods British manufacturers will have to consider coming into India to manufacture their products, in association with Indian capital and using Indian employees up to the top levels. Many British manufacturers have done so already—one estimate is that something like £7m. or £8m. of British investment has come into India in this way since India became independent in 1947, and among the products of this Indo-British origin now being sold in India are cars, bicycles, telephones, dyes, chemicals, and textile machinery. More firms will probably follow this trend, which, stimulated by India's own lack of capital, the Indian Government has on the whole encouraged.

While, however, the market for consumer goods supplied from outside India is, in many commodities, declining, the reverse is true of the capital goods market, both in India and Pakistan. The determination of both countries to industrialize as rapidly as their own resources (and any foreign help they can get) will permit offers a big market for capital goods for many decades to come.

German Initiative

This obvious fact has not escaped the Japanese or the Germans in their search for trade outlets to replace the lost possibilities in China and eastern Europe. In India it is the Germans who, so far, have moved with the greater speed, initiative, and imagination. While the Japanese have announced their intention of setting up permanent trade missions at Calcutta and Bombay, and a series of goodwill missions have

visited India and talked expansively of "Asian trade cooperation," it is the Germans who have already secured several important contracts and who are aggressively pursuing others.

Proposals from the Japanese to participate in the expansion of the Indian steel industry are under discussion, and other projects have been spoken of, but up to the present no major developments have matured. Furthermore, some injudicious Japanese statements have implied that Japan sees India primarily as a supplier of raw materials and the outlet for Japanese industrial goods. This is not at all the part which industrially ambitious Indians visualize for themselves when "Asian trade cooperation" is mentioned. Combined with certain unlucky experiences with Japanese goods it has led to comparatively little progress yet by Japan in the Indian capital goods market.

Some textile machinery has already been bought, however, and more purchases are probable; and there are the inevitable tales of cheap Japanese copies of British and American consumer goods, such as the sewing-machine which is an exact reproduction (even down to the book of instructions) yet sells at only a fraction of the price. In Pakistan, which is even more backward industrially than India (and correspondingly determined to reduce the gap), the Japanese have had more success, and in addition to consumer goods are already supplying locomotives, railway rolling stock, and equipment.

In India a recent German effort to secure a contract for communications equipment provides a good illustration of the sales enterprise German firms are practising here. On hearing that an order for new teleprinters was impending, a German firm immediately sent out four teleprinters by air, accompanied by tech-

nicians to instal and demonstrate them to Government officials, and offered to make these machines available immediately and to fill the balance of the requirements within a much shorter period than any British firm is prepared to offer. No matter how accustomed Indian officials and private buyers may be to British equipment and standards, it is hardly to be supposed they will ignore opportunities of this kind for on-the-spot inspection of what they are buying. When, as is often the case, these are accompanied by the promise of early deliveries, highly competitive prices, an extended period of payment, an eagerness to adapt the equipment to particular Indian conditions, and the loan of technicians for say, six months or a year before a decision is required, it is unreasonable to expect any Indian buyer to give preference to British manufacturers. British firms often only offer longterm deliveries, insist upon escape clauses in their quoted prices, have few technicians to spare to accompany their equipment, and show little enthusiasm to sell.

New Port

It is clear that the next year or two will bring several major outlets in India for capital goods. Among them are the new port being constructed on the west coast (to replace Karachi) for which the cranes alone are likely to cost £1,500,000; probable major re-equipment in the Government communications network and, after Indian airlines have been nationalized, replacement of the many Dakota aircraft which carry the bulk of India's internal traffic.

The re-emergence of Germany and Japan as industrial competitors, with a surplus of industrial goods and technicians, coincides with the inclination of the Indian and Pakistan Governments to diversify their sources of supply of capital goods for political and strategic reasons; and it has come at a time when Britain has been unable to supply promptly, because of her own defence needs, all the capital goods that could be sold. The question for British manufacturers with temporarily full order books is whether, in the face of German and Japanese enterprise, their stock reply to unfavour-

able comparisons—"We are doing our best, but we have defence commitments, you know—is really adequate. And the question for the British Government is whether, in exercising their influence on manufacturers to sell in this particular market or in that such capital goods as they have available, they are according adequate priority to the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent.

This is not because India and Pakistan have sentimental claims as Commonwealth countries, nor because of any possible political benefits to be hoped for—in their present mood neither the Indian nor the Pakistan Government is likely to be swayed at all by considerations of Commonwealth sentiment or commercial favours. On a long-term view, for a country which will have to live more and more on its ability to produce and export capital goods and technical capacity, these two undeveloped yet industrially ambitious countries offer potentially the biggest single non-Communist market during the second half of the century.



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SITA KALYAN—THE GLORY OF AGRICULTURE

By Doctor E. ANANTACHARYA

SITA Kalyan is the culture of agriculture. It is the glorious advance of the husbandman, developed and upheld by the Central State in the heart of ancient Ayodhya.

In order to realise the full significance of our Puranic stories, they are to be looked upon not as mere accounts of events in the lives of heroic persons, but also as symbols for great cultural aspects fit to be ideals for all peoples. Viewed thus, the marriage of Sita and Rama reveals the value of agriculture as understood by Janaka, the father or the Head of the State, who offered the idea to an Emperor's son for wider application and for greater benefit.

Ramayana, the descent of Rama, is pregnant with significances and is not simply a chronicle of a dynasty of kings and events in their lives. The names of persons and scenes have significances beyond the lives of individual characters and the circumstances of the story. It is not easy to change the names of the characters, if we are to retain the value of the story as a revealer of its cultural basis. From this point of view, it is neither the story nor any character that is of utmost interest, but it is the cultural background and its value, peeping from behind throughout the ages. Once we change the names, the significances vanish, for the etymology of the words is the concrete form symbolising great ideals humanised into the lives of historic persons for easy grasp and sympathetic understanding through intense feelings and emotions. Ramayana is, therefore, inimitable.

Sita's marriage with Rama marks the recognition of the value of agriculture as a means of food, wealth and progress. It also marks the determination of a sovereign State to promote the bliss of peace with plenty and success. The word "Sita" means the furrow and the name is

given to princess Sita as the personification of agricultural wealth with beauty of form, the off-spring of the furrow, made on earth with the penetrating plough.

When Janaka was tilling land, he visualised before his mind the beauty of fields under cultivation. The earth appeared to him as presenting Sita, the human manifestation of vegetative creation and its permanent sustaining value. As Sita was reared, the country's food, wealth and prosperity also grew correspondingly. She grew into an attractive maid under the care of Father Janaka and the land also grew more fertile, capable of yielding more. In time, Janaka thought of wedding the principle of growth to creative power which would increase the possibilities of progress. News was therefore proclaimed of the Swayamvara of Sita for a mighty prince by offering her as the prize of power or "Veerasulka."

Siva's bow was also found by Janaka in his home and it served to test the might of the suitor for Sita's hand. Rama just then proved his merit by protecting Viswamitra's Yaga. The sage brought Rama from Dasaratha after disclosing to him the truth that Rama was the Divine One come to the earth like the Blue Cloud to give kind showers and to make creation realise its divine nature and infuse the strength of divine consciousness into life. As a seer, Viswamitra knew it and brought Rama for the protection of his Yagna. After its completion, Viswamitra took Rama to Janaka's capital and on the way, Rama revealed his inherent divine nature by converting a rocky tract into a soft scene for vegetation. When he set foot on barren rocky earth, it changed into the beauty of growing crop and the earth then looked into an adorned woman. The untilled waste became a cheerful field of waving crop, the manifestation of pregnant Vasundhara. Ahalya, the unculti-

vable, got over the bane of her cursed state of barrenness and became cultivable Halya, a beautiful sterile woman, fertilised for vegetation with proper husbandry.

Viswamitra saw the significance of this change of the earth by the showering touch of Rama, which corresponded to the touch of the earth with Janaka's plough. He had also heard of the news of Sita, and knew the meaning of the symbol. His name was Viswamitra, the friend of all creation, serving all as the Fire of Life. He visualised the possibilities of progress and wealth by yoking together Rama and Sita, the Cloud and the Furrow, who have inborn potentialities of creation and growth for metamorphosing the sterile earth into concrete creation. By bringing Rama and Sita under the union of a marriage yoke, he would be yoking the offspring of Mother Earth with Rama, the descended shower of rays from the cloud, the off-spring of the life-giving sun, the divine son of Father Heaven, come to serve the children of the earth with illumination and uplift in every way.

Viswamitra, therefore, took Rama to Janaka who found him fit for the hand of his potent Sita, and he joyfully expressed that his daughter would add fame to the family of Janakas by her union with Rama.

The showering arrows of the Blue Cloud broke the frowning bow of the roaring sky and reached the earth. The rainbow of Indra shone forth exhibiting the glory of Vishnu. When Rama broke the bow of Siva with his mighty hand, steady look and centred mind, the bowlike and watchful brow of Sita snapped and she opened her mind. She yielded before the might of the piercing look of Rama. Her soul enlarged itself and embraced the soul of Rama, and the wedding was a consummate union.

That union produced a new determination in Rama and Sita to convert dreary deserts and rocky tracts into the full bloom of growing crops before they assumed their rule over the Empire. Mandhara served as the churning rod to bring out the essential nectar from the wide oceanic hearts of the divine pair for the

benefit of the table land also. The wanderings of Rama served as Theertha Yatra, before he was anointed and the empire also wedded to him. The wanderings gave the royal pair opportunities for furthering the progress of their mission in life. Wherever they camped, clearings were made in forests and ashrams or settlements were set up as the centres of culture through agriculture and its symbols, providing also protection against beasts and plunderers, beastly men or demons. When opposition came from the demon king, Sita managed to get into his hold, only to bring about his complete ruin and the emancipation of peaceful husbandry, the symbol of the culture of the householder.

Their reunion in Lanka was the seal of true love which could stand the test of time and adversity instead of being a mere romance of youth and marriage. On their return journey to Ayodhya, in a plane, they reviewed their work with well deserved exultation as they passed over familiar regions. Finally they were eagerly awaited with their added glory to occupy the throne of Ayodhya and be wedded to Rajya.

Sita and Rama represent the powers of the Earth and Heaven, Prithvi and Dyau of Vedas to work out food for all creatures with vegetation and cultivation and are the original parents of agriculture and farming. Thus, the life of the farmer and farm is also signified in the ideal of Kshetra and Kshetragna. The life of the peasant and his family has its origin in the concepts of Dyau and Prithvi of Rigveda Suktas, and is elevated and glorified in the characters of Sita and Rama as well as of Janaka to ennoble peasant life and to encourage the life of the common farmer, his dependents, cattle, children and wife, operating in family as the foundation of society and symbol of unity and governing.

For a season, Sita enjoyed the company and union with Rama, the delightful creator, and when the holy woman was big with the drop of his creative spark, there was wonder that even the holy mother had to go through the stages of conception without remaining a mystic virgin and that even Divine Creation

was not the magic of will or wish of a second. When rumour was wild and speculation mad, as to what kind she was rearing within and would soon give birth to, the Blue Cloud of the sky gradually turned pale, thin, rare and finally disappeared and Sita was left alone exposed to the sun and wind of the forests. The whole earth passed into the gentle mists of the moon, the Gowthama. There in the forest, in the midst of wild growth and ripe rumour, in the home of serpents and anthills of the hermitage of Valmiki, Sita, the forsaken and exposed child of the earth gave birth to the holy twins, the long and short crops of Kusa and Lava, developing later into the rich variety of Truna crop and grain, to supply food and fodder for man and animal as Havis. The seer and bard composed the glory of Sita and Rama, of Agriculture and Rain, and the twins sang of it perpetually in all places. In the midst of her glory Sita entered the earth, and the Furrow was obliterated and became even, with the earth, ever to come to life at the approach of the Blue Cloud for the Yagna of Adhana.

The historicity of Sita and Rama is not in the least denied by these idealisations. The great Sita and Rama are not only real historical figures, but also something more. They understand the basis of all life, as the creative work of the Earth and Heaven, of Bhū and Swar, the mystic origin and the ultimate glow of the Vyshvruithies. Though Sita and Rama lived their physical lives like all other persons of history, they touched the bounds of existence all around with their extended souls, and experienced the joy of earth and Sky, the first parents of all. Though living in slender frames, they touched the centre and circumference of existence through their souls, thoughts and even acts like all great men of all ages. Therefore, the yoke is significant of Raja Yoga also, i.e., the wedding of the head of the State with the wealth of the Empire. The yoke is at once the symbol of teaming cattle, of union in marriage, of the peasant and his wife, of the Emperor and the Empire, of Kshetra and Kshetragna, and of the Earth and Hea-

ven. The Yuga and the Dhura crossed in union had been held on the banner of Aryan Kings like Janaka and his brother, known as Seer-Dhwaja and Kusa Dhwaja.

The story of Ahalya is the progress of the Earth through the two sets of seasons, of Uttarayana and Dakshinayana. She becomes Halya with the coming of the Blue Cloud, and with her pregnant crop she passes into the care of Gowthama, the winter moon. She becomes an Ahalya after harvest and hardens under the influence of the summer Sun, the Indra of the sky with his thousands of eye-opening rays. Sita comes into being with the use of the Seera, the plough, and is wedded to the showering cloud which later leaves her to wild, cold winds. She finally begets Kusa and Lava, the long and short crops of rice, and she enters the earth and is made even with the earth like the furrow marks on earth, after harvest. Yagna is the round of the year as well as the round of men's life both represented by the constitution of Yagna Purusha, the First Born Person.

The whole of Ramayana is thus symbolic of life and creation, representative of the family life of a house-holder, the peasant's family as the basis of society and as a source of creation, of working, food, wealth, plenty, progress, protection and the means of achieving endless continuity through ages in creation, by Adhana or sowing the Divine Fire as the seed of Life and Progress.

Religion is the culture of life and cultured living. Religion is not merely a faith in forms, not the piety of getting away from world and life into forests, neither inviting nor discarding pleasure and pain, nor even dreaming with half-closed eyes. Real religion accepts the realities of life and its forms around us, irrespective of race, rank or sex. True religion in practice accepts the world and life and works out the fulfilment of God's life on Earth, experiencing pleasures and pains alike willingly as an ordinary peasant, without pride or fear, and enjoying the consciousness of the Earth and Heaven, the original parents of all creation, even in the day to day activities and experience. Religion is not an escape from life,

or a way of thinking, but a whole hearted practical plunge into the life of the world and working out of each life as a partaking of the vast eternal life which works endlessly through generations and regenerations of ages, of sowing and reaping of sowing Savitri, the creative force and reaping the immortal nectar or Rasa as the food of life, each life handing out its work to the next and all working out the ultimate life even through the immediate present. This, in essence, is the culture of agriculture of the Aryans as symbolic of the Culture of Life, of the plough and the field, the Seera and the Seetha, of the peasant and his wife managing their field and home, as the King and Queen in their realm, all standing by the union of the yoke and plough pole in cross, singing out the music of agriculture in Dhur-Gana as the moon helps the crop to ripen slowly in time.

For effectively impressing the culture of agriculture on men, it was formerly shown at work in literature in the lives of the Puranic hero and heroine. But the quickest way of impressing the ideal on all men is the method of the modern screen. It is not enough to show or see old stories and characters on the screen. The stories and heroes can also be used again to cast a hallowed glow on the cultural basis by weaving an aura as a mystic background for old events out of the older culture of Yagnas selected from Brahmanas like the Satapatha. Then only can the basic ideals and ideas of culture also be made to dawn on the minds of men with the aid of the movie and the talkie. That would be a great national service at present when the leaders of our Central Government are interested in infusing the ideals of the village and field for the proper feeding of the Nation.

CRUEL ERRORS OF BIRTH HEALED BY SCIENCE

THE great drama behind the story of the Brodie Siamese twins is science's growing success in correcting nature's mistakes.

Nature always has been making occasional cruel errors in fashioning new human beings. Numerous things can go wrong in the pre-birth development of a child, resulting in various conditions. Siamese twins are one rare result. There are other bizarre kinds of accidents, even two-headed children or other malformations. Extremely rare events of that kind doubtless gave rise to the legends of centaurs—part man, part beast—and cyclops with one huge eye.

Until lately, medical science was virtually helpless in attempting to correct or prevent these or other more common errors and faults of nature. But now science is starting to succeed. The thrilling example this week was the separation of the Brodies twins, Rodney Dee and Roger Lee joined at the tops of their heads. This kind of separation had never succeeded before with either

twin surviving any appreciable time.

The fact is that until recent years it could not be attempted with much real prospect of success. Unavailable were blood banks, potent drugs, better anaesthetics and other aids, and advanced knowledge permitting such hazardous surgery.

This surgery was a necessary gamble at high odds for survival of both babies at anything resembling normal life. But science and surgery are winning dramatic successes now in correcting other kinds of defects and faults by nature. Heart surgery, for example, is saving children born with defective hearts. Club feet, malformed chests and other conditions are being corrected every day. More is being learned about how to prevent some of the malformations that can occur in human babies, while still in the mother's womb. German measles, a virus disease, has been discovered to be one culprit, and mother-to-be can be forewarned to avoid this disease. For if a pregnant woman gets German measles early in pregnancy, the virus

ducing cataracts, heart defects, etc. The risks of X-Rays, disease agents and faulty nutrition are becoming understood. Experimental science is studying embryos of tadpoles, chickens, fish and other life to learn how, why, and when abnormalities are produced in the developing young. Out of this will come more preventive methods to assure normal, healthy infants.

As yet there are no ways to prevent the formation of Siamese twins. The cause of Siamese twins was long thought to be a collision within the mother's womb of twin embryos very early in life. The twins were thought to fuse, to remain joined by parts of their bodies.

Now it is known that Siamese twins come from one ovum or egg of the mother, which divides at a very early stage. Normally, these two tiny clusters of cells would go on to become identical twins. But due to some delay or error, the cluster of cells does not divide completely. They remain in contact as the infants develop and the twins are born joined by the back, abdomen, chest or head. Where and how they are joined determines whether there is any chance of separating them and saving both infants. If the bridge of tissue is small, and no vital organs are shared or affected, the separation can be done with excellent chances—with the twin girls, connected at the chest by a thin band of tissue, born in Cleveland a week ago, for instance.

The most common type of Siamese twins is known as the pygopagus, joined back to back, at the lower end of the spine. Common also are the omphalopagus, connected through the abdominal wall. A recent text-book on obstetrics cites only 3 authentic cases in which twins of this type were separated, with only one of the twins being saved each time.

A Kentucky mother seven years ago disclosed that her son, then 14, had been born a Siamese twin. He was severed from his brother at three months, when it became apparent his twin was going to die. The

junction at the head is rare, and until the Brodie operation, had always been impossible of separation. In a Greenwood, Miss., hospital right now are Siamese twins similarly joined head to head. Whether there is any prospect of separating them has not been announced. They are four months old. Siamese twins may be born dead, live only a short time, or live to adulthood or even old age. They always are of the same sex.

Most famous probably were the first known Siamese twins, Chang and Eng, born in Siam in 1811. Their father was a Chinese fisherman, their mother part Chinese, part Siamese. Siamese people called the twins the Chinese Twins. The King of Siam is reported to have favoured putting them to death, in the belief that conjoined twins were a bad luck omen.

Chang and Eng were joined at the breastbone by a band of tissue with blood vessels connecting their livers. Severance was impossible. But they could run, play, swim, and live fairly normal lives. Brought to Europe and the U. S. they became world-famous and Siamese Twins became the popular name for all such twins. The efficient P. T. Barnum had a hand in promoting their fame. Chang and Eng settled in North Carolina, married sisters, and reared large families. They had separate homes, living in one for a few days, and then going over to the other. They died in 1874, Chang succumbing to a chest ailment and Eng perishing soon afterwards before a doctor could arrive to attempt to cut them apart.

Some day, if transplantation of human organs becomes possible, separation of Siamese twins who share some vital organs may become possible.

Meanwhile, science and surgery are progressing in trying to prevent or overcome the more common types of defects. One of these tragic kinds is cerebral palsy. Many children with cerebral palsy are victims of some event or other which caused damage to the brain before birth. Through present research, there are brightening chances of forestalling or overcoming this type of mistake by nature.

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.

Birth Of The Andhra State

The Prime Minister's outright declaration for the immediate formation of the Andhra State must be received with acclaim. An honourable judge comes to examine the implications of the partition and report his findings within a month to facilitate expeditious formation of the State. It is hoped that the State may take its shape by the 1st of April next. It is now during this short interval that the best qualities of constructive statesmanship on the part of the Andhra leaders are in demand.

One feels highly gratified to note that all the parties in Andhra have in unmistakable terms welcomed the move. The Andhra Pradesh Congress Committee has readily toed the line with the Prime Minister's line of action. The Communists have welcomed it unreservedly. Krishikar Lok and Andhra Maha Sabha are happy about it. Swami Sitararam receives it in good cheer. Even the leader of the Socialist party by himself has welcomed the move. The only hesitant group seems to be the Praja-Socialist Group. It is my fervent appeal to that Group and its leader, Sri Prakasam, to immediately fall in line with the rest and make their invaluable contribution towards the formation of one of the finest States in the Republic of India. The prospect of the immediate formation of the long cherished Andhra State should be an incentive for the closing up of the ranks and the return of the dissidents into the fold of mother Congress. A unified effort now to shape a sound and stable State will go down in history to the credit of present Andhra leadership.

As for the City of Madras, we have to lose the City which we, along with others, helped to build, but we accept the inevitable by treading the path of the realist bereft of sentiment. To gain the larger objective we must sacrifice some advantage. But we lose the City in lieu of an adequate compensation that must be fixed. I have full faith that sooner than later proper justice will be done to the City which will be shared not only by Andhras but in equal measure by our Tamil brethren and others, as fellow citizens of a Commissioner's State. Whatever may be the terms of reference, the question of the City cannot escape the attention of a judicial mind which goes into the implications of the separation with the shadow of the Dhar Commission hanging over the issue.

As it is, Judge Wanchoo has his terms of reference which, it is believed, are very broad. Consistent with the heavy involvements in the formation of a new State, we have necessarily to economise in every direction without, at the same time, sacrificing fundamental needs. It would all require careful thinking and skilful handling, and our immediate effort must be to offer our co-operation in this direction. It would be a great gain if all the leaders can meet together and rally the available experts and, by a co-operative effort, evolve a combined comprehensive memorandum to be presented from the Andhra side to Judge Wanchoo.

We may share a common Governor with Residuary Madras not only to save considerable expenditure but to keep, at the gracious top level, a common link with the brethren from whom we are parting.

Handicapped as we are for want of a City anywhere in the Andhra area immediately to accommodate the legislature and administrative offices of the new State, it will be fair and reasonable that the Andhra State should be allowed to function for the time being for a limited period from the City of Madras as its Capital, adequate allocation of buildings and premises being made for the purpose. This temporary provision for a short period before the final parting will be conducive to neighbourly goodwill and mutual understanding between Andhras and Tamils.

Consistent with the dignity and stature of the new State to be formed and its future potentialities and in view of the far too fast a democratic upsurge in Andhra it is absolutely necessary to have a full-fledged bicameral structure for the Andhra State, the Upper House providing the element of elderliness and ripeness of experience and the scope to bring in the best talent in the land to constitute the necessary leverage for check and correction, advice and guidance. The idea of a general re-election now for a fresh legislature is wholly unwarranted by circumstances. Such a thing would be sheer waste of public and private money. We should carry on for the next few years with the existing members of the legislative bodies as apportioned between the respective divisions of Andhra and Residuary Madras.

Adequate compensation for the ultimate loss of the amenities of the City of Madras and necessary Central grants have got to be provided to enable the

development of a suitable Capital for the new State in due course.

The revenues of Andhra State, as now formed, including the share of subventions from the Centre, will be round about Rs. 20 crores. To make the revenues sufficiently high to help the healthy and rapid development of the State, prohibition may at once have to be scrapped in the new State which will immediately add about 8 crores to the revenues and render the State perfectly solvent and sound.

Despite the misgivings of the faint-hearted, the Andhra State, I am sure, will be an undoubted success and is destined at no distant future to develop into one of the biggest and most prosperous States in the Indian Republic.

The tide of the natural political forces that must ere long fashion the linguistic States, will lead to the early disintegration of Hyderabad State into its three linguistic sectors, Andhra getting for its share eight districts of Telangana, half the State of Hyderabad, adding 46,000 square miles of territory and a crore of population. With the additions from Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Mysore and Madras that will accrue for the ultimate making of Visalandhra as a result of the final rectification of boundaries that will happen, the State of Visalandhra that is destined will be the largest State in area in India with an extent of 135,000 square miles divided into 25 districts. Its population will be three and a half crores and its revenue about Rs. 50 crores. The State can have its magnificent Capital in the City of Hyderabad, and this modern Andhra Desa will have recovered her lost soul by recapturing her lost horizon and re-uniting the broken string of her history.

Prof. DAMERLA VENKATA RAO,
M.L.C.

Bellary District And The Andhra State

The report in the papers that the Andhra State would consist of ten undisputed districts plus the two districts of Bellary and Chittoor "where fifty percent of the people are Telugu-speaking", is very misleading. It gives an erroneous impression to the reader that Kannadigas in the district of Bellary are in a minority.

Really speaking Kannadigas are in a majority in the entire district of Bellary. Excepting some three talukas in the eastern division the whole district is under the jurisdiction of the Karnatak Pradesh Congress. These talukas, namely, Adoni, Alur and Rayadrug have been the bone of contention between the Andhras and the Kannadigas ever since they were handed over to the Andhra Pradesh Congress under the Kelkar Award some thirty years back. The public and the Pradesh Con-

gress in Karnatak have been agitating for the revision of this Award so that these talukas might revert to their rightful authority. The agitation is still there and Kannadigas would not sit quiet until this part of Bellary district and some parts of the Rayalseema districts of Anantapur and Kurnool are joined to future Karnatak State. In these circumstances how can Bellary district be part of the proposed Andhra State?

The question of Bellary district is a delicate one. It should be handled very carefully. In no case should the district be included in the Andhra State because it will irritate the Kannadigas and result in unnecessary heartburning. To avoid this it is better if the district is retained in the residuary Madras State until such time as the Karnatak State is formed.

M. NAGARAJA RAO.

Hubli.

"Printer's Devil"

I think it is not right on the part of Mr. R. Srinivasa Iyengar to criticize outright as wrong English the use of the words "printer's devil" when the meaning intended is a "printer's error." As an idiom the two words together might mean an errand-boy, but construed as two distinct words forming only a simple phrase, "printer's devil" will express more emphatically the printer's sin of omission or commission than the banal phrase "printer's error." The evil is personified by the Devil himself, as the mischief wrought by such error is sometimes incalculable. The alleged incorrect idiom has, however, acquired long usage and the mere fact that the two words in close juxtaposition have not been assigned this meaning in the standard dictionaries is not absolutely a sound reason for condemning the popular use of the phrase.

There are instances where two words joined together have a particular idiomatic meaning and at the same time have also another sense when taken independently and then construed. For example, the idiom "old man" might mean a husband, an intimate friend or a ship's captain. At the same time it might mean a male person who is aged. Similarly, "old woman" as an idiom has the strange dictionary meaning of "a fussy or timid man", but the two words could also denote an aged person of the female sex. "Good Night" as an idiom is a greeting; it also means an agreeable or enjoyable period of time. Many more illustrations could be cited. The context will surely settle the question, even if there is directly no dictionary sanction.

C. V. NARAHARI RAO.

Coimbatore.

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C. R. AND THE FIVE YEAR PLAN

READING or listening to Sri Rajagopalachari's broadcast talk on the Five Year Plan, one wonders whether his intention was to promote the Plan or sabotage it effectively. He calls the amount and quality of work put in by the mass of the workers the unwritten chapter in the book of the Plan that is all important. On the way in which that chapter is written will depend the success of the Plan. What are the prospects of successful execution of the Plan, having regard to the all-important nature of the amount and quality of work to be put in by the mass of the workers? The Chief Minister's prognostications in this regard are of chilling pessimism. He tells us that tradition, religion, culture and other such intangible forces that made hitherto for cooperation and automatic production have largely disappeared or are fast disappearing; that legal or executive compulsion is a broken reed; and that wages and the wage motive do not produce quality or even the quantum bargained for. What, then, is the way out? In answer, Sri Rajagopalachari urges that we should build a new ethic of patriotic sacrifice and work, even as we did during the political struggle.

How is the new ethic to be built? The Chief Minister has suggested "two old-fashioned things," religion and barter, as the pillars on which it is to be reared. The suggestion as to religion does not seem to amount to much, since he has already listed religion as among the intangible forces of the world that are fast disappearing. It is no solution to say that what has disappeared should be

built upon as a foundation for economic regeneration. Does C. R. hope that he will catch this vanishing religion, drag it back and plant it firmly on this earth? If past efforts be an indication, he may as well give up the attempt: since, for all the flourishes he has made of God and Gita, dismal failure has attended his campaigns to set himself up as a religious teacher. Neither God nor Truth has gained service or support by C. R.'s public preaching and ministrations. If the prospects of the Five Year Plan depend on C. R.'s success in re-establishing religion either as a motive force for work, or in any other way, the Plan must be given up as doomed.

As for barter, C. R. is not the original discoverer of its miraculous economic properties. Sri Prakasam blazed the same trail long years before we got Swaraj and even did some persistent practical experimentation with the concept. In those days he was running *Swarajya* and the cash returns were not up to the level of the expenses. The idea took deep root in him that the financial embarrassments of the paper were due to shortage of cash in the pockets of the public. The people wanted the paper but they had no money. On the other hand they had plenty of rice, and if only the rice could be bartered for the subscriptions, all would go well. Barter seems to have an extraordinary fascination for economists of limited resources and vast financial ambitions and rarely appears on the scene when the budgetary position is smooth and easy. Taxation which is not in kind but in cash has forced

on people inevitable dependence on money, and if C. R. who is on the merciless side in the exaction of taxes, wants to pursue the service of barter with sincerity, he must start by relieving the people in the State ruled by him of the obligation of making various payments in cash to him from time to time, to maintain his Government.

This extraordinary broadcast of the Chief Minister with its cynicism and pessimism and its primitive economic outlook, is a liability from which the Prime Minister who is working so hard to make the Plan tick, has a right to be spared. C. R. would have served the Plan better with silence than the sort of espousal he has cast over the air.

The Andhra University

THE Andhra University has progressed far since it was founded, but its Silver Jubilee is an occasion, not so much for gratification over past achievements as disquiet at still persisting deficiencies. The absence of the Chief Minister from the Silver Jubilee celebrations is an indication of the political background of the University. At none of the two other universities of Madras State, an event so important as a Silver Jubilee would have gone ungraced by the presence and corporeal blessing of the head of the State. This distinction which has been reserved for the Andhra University is an apt reminder on a historic occasion of the difficulties that its successive Vice-Chancellors have had to contend with since its inception. When Dr. C. R. Reddi became Vice-Chancellor he found himself with a title and no habitation or equipment. It became his task to collect enough money to invest the University with academic and other appurtenances of elementary decency. He and Dr. Radhakrishnan managed, with

the glamour of their names, to stimulate the generosity of the rich, and the endowments they secured form the most imposing part of the University facade as the world knows it to-day. The institution would have been in a bad way if it had to depend on Government grants alone.

With the formation of the Andhra State in the offing, a promising future, redeemed from the niggardliness of the step-motherly authorities of the past, opens up now before the University. In agricultural, engineering and medical education, the attainment to the credit of the Andhra University has been crude hitherto in comparison with that of sister institutions. Always getting the second-best of the interest of the State, it could not make up the leeway of a late start. In future it will be nursed by Chief Ministers who will not be content with sending a polite message of good wishes from a distance on its momentous anniversary days of historic importance. No unfriendly restraining force will limit its expansion. The Andhras alone will be able to make or mar it. It is to be hoped they will rise to the full level of their opportunities and not curtail the scope of higher education in their charge with the kind of fantastic innovations that are serving to sap its richness and vitality in so many other places in the country.

We are particularly apprehensive of the movement that is gaining momentum in some short-sighted quarters, for the banning of English. Nothing will be more fatal for the growth of the Andhra University and its utility. English is the language of knowledge and science in the modern world, and the key to the latest discoveries; and lack of acquaintance with it will cut off the so-called educated from the central current of international thought and throw them back on primitive stocks of information.

Sotto Voce



CITIES OF THE PLAIN

‘ALL-in’ wrestling is not a pretty sight. And you may be sure that the thousands who flocked to see it were not attracted by the finer points (!) of the game. Nor was snobbery, which accounts for the huge success of certain of our fashionable musical artistes, the impelling force here. The intolerable boredom bred by idleness may in part explain the attraction of such shows. But I for one cannot get rid of the unpleasant feeling that it is the sadistic impulse that collects such delirious crowds. And it makes one profoundly unhappy to think that women form a sizeable proportion of these crowds as of those that haunt the court trying a major scandal or sex-crime.

Rome had its gladiators who slaughtered each other and thousands of trapped animals for the delight of high society which wallowed in the most debasing kind of emotional thrill. The animal in man is very near the surface. A mere veneer of civilisation serves to disguise from ourselves the fact that we are often at heart cannibals. In an acute passage in his *Marius the Epicurean* Pater observes of the Rome of the Antonines, “The long shows of the amphitheatre were, so to speak, the novel-reading of the age—a current, help provided for sluggish imaginations, in regard, for instance, to grisly incidents, such as might happen to one’s self, but with every facility for comfortable inspection.”

I am not forgetting that ancient India and particularly the courts of Kings were greatly attached to

manly sports. But I doubt whether wrestling of the kind which permits the combatants to maul and claw each other as if they were brutes would have been regarded as *dharmic*. And most certainly our ancestors were wholly innocent of commercialised sports. Kamsa’s wrestler Chaanoora, inviting the Divine Children to a bout, reminded them that it was the natural pastime of the forest-bred. When they found that the fight was taking an ugly turn, the assembled women wept their hearts out.

Mothers of heroes as they were, they abhorred unequal combat. And they denounced the pusillanimity of the crowd that could witness such unrighteousness without a protest. It is true that the professional wrestlers of today know what they are letting themselves in for. But the amount of damage they inflict upon each other is often so great that a man may be maimed for life. It seems to me that you can hardly call such cold-blooded savagery sport. In any case, as free India is not planning for a regiment of Amazons, why should our women accustom themselves to the sight of blood and to the practice of physical violence?

It is an old rule quoted by Manu that a man (or a woman, for that matter) should do nothing which might be at cross purposes with his primary function or his basic responsibility to society. And not less imperative is the observance of seemliness. “Your dress and speech and thought should conform to your age and vocation, your means, birth

and breeding." The vast bulk of our womanhood happily remains unspoil by sophistication. The rouged and lip-sticked 'upper ten' that haunts cocktail parties and tea-dances, is looked upon with disdain, not to say aversion, by women of all classes. But their men-folk are falling more and more under the spell of paint and wampum.

When men are thus moon-struck, their deeply ingrained loyalty forces their spouses to enter the meaningless social round. For they would face anything rather than that domestic break-up which our law-givers are so anxious to facilitate. My heart went out in sympathy to a young woman, country-bred and quietly refined, who had the misfortune to marry a climber in one of the armed forces. Seeing that he regarded her as a drag on his career, she doggedly overcame her repugnance to the exotic life of the cantonments. She learned to dine and

wine in company, to sing and croon and shake a leg, and was acclaimed the life and soul of the officers' mess. Whether all this made her happy no one knows: her husband was too busy hunting tufts to bother.

The infection is slowly spreading from the top. Middle class households in the big cities habitually live beyond their means; the housewife relegates the drudgery of domestic work to a paid servant and goes 'shopping' or gossiping or seeking some other distraction, while the children fall into neglect and become unmanageable. If family life goes and with it the devotion to the household gods, we shall come to breed, as the great metropolises of the West do to their own helpless dismay, old cynics, young criminals and desexed women of all ages. Shall we, then, knowingly call upon ourselves the curse that lay on the Cities of the Plain?

VIGHNESWARA.

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SIDELIGHTS:

IN Madras no particular power attaches to the Mayoralty as the post goes by rotation and is held for a very short duration. The various communities have their turn yearly in providing the Mayor. The office reconciles sectional representation with a symbolic purpose, the purpose of throwing out a figurehead of civic unity, and depends, for its dignity, on the care and delicacy with which the purpose is adhered to. As the Mayor has to represent, as titular first citizen, every section in the city and not merely his own, it is undignified for him to enter into squabbles and organise controversies. His honour is broken the moment he breaks into exclusionist antics. While the Mayor is an emblem of civic integrity, the Chief Minister is the protector of the whole State. It is not proper for a Chief Minister to identify himself sectionally with any particular linguistic area. That would be, like a judge taking sides, a professional misdemeanour. If the Mayor and the Chief Minister had acted in the fitness of their responsibilities, the Andhra-Tamil tension in Madras City would not have been whipped up to its present bitter pitch.

The dividing line between winning love and inflicting hurt is not so wide as it is commonly supposed to be. Just a twist of culture, and the aggressive passion of *apartheid*, with its zest to suppress another as the way of benefitting oneself, stands robbed of its thrill. If humanity had consisted only of a white brotherhood, Dr. Malan must be rated as very near a saint. It is only when, to love some, you have to hate others, and public spirit is sustained, not on the dignity of man, but on his debasement, that primitive barbarism is revealed under the clothes of civilization.

Some of the interdicts hurled against the Andhras seem to indicate that there is no morality in the world except what can be bolstered up by the advantage of a numerical majority. At this rate, in countries over-

seas, our nationals must perish at the hands of their persecutors who certainly are larger in numbers. They can have no rights to boast of, the right of being in a majority, of their oppressors, dissolving every right of the oppressed, as it did in Pakistan under the theocratic dispensation that owed its inspiration to Mr. Jinnah. The flower of the intellectuals of Tamil Nadu, with the Mayor blowing the trumpet and the Chief Minister providing the inspiration, would have the Andhras write themselves down as ciphers of no account with no interest at all in a city which they have helped to build with their wealth and zeal at least as much as they for over two centuries!

I do not think, in whatever manner the present disputes are settled, it will make any difference to the course of events. Nothing can cancel the eventual healing power of time. Things will fall into their right proportions after the intervening abnormalities have had their day. Whatever the clannish outbursts of some leaders in the limelight, the whole country belongs to all citizens of all the States, and there is no town or village in any part of it round which the narrow-minded disposed to be exclusively acquisitive, can erect cordons and barriers. The formation of the Andhra State will make no difference to the position of Andhras in Madras City, who will still continue to hold their rights of citizenship undiminished, though the ignorant or the ill-tempered may talk in a different tune, and write on the roads, or shout wherever they can, calling on them to quit.

With a little give and take, and some thought of the difficulties confronting the new State, the leaders in power would have softened all acerbities. But when the Chief Minister conjured up a dire vision of beauteous Madras being snatched demoniacally away like Sita by an Andhra Ravana, he gave the signal for wild orgies of anti-Andhra denunciation, and from that moment on, the Andhras felt

I wish I could adequately describe the shock, the amazement, the spiritual and psychological reaction to this right-about-turn. Japan's action in accepting disarmament had elicited congratulations from leaders of most countries. Only a few months before Mr. Dulles arrived, General MacArthur had again publicly renewed his commendation of their disarmament. Moreover, Mr. Dulles was perhaps better known in Japan than in Britain as a trusted Christian statesman of great integrity. The complete *volte face* of the West shocked these Asians. Was no one's word to be trusted? Did a promise mean nothing? What about the sanctity of Truth. Wasn't it the sort of rock foundation which Hebrews as well as Christians, Hindus and Buddhists regarded as elemental, lasting, unchangeable, absolute, basic? Or, horrible disillusioning notion, did the Western powers disapprove of Japanese militarism only when it was directed against themselves?

Of course disillusionment leads easily to communism, but the great majority of the people avoided that path. The women's groups are well organized and were the first to rally, with public meetings, an open letter to Mr. Dulles, a request for an interview, and widespread publication of their views under the title "The Women of Japan Speak". Before the war this would have been unthinkable. Then women had no power even to get an interview with the Prime Minister. Now they were well represented in Parliament.

Although the usual pattern of Japanese behaviour is to submit to authority, other groups soon joined them in declaring their strong opposition to rearmament: the non-Communist trade unions, the Socialists, the Fellowship of Reconciliation. The Emperor's brother, the well-known Prince of Mikasa, in a press interview, affirmed his antipathy to militarism, caused by what he had seen while serving in China with his brother officers during the war.

In Rangoon, Hongkong and Manila I had spent some hours on my way East, talking with Japanese war criminals, many of them awaiting execution. Their wives, parents

or children appeared wherever I went during the next six weeks. They felt that to see and to shake hands with me, who had recently seen and shaken hands with their beloved ones, did something to bridge the gulf between them. A silent, pale, thin relict of one of these dashing militarists told me her husband had been executed two weeks after I left Manila. Because I had brought with me by air the packet of fortyseven letters waiting to be despatched, she had received and enjoyed one from him before his death. "If it had come afterwards, it would have been a heavy sorrow", she said. "How can I think you enough?"

I recalled the look of one condemned man as I listened to plans for reviving military might. He had gone out with the hundred other prisoners from the hall where we had met together for an hour or so. They were already under the eye of the officer who was to march them back to the cells, but this one, moved by some strong passion to speak out for once to the outside world what had been borne in upon him during his six years in gaol, came back, strode across the room to me, searched my face as though to assure himself of my sincerity and then said, "Will you take a message to the General?" Of course I agreed. "Tell him, please, that if they encourage Japan to rearm they will be doing evil... a very great evil."

Gen. MacArthur was very busy and could not see me. So I wrote out for him the message of the prisoner turned prophet. Other war criminals, both Japanese and German, were set free, if not indemnified; but they were of the sort that would be useful to Western plans. I have repeated the gaunt old man's message all over the world, but what I say is the merest whisper whereas the Press in most countries, though called 'free', generally depends on foreigners for its supply of paper and often also for its investors. Many financiers and businessmen in Japan, as in other countries, like to be ranged on the side where dollars are plentiful.

I suppose, however, we do not need a Japanese war criminal who has probably already been killed to

prophecy to us that doom will fall on Britain also if we choose our policies on the basis of self-interest and fear.

God is not mocked: He evidently watched the noble little band of constitutionalists in Japan, the rich and poor, the clever and simple who were resisting the blandishments of rearmament agents.

Then one of those delightfully unexpected and profoundly simple miracles occurred which added half a million to their ranks and enabled a well organised, unified movement to spread over the whole country. Nittatsu Fujii, a middle-aged Buddhist priest of the ancient and revered Nichiren sect, broke the long silence of his Church as regards their basic conception of *ahimsa* (non-violence). He challenged his co-religionists to confess their shame at having acquiesced so meekly in militarist rule in the past. He asked them publicly to pronounce their settled determination to be true in future to their faith, refusing to countenance rearmament. With burning words he pointed out that it was bad enough to contemplate the fact that it was foreigners who had rid them of the tyranny of militarism without effort on their own part but it would be still worse if, having been thus set free, they let the burden be once more bound to their backs. A well-known young airman seconded his appeal. Japan is a predominantly Buddhist country and when a group of some twenty priests spend three days and three nights in a central square in Tokyo, praying and fasting and appealing to the thousands who come to listen to work against rearmament it touches

something very deep down in their religious and racial consciousness.

So it soon became a common experience for me to be met at railway stations by bands of Buddhist priests and nuns with their prayer drums, their chants and their blessings, and to be seen off in the same manner to the next place where meetings were to be held. Huge crowds gathered in the open air to hear aristocratic Japanese women, factory girls, Christian leaders, Buddhists and Socialists make the great appeal.

The genesis of this miracle is to be traced to another servant of God, Mr. Gandhi, in his Ashram in Sevagram. Here in 1940 came a wandering Japanese Buddhist priest. No one expected him. None could understand the Japanese language and he knew no other. Yet quite soon there was forged a bond of deep appreciation and affection between him and all the inmates. His self-discipline, his deep serenity, his humility, his devoted attendance at the 4 a.m. and 5 p.m. prayer time left an indelible impression on them.

In 1941 he was interned and seen no more.

At the end of the war when I was again staying in India, Mr. Gandhi told me of the pleasure he had had in this man's visit and that in memory of him one of his Buddhist prayers had been added to the Ashram prayer book. I enquired his name and was told "Nittatsu Fujii."

Doesn't it seem right and fitting that this quiet man should be the one destined to lead his fellow countrymen along the road of non-violence?

Evidently God is at work.

Are we?

The day after I was married I was buying some evening shoes in one of the smartest shops in New York, and I was served by a very nice young man, and I asked him if they'd go well with my evening dress. He said, "Listen Honey, when you got one of those strapless evening gowns on nobody ain't going to look at your feet."—MONICA DICKENS, in a *BBC* talk about her life in the United States.

Though "the words of the wise be as nails fastened by the masters of assemblies," yet their examples are the hammer to drive them in to take the deeper hold. A father that whipped his son for swearing, and swore himself whilst he whipped him, did more harm by his example than good by his correction.—FULLER.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKGROUND OF COMMUNITY PROJECTS

By J. D. S. PAUL, M.A., Ph.D.

In all planning for coordinated economic development, agriculture forms the essential base on which industry flourishes. But the interaction and interdependence between the two are of so complicated a structure that socio-economic approach offers apparently a feasible mode of operation. The community project administration policy is one such approach. The economic policies of the State are often not based on economic principles and when defended by paid experts, they conceal a devastating effect on the course of prices and the practice of tradesmen to circumvent their losses. There has been no subject more full of acrimonious controversy for decades than the Indian policy on land revenue, agricultural improvement and the financing of agriculture. The removal of zamindars, talukdars, mirasidars, mittadars and the substitution in their place of co-operative ryotwari tenure or collectivisation of farms in new cultivable waste, was expected to usher in the millennium for food producers. The landlords, big and small, have yet to finance to a tune of crores this hard hit industry. Rationing and price control reveal to the makers of State policy, the callousness of blackmarketing through the very channels they operated to stabilise agriculture on the production and marketing sides.

In all the controversies that have as their objective increased food production at a low level of prices without realising that low costs mean low rural standards of living and favour urban industrial interests, we are yet to study closely party politics, party feelings and the social preferences and animosities that invigorate them and produce a direct bearing on men's thoughts about their own economic interests. These in turn result in economic theories which are also controversial as to their universality. Eventually the struggle will culminate in agriculture

as a nationalised industry. Where is the guarantee of water and manure in a land so completely dependent on a precarious monsoon? What are plans worth when your insurance is worth nothing unless all river courses are so changed and water supply regulated all over the country by an interlocking system of canals that they will help to vitalise the parched lands and check the water that now flows in floods into the sea carrying valuable humus and organic manure with it.

The Tungabhadra Project, the Krishna Pennar project, the Ramapadasagar project and all other river control schemes have far greater relevance to the reality of our precarious existence when we appreciate the significance of the water famine, consequent on failure of monsoon, which in recent months and years we have been going through. Community Project administration, in close relation to perennial water supply, can alone secure a grip on reality.

When, in the middle of the 19th century, railways were projected and iron lords in Britain were anxious to press very hard for a market for the iron industry in India in a net work of railways, royal engineers who were advised to examine the military value of the new project were far more anxious about waterways, canals that intersected the rivers and which could transport troops and supplies and offered protective barricade and a permanent insurance against famine so that there would always be an abundant supply of able bodied man power from the fields for imperial aims. They were realists and alive to the actual situation.

The socio-economic policy adumbrated in the Community Projects can be studied exactly as the Corn Laws in Britain or the square deal policy of Roosevelt in America. The Community Project policy-makers rea-

lise that a higher level of agricultural production cannot be maintained, "unless there is an incentive in the growers of agricultural produce to work more to grow more. An incentive of a permanent nature can only be in the form of increased amenities for life which are conspicuous by the absence in the sub-human life of rural India to-day." This is a truism. Nanavathi and Anjaria in their studies on the rural problem, Linlithgow in his report on agriculture, and Voelker in his report on the improvement of agriculture have written at length on the position of the peasants in the economic structure of the country. But no one has suggested "the execution" of the policy of parity economy between urban and rural interests because no one has dared to tackle the financial implications of the problem. Can the State find the finance for continuous experiment in Community Projects for at least a decade, so that this socio-economic experiment may fully take roots in the soil. In the existing framework of co-operation and land mortgage banks, landlords and tenants and scattered hamlets, the financial burden of necessary amenities of human life is beyond the hope of the average village even if several villages are to be consolidated or grouped together as units.

The price of cereals has certainly oscillated violently in the past two decades and in spite of a rapidly increasing population, there has been a catastrophic decline generally in wholesale prices. South East Asia has an economic unit in the post-war period having been desmembered, the enormous importation of food products is bound to affect the price level of home grown produce and depress the wages of the agricultural wage earner. It is not by any additional cess on the basis of land revenue or any agricultural income-tax that we are going to find resources for any normal or natural amenities for rural areas. There are two well defined economic interests, urban and rural, the manufacturing and agricultural interests. It is the power of urban, industrial, financial and commercial interests, that has led to a steady deteriora-

tion of the peasants' position, along with natural calamities. Agriculture has to be saved from the dreadful results of peace. For, it is the rural man power during war that pours back finances into the villages which relieve their backs from the iron grip of the money lender. The laws that clamp, on the land, the various types of landlordism and money-lending are no doubt a cause of much human suffering, and arouse bitter and dangerous animosity in the body politic, and therefore hard-worked Prime Ministers have to waste much time trying to seek appeasement.

In the last two decades all the measures adopted for galvanising agriculture mattered politically. To the large feudal landlords and smaller landholders, they appeared like safety valves but to the aggressive rising manufacturing class, agrarian reform measures meant that landholders starved the poor city wage-earning class to keep up rents. Thus arose the conflict of country and town, the city financiers and industrial magnates being opposed to the feudal landlords of every description, and in the struggle the large landholders were steadily having the worst of the bargain along with the very small landholders and tillers of the soil. The medium sized holders had commercial interests to save them from sinking.

Rationing and all other forms of control measures and sales tax produce bitter and dangerous animosity in the body politic. That these measures are the only possible way out to salvage our agriculture is a delusion of ignorant middleclass members to whom the game of politics brought into play a newly found talent to watch the interaction of powerful financiers on industry versus agriculture. The country has turned from an exporting and self-sufficient one in food products steadily into an importing country. Meanwhile, the policy-makers were convinced that they were not likely to hurt the farming interests if only the resources of science were fully utilized and water supply harnessed to electric power were brought to the aid of agriculture. The turn of the tide is to be expected in technical achievement if only population

growth could be moderated and intensive skill overtakes the raw labour recruits.

In the conflict between agriculture and industry we have not been able to disentangle political passions from the battle. Until lately the contest between free trade and protection had seemed to be a simple contest between good and evil, between enlightened opinion as to the national safety and prosperity on the one hand with all the equipment of scientific technology, and the monstrous absurdity of alien or localised interests on the other. Today it is further muddled by the policy of planned economy without the objective of planning within a certain time limit being clearly visualised. That subsidiary cottage industries and other handicrafts form an adjunct to agriculture is not a dispassionate statement of economic opinion, but largely an outpouring of social emotion which uses one handicraft or other as a symbol. All this is a myth when considered against the overall picture of a vast sub-continent moved by world factors. We face today a world crisis in agriculture, industry, and finance in consequence of the scramble for man-power and raw materials. The attack has been launched fiercely on one single sector, over centralisation of mechanised industry. The opinions of various schools of planners were not necessarily fashionable in economic thought, but, they believed, they cherished the interests of the poor under-nourished and un-sheltered in the villages and were angry about it. It is not just to suggest that the powerful manufacturing classes were unmoved by the price of "bread" or the plight of the agricultural wage earner. The war years in particular gave Indian industry and export trade extraordinary development.

The opinions of our leaders in party politics, able and sincere as they were, have not been consistent. Their opinions developed or altered as the demands of controversy developed. Certainly, in a few years, most men will change their minds on the probable effect of rationing and price control on labour costs, the prosperity of agricultural classes and even upon rents. If we are to

take cereals from abroad, then we have to give facilities to other nations for all such raw and semi-manufactured goods which they have in short supply and which they need. We are compelled to turn to all nations within and outside the sterling bloc for all the cereals we can lay hands on, without equal concern that they take our products, for trade is a two way traffic and self-sufficiency is far off. Men's opinions are formed as much by passion as by scientific appraisal of what is feasible. There is nothing in economic controversies that is also largely not political. The significant thing in this matter is the fact that men's psychological needs are apt to come first and their arguments and explanations come later to endorse conclusions already commended by their emotions.

The best of all possible position is the discovery by men without any surprise that our world is suffering from evils which have been caused by the wickedness of exactly the kind of persons we utterly dislike. To explain the truth of this, we need to examine the social structure of the country at a given age. In the 20th century Indian economy we see the dawn of a new self-confident society. Indian agricultural industry has been undergoing a remarkable revolution in the later part of the 19th century, and even more in the 20th century with its world wars. These revolutionary changes were world-wide and stimulated by the policy of the State in the interest of urban classes who were getting most vocal in political life. The nominees of big interests fill the newly Indianized public administration, legislatures and cabinets. The background has been that of a very rough world as can be easily seen from the accounts of many disputed elections over which the newly rich and the old aristocracy spent so much energy and money. The distribution of seats greatly favoured plutocracy and they definitely discourage agriculture and the small holder. The Gandhian revolutionary technique to favour rural interests never did convert every one of cabinet rank or all parties about the same time. All had up their sleeves the worship of the

money barons and of the big industrialists as the ultimate basis of national power. To this power doctrine all have gravitated as the inevitable bourne from which there can be no retreat.

Rural reconstruction departments must be viewed against the background of robbery of the soil for centuries and consequent decay of the countryside. The proposed roads to recovery differed in conception and planning in the rivalry of provinces. The authorities entrusted with enumeration and the appraisal of priorities in the needs of the moment were hardly endowed with the requisite resources and the technical personnel for the planning and execution of the schemes or of the objective of the reconstruction plan. The Ministers may have good intentions. The departments concerned with the different phases of the activities dealt with the subjects in a disjointed manner often creating obstacles in the over-all plan. In this confusion of departmental handling, politicians intervened to glorify the simplicity of eastern culture with their khadi, wiping out the machinery from land and cottage industries, laying out roads and ditches with pickaxes and shovels as propaganda stunts heavily advertised by the Press. The benefits from these flow to those who already had the grip on the village economy and the common man in the rural areas is left as he was. The well-digging and well-subsidy schemes of the revenue officials have nothing to do with the public works engineers dealing with tanks in spite of the fact that the tanks have an enormous influence on the water supply of the wells in the surrounding area. Agricultural officers do not have their seeds and implements at the time they are approached for them.

The personal favours of cooperative societies cannot be relied upon for credit at the time needed with all their procedures of securities and mortgages. The electric engineer had no material for pump installation at the subsidised wells. A few influential landlords can surmount all these obstacles. The benevolent attitude to the farmers of the grow more food campaign failed through difficulties of procurement policy. It has not, nor can it touch the core of the agricultural problem. The compartment system in the handling of the problem of the primary grower has spoiled all the endeavours to deal with agricultural re-construction.

The apparently practical approach to the problems of rural revival is a miniature of the Tennessee Valley Authority. The Community Project has that idea behind it, the idea of an integrated development of all the resources of a region under a single operative agency armed with all the necessary powers. All the varieties of functions dealing with irrigation, agriculture, forestry, soil and water conservation, road laying, electricity and rural credit, education and house building are comprised in it. The personnel selected for executing these ideas should draw out of the experience of all previous rural reconstruction schemes. But what this new authority needs to note is the primary importance of the conservation of soil and water. Without these, the bottom will fall out; the tanks get re-silted; the subsidised wells will not overflow with water; year in and year out we will have famine and floods.

Is there not a complete lack of appreciation on the part of the State Governments of the necessity of first obtaining perennial water supply and a land army for harnessing the rivers?

The military search for an answer to the Korean riddle includes a half dozen principal moves. They are:

A complete blockade of the China coast; more American aid for France in Indo-China; more aid for Chinese Nationalists on Formosa; withdrawal of the U. S. 7th Fleet from Formosa Straits; sending at least three more U. S. divisions to the Orient; use of Chinese Nationalist divisions either against the Chinese mainland or in Korea; equipping of 10 more South Korean divisions; use of atomic weapons.

There is a hope that many of the measures would not have to be used. —P. G. KRISHNAYYA.

THE ESCAPE

By A. G. MORRIS

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL the hon. Wilfred Ellerton. That was his name. Add a DSO, a lean, tanned face, a slight limp from an old wound, and you begin to get a picture of the man. He was a gentleman, in the fullest sense of the word, who might have stepped straight out of a book by Buchan or Mason; well-bred, virile, and touched with the romance that always clings to an explorer or a big-game hunter. There are not so many of Ellerton's sort left; for he belonged to the old order, and his army career began long before the day of ranker-officers.

He could ride any horse, judge a bottle of port, and shoot a tiger. Always he had been a magnet for adventure and his whole life formed a chain of hairbreadth escapes from death and danger.

What a world of difference lies between escapism and escapes! Colonel Ellerton had never heard of an ivory tower. But, as a boy, he had fallen off trees and dropped plumb over steep cliffs. And he had survived, with broken rib or collar-bone. Later he had fought a duel over a point of honour. Successively he had been clawed by a leopard and charged by an elephant. He had been jammed in polar ice. In the first world war he was blown up by a mine. In the second, at the age of 55, he escaped from a prison camp by a long, dark tunnel and found a way, after incredible hardships, across the Pyrenees to Spain. There he was thrown into jail again, and not finding it to his taste, he broke out and reached London. Never mind how. But he walked into his club, as if nothing had happened. Bathed, shaved and reported to the War Office.

And now, nearer 70 than 60, he was very much alive, over six feet tall,

slim as a wand, with an air of eternal military youth. Women still looked at him, and then looked again.

Women! He had escaped them, too, after many encounters, sliding away from sirens to the Arctic or the burning desert. Lady Elizabeth. That was before the first war, when Ellerton was a subaltern, playing polo. Then came Hester Green. Jack Colthurst's widow was the next.

They were all after him. And Ellerton came through intact. Always easy, chivalrous, attentive, but withdrawn and free.

By 1952 he thought he was safe. He had his small place in the country, where he could shoot and fish and get a day's hunting, when he felt in the mood. It was a bachelor's paradise. Sufficient money, good friends, faithful servants. And then, suddenly, in a nearby cottage appeared Mrs. Willoughby Cleeve, a widow, conscious of perennial charm.

Ellerton ran across her on certain social occasions; sherry at a neighbour's, tennis at the vicarage. And there was no doubt about it that the lady took the eye. It is possible, just possible, that her face had been lifted, but to Colonel Ellerton, at that time, she seemed fragile and feminine, in a way that flattered his virility.

"It's wonderful to see you play, Colonel. You make those youngsters run all over the court....."

"Nice little woman," he thought, "got good ankles."

All the same. Well, a feller had to watch his step. It made a change to meet Mrs. Willoughby Cleeve in the limited local circle, and even to include her in invitations to his own house, where she leavened the male loaf, but.....But things began to happen on days the widow had not been invited.

"James, who put those flowers in my room? Not you, I'll be bound."

"No, sir. Well, sir....."

"Mrs. Willoughby Cleeve, eh?"

"You were out shooting, sir, and..."

"All right, James. And those little cakes at tea, the same?"

James was apologetic. "I'm afraid so, sir. Madam said she had made too many for herself, so she hoped you would share....."

And then, one night, when Ellerton was alone she arrived, without warning in a stunning evening gown.

"I feel good neighbours should not stand on ceremony, Colonel. Life is too short, don't you agree?"

"Quite, quite," said Ellerton, "delighted to see you. Very charming confection, what!"

"I'm so glad you noticed. Most men are so blind."

"Not when you're about, dear lady," said the colonel, gallantly, as he poured her a cup of tea, a question mark in his brain.

"Steady hand and steady eye," said the widow, watching Ellerton across the room. "I hear you are the best shot in the country...."

Flattery was all very well. A shade too well. Ellerton went abroad. He was getting a little too old for the wilds, so he slipped away, silently, unobtrusively to France, leaving no address.

About a fortnight later he came into his hotel, hoping for a good dinner.

But in the lounge she rose to meet him.

"Dear Colonel Ellerton, this is an enchanting surprise!"

He was taken aback, but he kept his head and his manners, calling for aperitifs, and trotting out a bit of French, as he raised his glass to Madame:

"Bonne sante! Not bad, eh? Sounds better than mud in your eye."

Mrs. Willoughby Cleeve sat back, laughing and, by Jove, she looked smart. Made even the French women provincial. Used good scent, too; it was none of your cheap stuff.

After that one thing led to another, and before long, inevitably, they were sharing a table for dinner. It put the clock back years for Ellerton. "When did I last....?"

Yes, and the next morning they shared petit déjeuner. Mrs. Willoughby Cleeve knew exactly how an Englishman felt abroad. "Poor colonel, how you must miss your eggs and bacon!"

"Gettin' broken in, with rationing at home," said Ellerton, and they both enjoyed the joke.

"Don't worry about me," said the widow. "Read your paper."

So they settled down cosily, almost as if.....

But Ellerton, refusing to admit anything, felt the prick of the hook, and he was forced into action.

"I'm afraid I must be making tracks for home," he said that night, after dinner, as they sat on the terrace with their coffee.

"I was just going to say the same to you, Colonel. A woman's work is never done. All one can do is to cheat time and duty for a few days. It has been so lovely."

Naturally, the colonel had had to do the right thing. "As we both have to go, Mrs. Willoughby Cleeve, may I be allowed to hope that you will travel in my car?"

"That was more than I had hoped for," she said, laying her hand on his, for an instant. "You are a wonderful friend."

In this way they arrived at hotels by car, together. She stood by, deliciously feminine and helpless, while Ellerton struggled in French to order rooms: "Deux chambres. Comprenez? Deux."

But, in spite of the accentuated deux, the bill was indivisible, and it was presented invariably to the colonel. "L'addition, M'sieu...."

Mrs. Willoughby Cleeve made a faint, initial protest, and then remained silent. Currency was running short.

"Deuced awkward" thought the colonel, but he had never, in his life, let a woman pay. So he remained the perfect knight, without a sign of rebellion. He helped Mrs. Willoughby Cleeve with her luggage. He placed cushions for her in the car, and was perpetually solicitous for her comfort. But he was finding her a trifle, just a trifle cloying and, as they drew near Boulogne, he faced up to his position explicitly for the first time.

As the car was being swung on board the ferry boat, Mrs. Willoughby Cleeve turned to Colonel Ellerton, asking softly: "How many miles is it we have travelled together? I shall always love that faithful car, Colonel."

"Not too bad, does 30 to the gallon," he said, avoiding sentiment.

On the boat Ellerton found her a comfortable place, and he placed a rug over her knees. They were in a snug corner, alone.

It was then that she said: "Wilfred, would you mind putting my passport in with yours?"

"It's a valuable document, you know?"

"That's why it will be safer with you, Wilfred."

His Christian name twice. That bit deep, but Ellerton put the two passports together in his own folder.

At Folkestone Ellerton was supremely himself, attentive, observant, the very pink of chivalry. He helped Mrs. Willoughby Cleeve at every turn.

The car was hoisted ashore. The passengers were gathered on the

quay. The time had come for the ordeal of customs. When passports were demanded Colonel Ellerton produced his own.

Then the official turned towards Mrs. Willoughby Cleeve.

"The Colonel has mine," she said smiling.

"My dear lady, would that I had," replied the gallant soldier.

She laughed gaily, showing her sense of humour. "Men do so love their little jokes. But we must not waste time. Come, Wilfred."

"I live to serve you, or any of your charming sex," said Ellerton. "But, alas, I have not got your passport."

Mrs. Willoughby Cleeve was now near to hysterics. "I gave it to you on board. You know I did."

"No. No. It cuts me to contradict a lady. You spoke of your passport, and I reminded you that it was a valuable document. So you kept it."

As the immigration officer called upon higher authorities the fur began to fly and the tears to flow. Mrs. Willoughby Cleeve fell upon the Colonel, with a crescendo of abuse, and unsupported accusations.

"I tell you, he did have my passport. I gave it to him. And everybody saw."

Passengers and crew were questioned, to no purpose. Tempers were frayed. The lady stamped and shrieked, mentioning all her titled friends, and the vengeance they would heap upon the officials, and, above all, upon the colonel. At last she was left almost alone, upon the quay, surrounded by all her cases, which had been opened and scattered in the frenzy of search. Ellerton, on the other hand, was allowed to depart, his word vindicated, his formalities completed.

"I would gladly remain," he insisted, bowing to the maddened widow. "But I have an urgent appointment. I will, of course, use any influence I may have in high quarters."

As he drew nearer home he remembered as in a dream, a slight unobtrusive splash.....

The gallant soldier shrugged his shoulders. At that stage, he thought Napoleon was right. *Sauve qui peut*....He had escaped again.—Copy-right—NNF.

GENERAL CARIAPPA—THE RETIRING C-IN-C

By SHYAMA CHARAN KALA

THIRTY-FOUR years ago, a young man from Coorg, wearing an old fashioned, typically South Indian turban, went to Simla to appear before the Army Selection Board. While he was waiting for the interview, another candidate came along, looked intently at him and pronounced the Board's verdict. "You will never be selected," he said, scanning the folds of the turban. The competitor who made the forecast thought that his European clothes, the smart tie and the well-pressed suit, would carry the day.

But fate willed it otherwise. The turbaned youth was selected while the other man got the rejection slip. The two met again recently at Mathura and the rejected candidate of yore, Capt. Digpa Singh who joined the Army later, recalled that the man whose ineligibility he had predicted with such assurance, stood before him. He was General K. M. Cariappa, the C-in-C of the Indian Army.

Fortune has always smiled on General Cariappa. Though he begins his new year with a farewell bow to the Indian Army, he is expected to retire from his retirement to take up a special assignment in the near future. As Governor of one of the frontier States, Punjab or Assam, or as an ambassador, he should add laurels to his brow. Though he is 52, he has the smartness of a cadet at parade. It will be a tragedy if his knowledge, experience and tireless energy are not harnessed to the good of the country.

As the first Indian C-in-C, he maintained the traditions of efficiency, hard work, iron discipline and esprit de corps established by a long line of distinguished British soldiers. If the unity of the Indian Army did not give way under the stress and strain of post-partition disturbances, provincialism, communalism and casteism, which have raised their ugly head in recent years, the cre-

dit goes to General Cariappa. He put his heart and soul and body into converting the army into a national force rooted in the affections of the people. He has laboured hard to change the outlook of the men who guard India's frontiers. Times without number he has impressed on officers and jawans that they must function as servants of the nation. No wonder the barriers between the army and the people have crumbled. Believing that example is better than precept, General Cariappa loves to translate talk about co-operation between the army and the people into action. While on his way to Panagarh, a military base about 100 miles from Calcutta, he came across unharvested paddy fields. He took no time to order the Army Commander to offer the assistance of troops free of cost to the farmers of the locality. Another story illustrates his solicitude for the welfare of civilians. On a visit to Pathankot, he was shocked to find insanitary conditions in the town. A detachment of jawans, armed with brooms and buckets, was soon on the scene, cleaning up the mess. Once when he learnt that there was no school in a village he was passing by, he issued an Army Order calling upon officers and men to undertake the education of the children of the village.

Under his inspiration, the Army has identified itself with the interests of the people by actively participating in the Grow More Food and the Vana Mahotsava drives, by rendering social service to the people in distress, particularly to the famine-stricken in Rayalaseema.

The General, however, has made it clear that if the Army cannot be drafted for reconstruction tasks, no uncharitable comparison with the Chinese Red Army is warranted, for while the latter, with ten times the strength of our forces, has manpower to spare for such tasks the Indian Army's primary job is defence of the country.



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General Cariappa has had a distinguished career in the Army. He has a record number of firsts to his credit. He was in the first batch of Indian students to be commissioned from Daly College, Indore. He was the first Indian to be selected for the Staff College, Quetta; the first Indian to hold a Grade II appointment; the first Indian to rise to the rank of Brigadier. He was also the first Indian officer to become an Army Commander and the first to be C-in-C.

He has made significant contributions to the development of the Army. The Territorial Army, the second line of the country's defence, and the National Cadet Corps, owe their existence largely to his drive and energy. He has drawn the attention of the national leaders to the fact that if India is to have a mechanised mobile army, defence industries should be developed so that the country could be independent of imports from foreign countries. Discarding the theory of martial and non-martial races, he threw open the doors of the Army to all, irrespective of caste and creed.

General Cariappa is tremendously popular with the Army, the students and the press. His delightful informality wins him friends and admirers wherever he goes. In the forward areas in Kashmir, his tall, erect, immaculately dressed figure was familiar to soldiers and villagers.

He took delight in driving his jeep recklessly fast, encouraging soldiers and distributing sweets to the poor. He has a stern sense of duty; he drives himself and others hard; he is not very fond of written reports and prefers to work by personal discussion. He has a talent for winning the affection as well as the admiration of those around him and especially for welding officers of different States into a smoothly working team. Whether talking to a Major-General or a jawan, he has the same warm open approach entirely free from pretence. He often tells his officers, "I believe in being free and frank with the men. I take them into my confidence impressing upon them the ideology of citizens in a free country. The men

appreciate it and they will not let me down."

It is a pity he did not get along as well with the bureaucrats in the Secretariat as with the national leaders. Jealous of his rights and privileges, he naturally resented encroachments on his territory. Reports suggest that much of his time was spent in fighting rear-guard battles in the Secretariat.

General Cariappa loves to orate, to speak in the accent of politicians on subjects which he might have left severely alone. He provoked Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, the Socialist-Praja Party leader, to criticise him for speaking in public on political subjects and to remind him that democracy would be reduced to a farce if Army Commanders started taking interest in matters political. But exuberance is probably not a great vice in a decorative figurehead. In any case, it is given to a few to strike a nice balance between the indiscretion of saying too much and the restraint of saying too little. Though General Cariappa has occasionally dabbled in politics, he has always impressed on the army that its loyalty is the Government of the day, not to any political party.

General Cariappa is never happier than when he is doing something for servicemen whose cause he espouses with a missionary zeal which cannot but extort admiration. He loves to distribute cash prizes sometimes out of his own pocket—to ex-servicemen and their dependents. The several ex-servicemen's colonies and farms that have sprung up in the country owe not a little to his drive, planning and imagination. When he says that after his retirement, he would look after the welfare of ex-servicemen he does not indulge in a flourish. Their cause he has made his own.

"Kipper", as General Cariappa is known to officers and jawans, has a deeply religious bent of mind. Whenever he visits Coorg, he makes it a point to pray at the Conji shrine. Though a great soldier, he is essentially a man of peace. He is never tired of saying that if there is any community that hates war it is the Army.

PERSONAL DIPLOMACY AND BUTTER SCOTCH

By ANDREW ROTH

THE announcement of Churchill's unexpectedly early visit to the U. S. came too squarely in the midst of a four day Christmas weekend devoted to heavy eating and drinking to be digested quickly. But the after-taste is much less happy than the first flush of anticipation.

Although all British leaders do not have Churchill's faith in personal diplomacy, they share his anxiety to learn authoritatively the precise intentions of the incoming Eisenhower regime. Others would probably have heeded the advice of the British Embassy in Washington to give the new regime time to settle in. By coming too early, it was feared, he might give the impression of "jumping the queue" to seek preferred treatment for Britain.

It is still not clear whether Churchill's decision to flout this advice is an old man's stubborn faith in his own ability to dominate any situation or new British concern about a Far Eastern conflagration such as sent Mr. Attlee flying to Washington in December 1950. It was expected that Churchill would seek the sun during the parliamentary recess; seeing him up close at the recent luncheon for the Duchess of Kent this correspondent was shocked to see how pallid and shaken the 78-year-old Prime Minister appeared.

What is perhaps significant was that the query of whether Churchill would be able to see President-elect Eisenhower en route to Jamaica was sent around December 17. It was then, in the wake of the Korea trip, that the first reports were received here of the new Eisenhower-Dulles Asian policy. Britons were relieved that Eisenhower had agreed to keep the Korean war substantially within its present scope, with the possible exception of diversionary amphibious landings. What caused concern was the report of a new, Dulles-inspired plan to pressure the Chinese into

talking peace by throwing them "off balance."

The Times gave reports of this new policy the greatest prominence its austere pages could command on December 22, recalling some Dulles remarks of last May: "Is it not time that the Chinese Communists knew that if, for example, they send Red Armies openly into Viet Nam, we will not be content merely to meet their armed forces at the point they select for aggression, but by retaliatory action of our own fashioning?" "Indochina is the key to Southeast Asia, upon the resources of which Japan largely depends."

The Dulles plan apparently is to keep China at a disadvantage by threatening her with amphibious landings in Korea, hit-and-run attacks by Kuomintang troops from Formosa and pushing back the Chinese-supplied Vietminh forces in Indochina. High priority would be given to stiffening the sagging Franco-Baodai front in Indochina. The U. S. would step up its contribution of funds and arms beyond the present majority of the material and 40% of the cost. It would warn China of the dire consequences of open intervention. France would be expected to send an additional division or so. Its fears about Germany dominating the European Defense Community would be assuaged by pressure on Britain to join the E. D. C. and assurances that the Indochina battle can be mopped up in two years, or before the German contribution becomes a real potential military force.

Britain would naturally like to have Peking talk peace and have the Vietminh threat to Malaya and Borneo mopped up, but would like to be in on the diplomatic planning at least to guard against any unnecessary provocation. Furthermore Mr. Churchill is naturally concerned by any plans to commit Britain irrevocably to the Continent and to shift

America's emphasis from Western Europe to Asia. He may feel he has to see Eisenhower before this Dulles policy becomes indelibly inscribed in the new administration's programme.

Churchill would also like to get an advance idea of the new regime's reactions to those proposals of the recent Commonwealth Prime Minister's Conference which require American approval, particularly on convertibility and U. S. investment in the colonies. But Churchill talking on economics to Eisenhower,

without expert advisers, would be like the dumb talking to the deaf. The best indication of Churchill's knowledge of economics is found in the humorous (but true) incident at the Commonwealth Conference. Serious discussions had been going on for half an hour on the need for 'buffer stocks' of rubber, tin and other stability-needing commodities. Churchill was wearing his hearing aide but nevertheless learned over to Anthony Eden and asked: "But why do we need so much Butter Scotch?"

HIGHER EDUCATION FOR WOMEN

By Mrs. MARY C. RAO

I believe in education for at least four years for everybody. It is more just and important that everybody has that much education before any one has a college education at public expense, except to the extent necessary for the former objective.

I believe that there is no sex in brains. There should be little or no difference in the amount of educational opportunity on the ground of sex.

There should be wide choice in the types of knowledge and skills to be acquired and the choice should be real. Many girls may be more interested in the knowledge and skills that go into home-making. Professions like teaching, nursing and the preparation of food on a big scale, are of the kind. Even municipal government is just a house-keeping job, on a larger scale.

There should be a survey of jobs now open to women, and for that matter, boys as well, so that they can have some clear idea of the possibilities. They should be given advice regarding the knowledge and skills needed to fill them well. College courses should be flexible enough to permit combination of subjects needed for the jobs. Night and vacation schools should be provided for those who cannot attend the day schools.

Teaching should form part of the

whole college course of four years, like physics or history, and not a post-graduate course of one year. Many girls as well as boys are likely to take it because it provides them with a ready job as education expands.

The present examination system seems out-moded. It would be better if each professor or teacher did his own continuous examining, as it were, of his students, and each course is finished during the term it is taught. Those who want degrees can accumulate the necessary number of credits, while others can get the knowledge and skill that they seek. This system can more easily be extended to night and vacation schools. A college that will not maintain a high standard will lose out to one that does, for its pupils will not get good jobs.

All women must not only be equipped to earn their own living, but should earn their living for a while before marriage. Earning one's living is a discipline which nothing else can give to an equal degree. Besides, it gives confidence to the women that they can stand on their own again, if and when necessary.

Until a goodly number of women prove that they are the equal of men by equal or better success in the same classes, they will find it difficult to secure positions of trust and

responsibility which they should have in the community.

Men and women live, and must live, in the same world. While it should not be made compulsory, they should be encouraged to spend their school-days together, so that they can have easy and natural manners with each other.

It is sometimes said that higher education is wasted on women because they will marry and raise families. I think that it is the strongest reason for giving them the highest education they can take. The old system has produced few good, but many poor, wives and mothers, judged by modern needs. They are not friends and companions to their husbands; often they are not even hostesses to them. I have seen very small children put into boarding schools because their fathers did not trust their wives to bring them up to modern standards. I have heard dozens of men speak with anything but respect for their wives because they were old-fashioned. I have known of men who were denied promotions because their wives could not take full share in the partnership. I have known modernish men taking modernish women as their second wives and discarding their first wives because they were old fashioned. Such tragedies can be avoided only when the education of women is on a par with that of men, and not inferior.

Education must fit every one, man or woman, to be a useful citizen in a changing world. Traditional education of women seems to have failed because it looked too much to the past, instead of living in the present and preparing for the future. There is much to be said for the philosophy:

Hats off to the Past;

But coats off to the Future.

Henry van Dyke's comparison between Europe and America may be applicable to India as well:

*I know that Europe's wonderful,
Yet something seems to lack:
The Past is too much with her,
And the people looking back,
But the glory of the Present
Is to make the Future free,—*

*We love our land for what she is,
And what she is to be.*

Sunday is Paludrine day

Take a tablet after a meal.



(CP 81)

ANDHRA STATE AND ITS FINANCES

By R. RAMADAS

THE Prime Minister's announce- in the House of the People on December 19, regarding the decision of the Government of India to create an Andhra State comprising the undisputed Telugu speaking areas in Madras Province opens up discus- sions on the political and financial issues of the proposed step. The terms of reference set forth for Chief Justice Wanchoo specifically cover the financial implications of the Government's decision, and it be- comes the duty of the interests involved to clarify their stand on the successive stages of the financial arrangements suggested.

The first and the most discussed aspect of the finances of the pro- posed Andhra State is that which concerns its budget. The Dhar Commission—The Linguistic Provin- ces Commission—devoted a separate chapter to the financial aspect of linguistic States and regarding the Andhra State it concluded that it will have a deficit of Rs. 652 lakhs, "to start with". "As far as it can be envisaged now," they added, "the financial position of the Andhra Pro- vince is frankly disquieting. It is not enough to contemplate that in a few years' time it might be possible for Government to so husband its resources as to find adequate funds for its day-to-day administration. What is more important is that the Province must have sufficient means to carry out the various development schemes, which are of vital import- ance to the people and the Province." The basis of calculation adopted by the Commission, and the items included in the statement of revenue and expenditure are challenged by the political leaders and academici- ans alike. A second calculation prob- ably on the lines of the Dhar Commission's method is made by V. Ramakrishna. He places the deficit at Rs. 5 crores. Dr. B. Nata- rajan, Economic Adviser to the Gov- ernment of Madras in his "Madras Finances" (1948-49) sets out the

revenue and expenditure for the eleven Telugu districts. On the exact magnitude of the deficit no unanimity prevails, as amongst the several authorities. The method adopted in the preparation of the revenue and expenditure has a vital bearing on the figure arrived at, and as in the case of the Dhar Commis- sion's estimates, it may be positively misleading, arbitrary and open to challenge. Dr. Natarajan's table also is not convincing as the heads of revenue included are not exhaustive. For example, no specific mention is made of the Andhra share of the income tax, or receipts from forests, industries, etc. The method of apportionment is not explained though presumably actuals obtained from administration records form the basis. In 1948-1949, according to this statistical table, land revenue including portion due to irrigation realised from Andhra districts, was 45.1% of the total, Excise 44.6%, Stamps 36.9%, Registration 29%, sales tax 22.7% and so on. An appro- ximate revenue and expenditure statement can be compiled for the proposed Andhra State on the basis of the above percentage. The reve- nue and expenditure statement com- piled by the Dhar Commission and a summary of the statistical table presented by Dr. B. Natarajan are given below.—

Dhar Commission's Estimate:	
(Based on figures for three years 1945 to 1948).	In lakhs of Rs.
Revenue	1,653.79
Add increase due to enhancement of rates on sales tax.	110.00
Deduct decrease due to introduction of Prohibition.	493.00
Deduct grants for post-war development schemes.	64.00
Revenue	1,206.79
	or
	1,207.00

(Based on figures for three years 1945 to 1948).	In lakhs of Rs.
Expenditure	1,684.3
Add increase due to enhancement of dearness allowance and house rent allowances.	70.00
Add increase due to Prohi- bition enforcement staff.	32.00
Add overhead charges.	75.70
Add interest charges on the cost of construction of new capital.	40.00
Add charges on mainte- nance of buildings etc., in new Capital.	20.00
Deduct post-war develop- ment schemes.	64.00
Total	1,858.52
Deficit	651.52

Dr. Natarajan's Estimate (1948-49)	
Total expenditure on revenue account	1,331.71
Total receipts	1,243.02
Total receipts (excluding excise)	1,079.76

A study of the above figures should emphasise the scant finances of the new State. It may have to give up all ideas of undertaking develop- ment projects, postpone building a proper capital city and practice Spar- tan simplicity in day-to-day admin- istration. The taxable capacity of the subjects is low, and the burden of existing taxation heavy. The suc- cess of an agricultural income-tax or death duties recommended by the Planning Commission is not assured. The per capita income is low in the Andhra districts. In the Madras State taken as a whole it is Rs. 254-8-1 in 1949-50, whereas it is Rs. 369-4-9 in Bombay and Rs. 306-14-11 in C. P., and the lack of the institutional framework to direct savings is a further handicap. Considering all indications it looks as if the new Andhra State can frame a balanced budget, or at least escape a dangerous deficit only with the aid of some substantial Central subvention. In this context, the offer of some grant for construction of a new capital by the residuary Madras State seems necessary.

Another aspect of the financial ar- rangements is the apportionment of assets and liabilities. The Dhar Commission suggested that assets existing in any area may be left to remain there and evaluated at their market price so that a compensation in terms of money may be paid to the losing province on the whole. It may be suggested here that the ac- celerated progress of irrigation and power projects in Tamilnad and the direct and indirect benefits derived therefrom entitle the Andhra State to a special set-off of Rs. 20 crores or thereabouts. In support of this stand it may be remembered that in 1932-33 the revenue of the Telugu districts was Rs. 618.67 lakhs and the expenditure was Rs. 447.78 lakhs, resulting in a clear surplus. These figures are furnished by the Account- tant General in connection with the Resolution in the Council in 1933 for creating the Andhra Province. They also reveal that the surplus of Andhra districts was Rs. 170.89 lakhs while the surplus of the whole State was only Rs. 101 lakhs. Simi- larly, it was laid on the table of the Assembly in 1938 that the revenues of the eleven Andhra districts were Rs. 580.33 lakhs and the expenditure was Rs. 447.1 lakhs. The surplus was Rs. 133.2 lakhs that year, as against a nominal surplus for the entire pro- vince of Rs. 37 lakhs. A thorough scrutiny into the Andhra and resi- duary parts of Madras finances over the last 50 years either by the Chief Justice of Rajasthan High Court or by a special committee consisting of representatives from the Centre and the Madras Government should clear all these matters.

Another important aspect of the proposed creation of the Andhra State is the capacity of the new State to participate in the develop- ment activities envisaged in India's First Five Year Plan. A look at the Madras part of it with a huge expen- diture of Rs. 180 crores, and the pro- jects included therein should impress observers of the drive and confidence that the first Government of Andhra should command, as otherwise the structure of the whole Plan may be greatly distorted.

LITTLE JOKES THAT MEAN MUCH

By MATTHEW HALTON

ONE day Joseph Stalin, following the example of Haroun al Raschid, disguised himself as an ordinary citizen and went strolling among the Moscow crowds to find out what the people really thought of him. Over a cup of tea in the Park of Rest and Culture, he struck up a conversation with a worker, and after a few minutes he said: "Tell me honestly, what do you really think of Comrade Stalin?"

The worker put his finger to his lips. "S-s-sh!" he said. "I cannot tell you here, there are too many people. Come with me."

The worker led Stalin to a remote and unfrequented corner of the park. Stalin said impatiently: "Now you can tell me. There's not a soul in sight. What do you really think of Stalin?"

The worker looked carefully around and whispered: "Don't tell anybody or my friends would never speak to me again—but I'm for him!"

In Russia and in the satellite countries there are hundreds of stories like that going rounds among the people. Stifled laughter, it has been called, the bitter humour that cannot be denied even under the most draconian dictatorship. The political joke is not much of an outlet from tyranny, but it is better than nothing, and the sterner the dictatorship the more numerous the jokes. It has always been so. In Greek and Roman literature we find similar stories about the Alexanders and the Caligulas.

The Germans were good at it under Hitler, especially the Berliners, who are noted for astringent wit. As long ago as 1933, when Hitler came to power, they had a story about a man who plunged into a river to save the Fuehrer from drowning. The grateful Hitler asked the man's name and then told him that any wish he wanted to make would be granted at once. The man thanked

him and said: "Don't tell anyone who saved you."

The same joke is now told in Russia about Stalin, in Czechoslovakia about Gottwald, in Romania about Ana Pauker, and in Bulgaria about Vulko Chervenkov. But new ones are always being invented, and many of them filter out through the Iron Curtain. They satirize the secret police, Stalin, the party bosses and Communist inefficiency. They spread with great speed. They are the only remaining means of free expression among the 300,000,000 people of the Russian and satellite worlds.

One of the commonest of these jokes in Moscow is a form of greeting between friends, which reflects conditions in the workers' paradise with grim humour. A man meets a friend and says: "Well, Ivan, how are things today?" "Much better, thank you," replied Ivan. "Worse than yesterday, of course, but much better than tomorrow."

The secret police, and the universal fear of the secret police, is probably the commonest target for stifled laughter throughout the Communist world (and it is one thing the secret police cannot suppress). There is the story, for example, about the discovery by archaeologists in Hungary of an ancient mummy.

When the news of the discovery was published, an urgent command came from Moscow: "You are ordered to prove that this is the mummy of Genghis Khan. Stalin says that in this way you will add to the fame and prestige of Communist scientists."

The Hungarian Institute of Anthropology went obediently to work and in due course they reported the discovery was indeed the mummy of Genghis Khan.

"How did you prove it?" came the next question from Moscow.

"It was simple," replied the scientists. "We put the case in the hands

of the secret police and the mummy confessed."

Another story, from Poland, illustrates the sardonic humour of which both the secret police and the party bosses are the butt. One night a miserable citizen was wandering alone down a street in Warsaw, talking and muttering to himself. "I hate them!" he was saying. "Those dirty, rotten blankety-blank so-and-so's, I hate them!" Suddenly the rough hand of the law fell on his shoulder. "You're arrested," said the policeman. "You have been making illegal and treasonable remarks against the authorities."

The unhappy citizen remonstrated indignantly. "This is nonsense!" he protested. "I never even mentioned the authorities!"

"No, of course, not," replied the policeman, "but you described them perfectly!"

In similar vein is a bit of underground humour from Prague. Two senior officials of the Communist Party were strolling in St. Wenceslas Square after a tiring day. For a few minutes they discussed the unending stream of directives from Moscow which it was their duty to enforce. Then, after a silence, one official said to the other: "What do you think of the future of our beloved country under Communist rule?"

His colleague replied: "I think the same as you do." "Oh, you do, do you?" cried the other. "In that case, comrade, I must report you at once to the secret police!"

A story that has had tremendous success in Sofia concerns Vulko Chervenkov, boss Communist of Bulgaria. Chervenkov had given orders for a special issue of postage stamps bearing his portrait. Some time later he noticed that he never saw any letters carrying these stamps. He called in the postmaster-general and demanded angrily why the stamps were not in circulation.

The postmaster said they were in circulation but were not popular because they did not stick.

"Nonsense!" said Chervenkov. He took one of the stamps from his drawer, licked it and stuck it on an

envelope. "You see," he said, "they stick perfectly. Now why do I never see them on letters?"

The postmaster replied: "I see I shall have to tell you the truth. The public keeps spitting on the wrong side."

Another favourite butt of satellite humour is Ana Pauker, the redoubtable Communist leader of Romania. One story at her expense concerns a Romanian who could face life under Communism no longer and decided to commit suicide. But Government taxes had robbed him so thoroughly that he could not afford to buy poison, or a rope, or a pistol, or even a knife. "Under Communism," he thought, "you cannot even kill yourself." But suddenly he had a bright idea. He would get someone else to kill him.

He made his way to the house where Ana Pauker lived and started shouting at the top of his voice. "Down with Ana Pauker!" he shouted. "Ana Pauker is the oppressor of the people! Let us kill this monster Ana Pauker!"

He expected the Red guards and the police to shoot him down. And in a moment they came running toward him, hundreds of them. But they did not shoot. They embraced the little man and cried: "Tell us, comrade, have the Americans arrived already?"

The longing for liberation is illustrated too, by another story from Bucharest. Stalin decided to see how things were getting along. Ana Pauker took him to inspect a girl's school, and he had this conversation with the brightest pupil:

Stalin: "Little girl, who is your father?"

Girl: "It is Comrade Marshall Stalin, great father of the working masses of the world."

Stalin: "Very good, little girl. And who is your mother?"

Girl: "Mother Russia, inspiration of all peace-loving nations."

Stalin: "Splendid. You have learned your lessons perfectly. Now tell me what you want to be when you grow up."

Girl: "An orphan."

One of the best Stalin stories I have heard was told to me last year in Belgrade. It concerns a Russian soldier and a British soldier, both of them sentries standing guard at the frontier between the Eastern and Western zones of Germany.

The Englishman looked at his watch and said, "Only 10 minutes more and I'll be relieved from duty. Thank God."

The Russian then looked at his watch and said: "In 10 minutes I'll be relieved too, Thank Stalin!"

The English soldier was shocked. "Why Stalin?" he asked. "What would you say if Stalin were dead?"

"I'd say, 'Thank God'" said the Russian.

Finally, a story told by the Russians themselves. A Communist official was visiting a farming village and got into conversation with a very old man.

"How old are you?" he asked.

"I'm 50," said the wizened old fellow. And when the official showed surprise and doubt, he added: "To tell the truth, I'm 80 years old. But these last 30 years since the Communists came to power—well, you don't call that living do you?"

For the bitterest story I have heard, in this genre of stifled laughter, I would go back to the Germans and to Hitler. Just after the war in Berlin my wife and I met a charming German woman and she was describing some of the terrible Allied air raids in the days when the RAF would drop 2,000 tons of bombs at night and the Americans would come along the next morning and drop another 2,000 tons. Even in

their shelters in the horror, the Berliners did not quite lose their famous sense of humour, because here is a story they used to tell (it presupposed that the British would be the ones to capture Berlin):

The British cross the Rhine, and Hitler's lieutenants go to him and say, "Look, Fuehrer, we cannot win the war now. Let us give up before Germany is entirely destroyed."

"No, no!" roars Hitler. "We shall fight for every tree and every stone and to the last drop of blood!"

They fight on till all Germany is destroyed, and at last the British surround Berlin. Again the lieutenants go to Hitler, "You will admit now," they say, "that the war is lost. But at least, if we surrender now, we will save what is left of Berlin."

Again Hitler refuses, "Never!" he says. "We'll fight till not a person is left in the hot ashes of Berlin!"

At last Berlin is nothing but death and ruin, and the British surround Hitler's Chancellery. For the last time the lieutenants go to their leader, "Fuehrer," they say, "honour is surely satisfied now. Surely we can surrender now!"

But Hitler still refuses, and the fight goes on till all Hitler's men are gone, and it is over. The British stride triumphantly into Hitler's office. Hitler rises from his chair, removes his false moustache, reveals himself as a British agent, and says: "Well, gentlemen, have I done a good job?"

He had destroyed his country, and the Germans knew it in the horror of the last days, but some of them could make that joke about it. —Copyright—NNF.

PRINTER'S DEVIL

THE genius of the English language does not permit the provision of substitutes for recognised idioms or using them in an unaccepted setting. We have 'a maiden speech', but not 'a maiden essay', 'broad daylight', not 'broad moonlight'. We pick 'a quarrel', but not 'a fight'. Many split the infinitive; but all the same the split infinitive is treated as a mistake of grammar. "I will be able", "I will be

glad", and similar expressions are used by many. I have had to write to some eminent persons holding high administrative positions in the State about this wrong usage.

The phrase "printer's devil" in the sense of a mistake made by the compositor has been noted as an error in books on grammar and is not recognised by dictionaries.—R. Srinivasa Iyengar.

RECOGNIZE OR CRUSH CHINA, SAYS JUSTICE DOUGLAS

By P. G. KRISHNAYYA

THESE are the observations by Associate Justice W. O. Douglas of the Supreme Court of the United States, as the fruit of his extended tour through the Far East. In Korea, as elsewhere in Asia, Justice Douglas went to the scene of action and saw for himself. His thoughts on the Korean War may not meet with universal agreement, but they are the consequence of a thoughtful man's visit to the places where things are happening, and of his conversations with the men who are making them happen.

"What should American policy be? There are, it seems to me, five possible courses of action. First: Maintenance of the present limited warfare. This is plainly undesirable. Even when there was no offensive under way, even when patrolling was the only activity at the front, the U. N. casualties averaged 60 a day. Moreover, the present stalemate resolves no controversy and does little to advance the cause of Korean independence. Second: Withdrawal from Korea. If we withdrew from Korea, that country would be condemned to Communist conquest. Moreover, we would lose face, not in the superficial sense but in the deep sense of honour and integrity. Our word in Asia would be forever debased. Third: An armistice with Red China. If there were only an armistice, Red China deep in Korean territory, would probably stay there. If she withdrew, she probably would leave behind a Communist puppet government of her own creation that would set the stage for another invasion from the north. If the stalemate following an armistice were indefinitely prolonged, it is doubtful that we could match the patience of the Chinese in waiting out the situation. Fourth: A political settlement with Red China. Red China, though controlled by the Communists lock, stock and barrel, is a political reality and the only power on the mainland.

Red China is a real power in Asia, potentially the greatest, perhaps.

"Red China may eventually be liberated. But there is no prospect of it in the foreseeable future. Today, Red China may be in no mood to make a political settlement with the West. Or if she is, Russia may be in no mood to let her do so. Moreover, Red China might set too high a price for a settlement. In my view, the price would be too high if the settlement called for a delivery of Formosa to the Communists. For the West by that act would be accomplice to the murder of millions of people. No one knows whether a political settlement with Red China is possible. No one will know unless the matter is canvassed. The burden of war in Korea indicates that it should be tried. A political settlement with Red China is, I think, the only peaceful way of getting the Chinese Army out of Korea and of unifying that nation.

"Fifth: All out war with China. If Red China were approached in good faith for a political settlement and she refused, only one real alternative would be left, all-out war. All-out war would have as its aim, not the conquest of China but the unification of Korea and the fulfilment of the promises made at the Cairo and Moscow Conferences.

"These alternatives must be viewed full face if a Korean decision is to be reached. That decision is more difficult today than it was two years ago. But the need for a clear-cut, final decision has never been more important. It is time we re-stated in simple terms the issues at stake in Korea.

"The independence of nations—the right to self-determination—is today the outstanding issue in international affairs. If at any time we desert that cause, we are unworthy of our traditions. If we ever do desert it, we will concede Communist imperialism the formula for engulfing the truth."

DICTATORSHIP BREEDS CORRUPTION

By **BERTRAND RUSSELL**

SINCE 1945 the Russians have had a series of spectacular successes, and some people, whose memory is short, have imagined that these successes of the Russians have been no more astonishing than the successes of Hitler from 1933 to 1940. Hitler failed, as any rational man might have expected. The Russians likewise will fail, and for similar reasons.

Ever since the 16th century any nation on the continent of Europe that seemed to have any prospect of success, has embarked upon a scheme of world conquest. The Spaniards tried it first. They had immense advantages. At first almost the whole of the western hemisphere belonged to them. They had boundless supplies of gold and silver with which they could purchase mercenaries and even—in those days—the ministers of hostile Powers. Nevertheless they failed.

The French, who on the theological grounds should have sided with them, played a part similar to that which Tito is now playing. The Dutch and English defeated them by stubbornness and skill. In the end a French dynasty was established on the throne of Spain, and as Louis XIV remarked: "There are no longer the Pyrenees."

Louis XIV, however, had not drawn a right moral from the event. The moral he drew was that France was stronger than Spain, not that no one country can dominate the world. He set to work at once to imitate the Spaniards, and step by step France went down the same road to disaster. Marlborough's victories, the Seven Year's War, and Napoleon's Russian campaign successively weakened France, which has never, since 1815, been in a position to dominate Europe. The coup de grace was given by Bismarck in 1870.

The Germans, however, like Louis XIV, drew the wrong moral. First the Kaiser, and then Hitler resumed the impossible task which had defeated the Duke of Alba and

Napoleon. Like their predecessors, in their vain attempt they led their country down an arduous and bloody road to ruin.

Man may be defined as the animal that will not learn from experience. After Spain, France and Germany had thrown away what was, in each case, a practical certainty of prosperity for the sake of a dream, the Russians—perhaps ignorantly, perhaps in impious presumption—have started to travel along the same road. It is a road which, in their case as in the others, must lead to ultimate downfall.

You may say: 'But this time the aspirants to world supremacy have all the cards in their hands.' It seemed so in each of the previous cases; but in each of the previous cases power generated insolence, insolence generated resentment, and resentment at last generated victory for the forces that stood for freedom.

It is still possible that the Russians may hold their hand and decide to develop peacefully the vast resources that they now control. But the omens are not favourable. Year by year, and month by month, the prospect of a third world war becomes more threatening, and it is increasingly to be feared that Moscow will follow the example of Madrid and Paris and Berlin. If this does happen, what solid grounds, apart from historical analogies, have we for expecting a victory for the Western Powers?

First and foremost, America and the British Commonwealth between them considerably surpass the industrial potential of the U. S. S. R. They surpass it still more decisively in industrial skill; and most of all in the scientific knowledge which is useful in modern war. People have made our flesh creep with the news of an atomic explosion somewhere in Russian territory; and we have been told of eminent German scientists captured by the Russians, and ins-

pired with the desperate hope of wreaking vengeance on their Western enemies.

All this, I think, is very easily overestimated. The German scientists under Hitler made a pitiful showing; and the victorious allies, when they came to investigate the work of German atomic physicists, could hardly bring themselves to believe how incompetent it had been. The German atom physicists themselves, who were by that time in American hands, when they heard of Hiroshima refused to believe the news, on the ground that what German science could not achieve must be impossible to the scientists of America.

Nor is the intellectual atmosphere in Russia at all favourable to scientific advances. Everybody has to believe or pretend to believe, whatever fad happens to catch Stalin's fancy. On genetics—a subject of great practical importance to Russia, since it is capable of increasing the area over which wheat can profitably be grown—Stalin has chosen to take over an antiquated opinion derived ultimately from Lamarck through the medium of Samuel Butler and Bernard Shaw. There is every reason to hope that Stalin will adopt some equally absurd opinion on the subject of the atom, and that atom physicists capable of new discoveries will be liquidated.

I think we may hope that Russia, in technical scientific matters, will begin by being five years behind America, and will gradually drop fur-

ther behind as the deadening effects of intellectual dictatorship become more evident.

Russia has vast natural resources, but some of them are extremely vulnerable to allied attack. This applies especially to oil. It will probably be possible, by means of atom bombs, to set the oil fields upon which Russia depends ablaze, and destroy Russian supplies for the duration, if not for ever. It is true that the Russians may be able to deprive us of the supplies which at present we get from the Middle East, but at a pinch, and if American Rotarians can be induced to give up motoring, the supplies of the New World will suffice. I think, therefore, that we may reasonably hope for a great superiority in the matter of oil, and without oil a modern war is scarcely possible.

There is one tremendously powerful force which the Russians will have to contend with as best they may: I mean nationalism. It is obvious that, at the faintest opportunity, the Poles, the Czechoslovaks, and the Hungarians would claim national independence as the Yugoslavs have already done. I doubt whether armies of Poles would fight their Russian masters any more enthusiastically than they did in the days of the Tsars.

Nor is the danger that Russia has to face from nationalism confined to Europe. Does anybody really believe that China, however devoted to Communism, will submit tamely to Moscow? The Chinese are

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a proud nation. They have had a great empire since the time when Rome was engaged in desperate combat with the Carthaginians. They are patient, tenacious and astute. They fought the Japanese single-handed for many years while America supplied the Japanese with the necessary motor transport. They have emancipated themselves successfully from the Western European domination which they had endured since 1840, and I do not see them submitting to domination by Eastern Europeans.

While Moscow can help them in their national interests, they will side with Moscow, but on the very day that Moscow demands a *quid pro quo* they will, like the Austrians on a former occasion, astonish the world by their ingratitude.

Owing entirely to folly on the part of certain Western Powers, nationalism, which is far and away the strongest political force throughout Asia, has been driven into the arms of Russia, except in the one case where a Western Power has behaved with wisdom—the Indian Peninsula. I think it may be hoped that the West will learn to be wiser in its dealings with Asia, and that Russia, on the contrary, will become more foolish.

As soon as Asia realises that Russia is employing Communism as a new technique of white man's imperialism, Asia will turn against Russia. And, given the tendency of all despots to folly, it will not be long I think, before Asia has occasion to learn this lesson.

There are, I think, in addition to such considerations, reasons for expecting an internal decay of the Communist faith. It imposes a very harsh strain upon human nature, a discipline as irksome as that of a Trappist monastery. It demands a renunciation of the simple pleasures of safety and comparative idleness. It imposes this for a distant end which—like the rainbow—recedes as the weary traveller advances towards it.

Sooner or later, especially if initial successes give a false sense of security, the love of luxury and ease will sap the energies of weary Communists. They will say: Why should

we not enjoy some part of the pleasures that our efforts have made possible? Why should we continue to toil nominally for posterity, but really for the Kremlin? Corruption will creep in. Harems will seem more attractive than the supervision of factories. Some rash men will desire more liberty for speculation than is possible at present.

Already jokes are beginning to sap religious fervour. The Moscow comic paper 'Krokodil' has distributed some of its choicest jokes to English fellow-travellers, to show that even in Russia there are lighter moments. One of these jokes represents a man and woman listening to the nightingale. She says, 'Do you like the song of that nightingale?' He replies: 'Until I know who wrote the melody I can say nothing.' This joke suggests that there is perhaps already a feeling that more freedom of opinion would be agreeable.

We all know how the rule of the saints in England led to an almost universal welcome for Charles II, and how, at the fall of Robespierre, all France heaved a sigh of relief at being no longer obliged to profess republican virtue. It is clear that the same feeling must exist in Russia, and that only fear of the police prevents it from finding utterance. The Russians are attempting to force human beings into an unnatural shape. They have shown more skill in this attempt than any previous band of fanatics, but nevertheless, it is an attempt which is bound to fail. If it does not fail sooner, it will fail in the moment of apparent success. In the moment in which it fails, happiness will return to the troubled races of man.

(Bertrand Russell, one of the world's best-known philosophers, is a Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and a Fellow of the Royal Society. He was awarded the order of Merit in 1949. His numerous books cover a wide range of subjects and include 'Principles of Social Reconstruction', 'The Practice and Theory of Bolshevism', 'History of Western Philosophy' and 'Authority and the Individual'. The Swedish Academy awarded him the 1950 Nobel Prize for literature for his 'versatile and important writings in which he has shown himself an apostle of unity and freedom of thought.')

BERTRAND RUSSELL

By R. RAMAMURTHI

"There is no key: politics, economics, psychology, education, all act and react. It is necessary to embrace all life and all science....All that I can do is to make some men conscious of the problem and of the kind of directions in which solutions are to be sought."—BERTRAND RUSSELL.

BERTRAND RUSSELL recently hit the newspaper headlines when he married the fifty-two year old Miss Edith Finch, his secretary. He is eighty and this will be his fourth marriage. Even his greatest admirer will find it difficult to deny that his matrimonial career has been somewhat a stormy one. In 1894, when he was twenty-two, he married Miss Alys Pearsall Smith. In 1921, divorced by his first wife, he married Miss Dora Black. Again in 1935, divorced by his second wife, married Patricia Helen Spence.

His views on marriage and morals have time and again landed him in difficulties. In 1940, his right to teach Philosophy at the College of the City of New York was questioned and his appointment to the college faculty was cancelled. Again, way back in 1914, his pronounced pacifist views earned for him a fine of hundred pounds. He had taken an active part in the No Conscription campaign and had written a leaflet criticizing a sentence of two years on a conscientious objector. To pay the fine, his library was seized. Trinity College dismissed him from his lecturership. Harvard invited him but he was refused a passport. To crown it all, in 1915, he was sentenced to six months' imprisonment for his pacifistic article in *The Tribunal*. Like all true great men, he made his stay in prison memorable by writing his excellent "Introduction to Mathematical Philosophy, during this period. Soon after he visited Soviet Russia to study first hand the conditions obtaining there and came back disliking it intensely. He said so frankly in "The Practice and Theory of Bolshevism," (1920) which cost him many of his radical sympathizers.

Bertrand Russell is one of the few great men to have read his own obituary notices in the newspapers. This interesting incident happened in 1920 when he was Professor of Philosophy at the University of Peking. He had a particularly severe attack of pneumonia and some enterprising Japanese papers announced his death. But he recovered to read his own obituaries and returned to England. In 1922 and 1923, he ran without success for Parliament on the Labour ticket.

Bertrand Russell has weathered many a storm in his career and has gone through them cheerfully because of his passion for the truth as he sees it. A fearless and outspoken man, he has not hesitated in the least to modify his views if they were tested against Time and found wanting. During his long writing period of about fifty years, often in the earlier works a definite view was asserted only to be later changed or modified. Alan Dorward, in his excellent study of Bertrand Russell in the bibliographical series of supplements to *The British Book News*, divides philosophers into two classes, according to whether they thought out their views once and for all and never saw subsequently any reason to modify them, or whether they went on in the following years developing, modifying or changing them. He gives the examples of Berkeley and Hume as belonging to the first category and Plato and Kant to the second. Russell belongs definitely to the second category.

More than that of any other living philosopher, the name of Bertrand Russell is well-known over the five continents. Alan Dorward maintains that Russell has made greater original contributions to philosophy than any other writer in Great Britain since Hume. Add to this, "a faculty, not at least common among philosophers of any nation, of expressing his ideas in lucid and even elegant language," and we get at the key to his tremendous popularity.

Bertrand Russell was born on May 18, 1872 at Trellack, Wales and became an orphan at the early tender age of three years. The Russell family is one of the oldest in England. In the autobiographical sketch contributed to the volume devoted to him in the Library of Living Philosophers, he tells us how he came of a political family, his grandfather, Lord John Russell, having been twice Prime Minister during the reign of Queen Victoria. No wonder, then, that he was groomed to a political career but as he says, "from the age of eleven, when I began the study of Euclid, I had a passionate interest in mathematics, combined with a belief that science must be the source of all human progress." He was privately educated, to which he owes his perfect knowledge of French and German, and, at Trinity, he was a very high Wrangler and obtained a first class with distinction in Philosophy. Also a third interest was already claiming him,—Sociology. His first book in fact was on German Social Democracy (1896). He succeeded to the earldom in 1931 on the death of his elder brother, the second earl but he prefers to be known simply as Bertrand Russell. He was awarded the 1950 Nobel Prize for Literature.

Russell's immortality as a philosopher rests firmly on two books, *The Principles of Mathematics* (1903) and *Principia Mathematica* (1910-'13) the latter being the joint work of Whitehead and himself. The two books do not deal with mathematics in the ordinary sense of the word as the titles might suggest but with the foundations of logic. Russell maintains that mathematics and formal logic are one and that the whole of pure mathematics can be rigidly deduced from a small number of logical axioms. He argued this in outline in *The Principles of Mathematics*. This was followed by a detailed demonstration of his thesis in *Principia Mathematica*. Logic, which he prefers to call as "Logical Atomism," is the basis of his philosophy. His views on mind and matter, on ethics and metaphysics may have changed profoundly in the course of his life but these changes have all proceeded from successive deeper applications of his logical

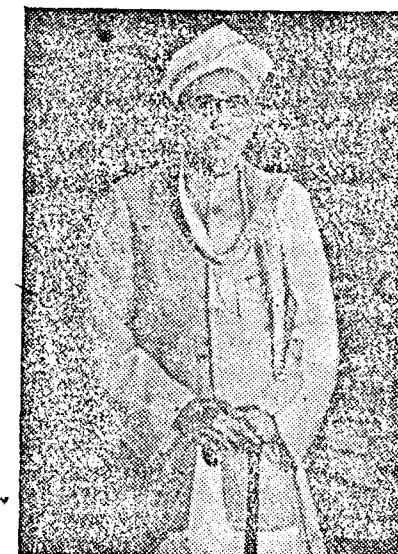
method. What distinguishes his whole work is his use of logical analysis as a method and his belief that by that method we can arrive at ultimate "atomic facts."

His immense popularity rests on his broadcasts, books, and essays on education, social and political affairs. There is nothing of the traditional English lord or of the absent-minded professor about him. He has never been one of those philosophers who live in a world of abstractions far from the madding crowd of humanity. In 1927, he started a school for young children which became world-famous but he had to close it down in 1932 when he found that it consumed too much of his time. His writings include *Analysis of Mind* (1921), *The ABC of Atoms* (1923), *The ABC of Relativity* (1925), *On Education* (1926), *An Outline of Philosophy* (1927), *The Analysis of Matter* (1927), *Mysticism and Logic* (1929), *Marriage and Morals* (1929), *The Conquest of Happiness* (1930), *The Scientific Outlook* (1931), *Education and the Social Order* (1932), *Freedom and Organization* (1934), *Power: A New Social Analysis* (1938), *An Enquiry into Meaning and Truth* (1940), *History of Western Philosophy* (1946), *Human Knowledge: Its Scope and Limits* (1948), *Authority and the Individual* (1949), *Unpopular Essays* (1950), *New Hopes for a Changing World* (1951).

A word about Russell's religion. Dr. S. Radhakrishnan in an admirable introduction to Shri Dilip Kumar Roy's book, *Among the Great*, is of the opinion that if a desire to worship and a faith in a sustaining presence are the marks of religion, Russell cannot be said to have felt the spirit of religion. Russell wishes to keep his "mental sky clear of mystic clouds," and for that reason once refused to go into a church with Rabindranath Tagore to hear the beautiful hymns. The great Indian philosopher-statesman reminds us how Russell, in a celebrated essay on *A Free Man's Worship* (1903) gave us the philosophy of a "disillusioned intellectual" which was later on included in *Mysticism and Logic* (1929) with the author's comment that its general attitude still seems to him, in the main, the one which

must be adopted by those who have no dogmatic religious beliefs, if inward defeat was to be avoided. Russell is a consistent monist and philosophical materialist with some leaning towards behaviourism and pragmatism.

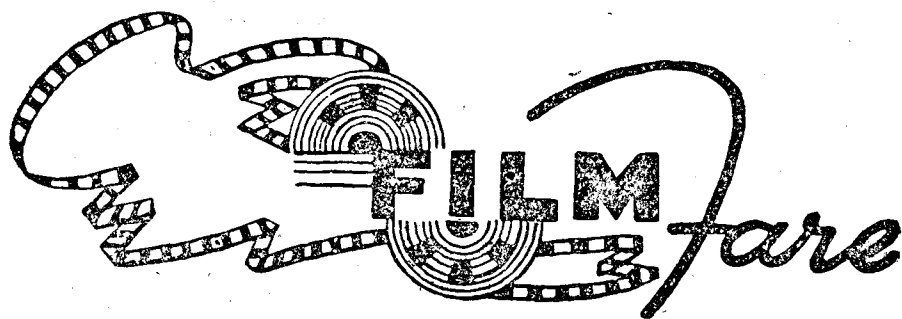
Russell is a passionate believer in Science. In a broadcast talk on his eightieth birthday, he told how he set out as a young man to help in the ending of hunger, misery, ignorance, hate, cruelty and war. It was his belief that poverty, pestilence and famine could be conquered by Science. Though much has been achieved in this direction, there is much yet to be accomplished and meanwhile Man has become a slave to Machine. McEwan Lawson reviewing Russell's latest book, *The Impact of Science on Society* in *John O' London's Weekly*, 4th July, '52, writes that "Bertrand Russell is rather like a magician who has waved a wand expecting a palace and instead, a monster has sprung up." Instead of glorious day, the application of mechanistic science to human culture has produced the very thing he hates. Something has gone wrong with Prospero's formula and Caliban, instead of being changed, snarls, bites and swells hideously. Will Durant's estimate of Russell is worth quoting here: (quoted in Dilip Kumar Roy's book, *Among the Great*): "The world has convinced Bertrand Russell that it is too big for his formulae, and perhaps too large to move very rapidly towards his heart's desire. And there are so many hearts and so many different desires. One finds him now an older and a wiser man, mellowed by time and a varied life; as wide-awake as ever to all the ills that flesh is heir to and yet matured into the moderation that knows the difficulties of social change. All in all, a very lovable man: capable of the profoundest metaphysics and the subtlest mathematics and yet speaking always simply, with the clarity which comes only to those who are sincere; a man addicted to fields of thought that usually dry up the springs of feeling and yet warmed and illumined with



Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar unveiled a large size portrait in oil of Sri K. V. Krishnaswami Aiyar at Sri Sundareswarar Hall, Mylapore on January 1, 1953. The portrait was presented to the Music Academy by Sangita Vidwans in appreciation of the services rendered by Sri Krishnaswami Aiyar as President of the Academy. It was painted by Mr. S. N. Chemkur.

pity, full of an almost mystic tenderness for mankind. Not a courtier, but surely a scholar and a gentleman, and a better Christian than some who mouth the word." Dilip Kumar Roy goes on to add, "And that is why he wins even when he loses, because of this fundamental warm sincerity of his which prefers even defeats through love to victories through ruthless power. And also because he is a poet too, a poet of love and faith even when he declaims in the language of dispassionate logic."

Bertrand Russell calls himself a "happy pessimist." He is a thin, wiry, short man, with a "hatchet face, furrowed cheeks, a Scot's complexion, and a heavy shock of white hair." His most notable feature is his large, piercing eyes,—the eyes of a philosopher.



By V. P. SATHE

WILL the year 1953 prove better than the year 1952? Superstitious as the film people are, they are asking the astrologers this question. According to some astrologers, with the Saturn changed, the situation must improve. Though, unless the general economical situation improves, one fails to understand how the collections would improve and the industry will prosper.

But perhaps good pictures would succeed in fighting depression and restoring prosperity. The hope of the industry is now centred round the box office response to the important pictures awaiting release in the next two months; especially *Jhansi Ki Rani* on whose success depends the future of colour film production in India. The other pictures which may turn the tide of the industry are Raj Kapoor's *Aah*, Mahesh Kaul's *Jeevan Jyoti*, Shantaram's *Teen Bathi Char Rasta*, Zia Sarhadi's *Footpath*, A. V. M.'s *Ladki*, Famous Pictures' *Jalianwala Bagh*, Sunny's *Uran Khatola*, Bimal Roy's *Do Bigha Zameen*, Abbas's *Rahi*, Ashok Kumar's *Parineeta*, Ahluwalia's *Wajid Ali Shah* and others.

While most of these pictures mark a distinct departure from the old formula, their success would bring new hope and usher in a true trend of healthy motion pictures in India. Of course, all this is possible if the Government gives positive help and stops just being tax-collector and policeman. Unless the industry gets relief from the Government as Shri Vasani put it so frankly, even good pictures would not be able to save the industry.

Incidentally, the boy-meets-girl

formula seems to have faded out and the *Yukiwarisoo* formula seems to be replacing it. About half-a-dozen pictures with a child hero are being made. Also the neorealism of Italian pictures seems to have influenced our producers. These changes, welcome as they are, would be permanent only if the pictures made on these new lines prove successful. Ultimately box-office will determine the future of our industry.

Personality Of The Week

It all started in a train. Two assistant directors travelling by third class compartment in a suburban train used to discuss the future and share "chances." One of them was on his way to Malad, the other on his way to Andheri. The "Malad" destination assistant was very ambitious; and the "Andheri" destination assistant pledged him all support whenever those ambitions are to be realized. The first was Raj Kapoor working in those days as assistant in Bombay Talkies; the second was Raja Nawathe working as assistant to Vijay Bhatt in Prakash when *Vikramaditya* was being made.

This casual acquaintance was renewed when Raj visited Prakash Studios to collect ornaments for Prithviraj's first play *Shakuntala* and it was further cemented when Raja started meeting Raj during the showing of *Deewar* at Opera House (Bombay). It was in the stuffy make-up room of the theatre that Raj used to discuss his production plan and told Raja "Whenever I start my production unit, you will join me." And true to his word Raja Nawathe was perhaps the first person to join R. K. Films.

Born on 14th October 1923 Raja Nawathe comes from a blue-blooded Brahmin family of Ratnagiri, an important town on the West Coast in Konkan. When he was fifteen, he left home and studies and came down to Bombay to find his fortune. He was interested in art and could handle the brush well. And so, believe it or not, tall, fair, sturdy Raja began his career as a poster-painter in Bombay. He worked with such well-known painters as G. Kamble, and among the banners he remembers to have painted were the banner of *Nai Kahani* and *Shakuntala*.

Later he joined Parshwanath Altekar, the well-known Maharashtrian artiste and stage producer and director. In those days Altekar was running an organisation called National Theatre which produced plays written by Mama Vaverkar. Then, Bhadra Kumar Yagnik who was working as publicity officer of Prakash introduced him to Vijay Bhatt and he got his first break in the film line. After working as an assistant, he got his first opportunity as associate director for a Tamil picture entitled *Deepawali* which was produced by Vasundhara Devi (mother of Vijayanthimala) and directed by Surya Kumar.

The contact and friendship with Raj however brought stability to his career. He is perhaps the senior-most member of R. K. Films unit and also one of the most popular members of the unit. Working day and night he has been doing yeomen's service to Raj Kapoor and he has been of great help in making *Aag*, *Barsaat* and *Awara*.

As the seniormost assistant, it was but natural that Raj should give him the first chance to direct a picture independently for R. K. Films. The word independently must be underlined; for Raja Nawathe is director in every sense of the term, of *Aah*. Raj does not interfere with his work at all.

It was Raja who selected the story of *Aah*; of course, the story had to be approved by Raj who later participated in the discussion of the script. But once the script was made the 'taking' part of it was entirely left to Raja Nawathe. Never on

sets did Raj try to boss over him; on the contrary he gave Raja all the honour that an artiste should and does to a director. Hence, Raja is not a director in name, but a director in reality, of *Aah*. Raja has been given all the facilities to make *Aah* a picture worthy of the company's reputation. And knowing as he does that the success of *Aah* would be the true outcome of his ten years' labour in the industry he is sparing no pains to make the picture as perfect as possible. So one can safely predict that when *Aah* is released in March we would have found another promising intelligent director.

Picture Of The Week

Novels, plays and now short stories are being transcribed to the screen. The idea of successfully transcribing three or four short stories of the same author in one picture originated in Britain and the "Quartet" "Trio" and "Encore"—all pictures based on Somerset Maugham's short stories, proved very successful.

Inspired by this example 20th Century Fox has brought to the screen five short stories of O'Henry, the great American short story writer, in O'Henry's "Full House." And as five top ranking scenarists, directors and an array of stars have been assembled to make the screen transcription perfect, this picture emerges out to be the best of its kind. More so, since the selection of the stories is remarkably good. Each story is significant and memorable in its own way; each story has the well-known O'Henry twist and the distinguishing human touch. If John Stienbeck who acts the role of narrator is responsible for this choice, he is to be complimented.

The first story "The Cop and the Anthem" directed by Henry Koster from a screenplay by Lamar Trotti stars Charles Laughton, David Wayne and Marilyn Monroe. Charles Laughton is superb as Soapy, the guy who spends his winter in jail and summer in park. He is a tramp and a loafer, a character which might have inspired Chaplin. The story recounts his strenuous efforts to get arrested. All these efforts fail and when after a visit to a Church he decides to work he is caught by a policeman for loiter-

ing and talking to a street-walker whom he addresses as a lady and sentenced to 90 days for vagrancy. Laughton has enriched O'Henry's memorable character and the irony of the situation is well brought out in the climax.

The second story "The Clarion Call" directed by Henry Hathway from a screenplay by Richard Breen stars Richard Widmark as a murderer and Dale Robertson as a detective whose conscience troubles him because he is indebted to the murderer for a thousand dollars. The struggle of the detective with his conscience and the killer's confidence in his own security which leads him inadvertently to dig his own grave and the irony underlying it is dynamically brought out in this story which ends with the detective paying off his debt and capturing the killer in a surprising twist.

The third and perhaps the best story of the lot is "The Last Leaf" starring Anne Baxter, Jean Peters and Gregory Ratoff. Directed by Jean Negulesco from a screenplay by Ivan Goff and Ben Roberts, it is an exquisite moving story of a frustrated young acting girl who believes that with the falling of a last leaf from the tree her life would end, and the three-dollar painter who cannot draw an apple and banana properly serving her life by painting the leaf so dexteriously that it looks like real in a stormy winter night at the cost of his own life. When the girl reviving her faith in life learns of the painter's death she says that he was a very good man, though not such a good artist. Her sister who discovers the truth about the last leaf retorts "No, he was a great artist and someday I will tell you, how great he was." On this poignant note, this story ends leaving a deep impression.

The fourth story "The Ransom Of Red Chief" is a brilliant satire on kidnapping. It is the story of two crooks who decide to kidnap a boy and demand ransom from his parents. As luck would have it they kidnap a boy whose loss is celebrated by his parents and neighbours; while the boy makes the life of the two crooks miserable with his pranks. The father not

only refuses to pay ransom but on the contrary demands 400 dollars if they want to return the son. And the crooks do pay that money to get rid of that boy. Highly amusing the role of subtle irony is again evident in this satirical tale adapted for the screen by Nunnally Johnson and directed by Howard Hawks. Allan and Levant play the crooks while Lee Akar acts J. B. the mischievous boy.

The fifth story "The Gift Of Magic" starring Jeane Crain as the young wire who sells her beautiful long hair to buy a chain for her husband's watch and Farley Granger as the young husband, a poor clerk who sells his watch to buy a jewelled comb for his wife has been translated in almost every Indian language. It is a heart-warming story in which irony has been used to heighten the poignancy of the sacrifice of husband and wife for each other. Henry King has directed deftly this story.

Each story is remarkable and it is enacted, directed and written for the screen in the best possible manner. The result is that one gets a rare feeling of satisfaction after seeing the picture—a feeling which one very seldom gets after seeing pictures after pictures every week.

And while one wishes that the maximum number of Indian picture-goers should see this picture one wonders whether a similar Indian picture presenting choicest short stories written by an Indian would ever be made.

The other notable foreign pictures which I saw recently and can commend are "The Happy Time", "Card" and "The Story of Will Rogers."

News Of The Week

—Vishram Bedekar performed the muhurat of Neeldhara Films' maiden picture *Bhagat Singh* on Thursday (Jan. 1, 1953), at Famous Studios. The first set was the house of Bhagwati Charan, comrade of Bhagat Singh. Kailash is playing the role of Bhagwati Charan, Shakila is cast as his wife while Shammi Kapoor is the hero. Pandurang Naik is cranking the camera.

—A record for an independent production has been established by M. S. Ahluwalia. Generally inde-

pendent producers are able to shoot for ten to fifteen days in a month; in case of *Firdaus* which went on the sets on 9th October the shooting rate has been twenty-three days a month. And at this rate the shooting would be over by 9th February. A sentimental story by Madhok, *Firdaus* stars Geeta Bali, Anoop Kumar, Lalita Pawar, Om Prakash in the cast.

—Hemen Gupta has joined the

ranks of independent producer-directors. He will launch his picture by the end of January. The story that he has selected deals with a child.

—Sohrab Modi is reported to have chartered a plane to bring 100 prints of *Jhansi ki Rani* from London to Bombay. The picture is expected to be released on 23-1-53. K. M. Modi has gone to Delhi to invite the Prime Minister to inaugurate the film.

ANDHRA STATE AND ITS IMPLICATIONS

By P. RAJESWARARAO

THE full implications of the proposed Andhra State are not viewed with impartiality and detachment by our publicists and public men. If the needs of a democratic administration are properly understood the Prejudice against linguistic States will disappear. They help to carry on the administration in the language of the State concerned. The individuality of the cultural unit will be safeguarded. The newly won freedom will have meaning to the people when it provides them full opportunities for self-expression.

Unfortunately this issue seems to have intensified parochial quarrels, jealousies and antagonisms on account of false sentiment and perverse logic. Take, for example, the problem of the Madras City. Like the other two presidency towns of Calcutta and Bombay it is cosmopolitan in its character and composition. It has been built by the combined efforts of all the sections of the people with resources drawn from every part of the State. A particular section might have dominated at a certain stage for a definite period. Starting with an individual like Chennappa coming from the mutrasi community it ended in a fellowship called Madrasi. Till recently 'Madrasi' as a term used to denote all South Indians in Northern India. While I was at Patna I was actually addressed as Mr. Madrasi.

Is it desirable or profitable to put an end to this heritage? If Madras were to prosper and rise to its full

stature it requires the water from the Krishna river and rice from Northern Circars. Madras instead of being the bone of contention can be converted into a confluence of the subnational achievements South of the Vindhyas. If a particular section of the people hitherto contributing to its prosperity are prohibited in playing their role it will spell ruin to Madras itself. Correspondingly Madras sinks into comparative insignificance. It will be like cutting the nose to spite the face.

Under this set-up what objection can there be for the capital of the seceding Andhra State and the parent Madras State continuing side by side. Traditionally and temperamentally we are accustomed to see a separated son and the father with other sons living in different portions of a common house, the dhobi, the barber, the potter, the carpenter, and the smith, etc., being common to them. Simla, for example, continues as the summer capital of the Government of India, the Government of the Punjab and the Government of Himachala Pradesh. Similarly the capital of India and the capital of the Delhi State co-exist at the same place, without any friction. Till recently Karachi was the capital of Pakistan and of Sindh. All said and done, the new State of Andhra and the parent State of Madras will be units in the Indian Union. Every one knows full well that the autonomy granted to the State is full of checks, counter-checks, restraints.

and limitations. The State in the Indian Union will not and cannot be sovereign in the American sense. Given the requisite goodwill the practicability of a joint capital for the State of Andhra and the Madras State is within the range of practical politics.

Leaving aside this commonsense point of view, different parties and individuals seem to take up particular views which are laboured if not artificial. Keeping their eye on Hyderabad, the Andhra Communists abandoned Madras long ago. While other parties are prepared to accept an Andhra State without Madras they too are not prepared to make a gift of it to the Tamilians. Thus they can neither accept nor reject the claim of Tamilians over Madras. It reminds us of the attitude of the Congress towards the communal award given by the British Premier, the late Mr. Ramsey MacDonald. Unfortunately the very approach of accepting or rejecting the claims of the particular section is unwarranted, undesirable and harmful.

Even if Andhras are made to quit

Madras lock, stock and barrel, they need not feel disheartened. If we are obliged to depart, we should depart as friends with the best of goodwill. After all, our admitted traits of similarity outweigh our alleged differences. It is not necessary that the High Court, the Secretariat with the Legislature and the University should be at one and the same place. In South Africa, Cape Town is the seat of the Legislature, while Pretoria is the seat of Government. The Universities of Oxford and Cambridge are noted for their high standard of learning when compared to the London University in the Metropolis. Since the Britishers were a seafaring people they concentrated on improving our Presidency capitals as they were also premier ports. Under the present set-up the centre of political gravity need not conform to old standards. Instead of leaving the vital issues to time and tide and the whims of the political partisans it is incumbent on non-party nationalists with no axe to grind to come forward, elucidate the situation and give the proper lead at this juncture.

THE ANDHRA STATE AND MADRAS

By S. NARAYANASWAMI

TO the large class of the politically untutored to the rank and file of which the writer belongs, all this enormous steam-letting by the protagonists of the Andhra State seems somewhat unintelligible. In the first place, I know of nobody outside the Rayalaseema and Coastal Andhra areas that does not want these great and verdant districts that are intersected by the picturesque Godavari and Krishna rivers to be constituted into a separate State. The agitation is two decades old and has been kept at fairly high temperature as all political agitation must be, by fuel feeding in appropriate seasons. The Congress, in however unguarded a moment it may have so resolved, is committed to linguistic provinces and cannot wipe the slate in petulance and say it will re-learn its geography in 1952. So the leaders of Coastal Andhra asked for it on a cake plate—now that the fifth year of Independence is over.

To deal with the administrative problems of such partition, we had a Partition Committee which sat through the silent watches of the night for a few weeks in Madras some three years ago and worked out details. Men with head for detail and who had respect for cultural ambitions that always inspire such demands sat at this exacting job and finished the work on the scheduled date. This Committee had a large number of non-Andhras on it including a civilian Secretary who has learnt to thrive on labours of Hercules. His work on the Partition Committee came in for praise at the time from the sponsors of the issue as from others. But Delhi's habit of depositing such reports and memoranda in deep freezers has come in for comment now and again and this was no doubt an inglorious anticlimax to an official ukase that asked for an urgent report on the proposed partition. In this melancholy context it seems hardly fair that the Madras Government, past and pre-

sent, should be chosen as the convenient peg on which to hang the grievance. Sri Rajagopalachari, the Chief Minister, was long ago alleged to have intervened to delay the Andhra Province formation by his erstwhile colleague and this was subsequently discovered to be an unfounded accusation. Rajaji has had the misfortune to have more read into his utterances than he ever meant to convey; sophistry and sarcasm have been woven by modern Bashyakacharyas into perfectly straightforward statements of his. It is whispered that at several recent Cabinet meetings he made no secret of his impatience about the formation of the Andhra State. Attacks on Rajaji have recently been fierce and needlessly fanatical. These are strongly reminiscent of Don Quixote tilting at windmills when he could sight no knight in armour offering him combat. For the Andhra State agitators were aware that the move had to come from Delhi. The Madras Government could not do vicarious atonement in the matter.

I am aware that immediately after the Partition Committee Report was completed and Delhi put it in cold storage, several Andhra brethren in the City of Madras who were in the professions or were in business heaved a clandestine sigh of relief. It is not to be put down to human nature's love of the status quo. There was more in it. The J. V. P. Report and the Dhar Committee Report which are the Old and New Testaments of the Andhra State's scripture are invoked or denounced and interpreted by the Jews and the Gentiles according as political day to day exigencies dictate. I do not know of any Tamil Nad politician who did not sympathise with or support the Andhra's demand for an opportunity to forge their own cultural and economic destinies. The caveat has been entered by the Rayalaseema people, and by a few gentlemen like Mr. V. Ramakrishna,

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who feel the time for separation inopportune and who visualise deficit budgets which might arrest economic, particularly industrial development. They think administrative problems of separation and the building of a capital might consume available energy and resources and little would be left for expansion programmes which must be put through. It is not for outsiders to pronounce on the validity of these apprehensions any more than it was for the Britisher to assess India's fitness to manage her affairs.

Madras City has verily proved the apple of discord. The Prakasam group has made a major issue of Madras being made a Commissioner's province and of locating the Capital in the City. They have refused to accept the Central Government's offer. The Wanchoo enquiry will not include the Madras City issue in its scope. Seldom in history has so momentous a consummation—laboured for over a generation—been put off for so strange a reason. Potti Sri-ramulu's supreme act of immolation justly spot-lighted the larger issue and hastened the Delhi announcement. It is unnecessary to use his name as emotional aid in this controversy over Madras.

The Andhra State need not start with a refugee capital. During World War II we had a number of refugee Governments concentrating their offices in London and London became a refugee capital for several Continental countries. It is somewhat difficult to conceive of a capital for any State outside its own frontiers except in emergencies as occur in war time. There are obvious anomalies and administrative difficulties in such an arrangement and I do not know why so big an issue as the ushering of a State should pivot on a stipulation to have a capital outside the proposed State. Surely the people in the Coastal Andhra Districts must be as puzzled as most of the non-Andhras are about this bally-ho about Madras. The average Andhra is profoundly dissatisfied with the poor industrial development of the Circars with all their natural advantages in regard to raw material and its high power development potential. The object of asking for a separate State is to

have the internal autonomy to build, to develop and to increase wealth production. Establishing a capital is part of the great task and several Andhra towns lend themselves easily for such a development, with their great water ways. Why should this task be regarded as onerous? No one can be weary of foot at the start of a journey. It is difficult to believe this brave band is developing cold feet.

Curiously enough, it is the Andhra Communist party that seems to be taking a sensible view of this question. They have shown robust optimism in the line they have taken. This is a refreshing variation from the usual slogan-dominated resolutions they adopt. I expect the non-Communist leaders will say that the Communists are anxious to be and are confident of coming into power and therefore they are in a great hurry to form the State and the Government there and hence are prepared to jettison the Madras issue in order to achieve their object without delay. Well, the answer to any such motive-ascribing would be, are not the Congress and the K.M.P. Andhras serious about the State? In the ultimate analysis, does it occur to the hot gospellers about Madras City that they lay themselves open to the suspicion that they are just beating the big drum and would keep the Andhra State issue as the continual subject of acrimonious agitation rather than have the State and lose the provocation for the drum beating. The agitation about Madras City and the leaders' anxiety to refashion the administrative set-up of Madras City before it ceases to belong to them looks like the first cousin to a scorched earth policy.

It would be an infelicitous beginning to make with a State when the goodwill of neighbours and Central Government are sought to be alienated by a demand which is geographically and administratively untenable and calling into question the sincerity and credentials of all who refuse to concede such a demand. Less suspicion, a better sense of priorities and greater self-confidence should help to assist greatly in the early birth of a State well endowed by Providence and with power to fashion its destinies to the greatest advantage of its citizens.

TANK RENOVATION IN HYDERABAD

IT is reported that under the programme of financing minor irrigation works for accelerating the food production drive, the Ministry of Agriculture have sanctioned a subvention of six crores for large scale tank improvement in Hyderabad. The Grow More Food Enquiry Committee recommended that the only way of canalizing the colossal expenditure on the grow more food schemes is to push up the minor irrigation works such as redigging of silted tanks or putting new tanks and wells in dry districts or tapping local streams or rivulets for irrigating a few hundreds of acres.

Of the various categories of minor irrigation works, subsidised well digging was given an impetus in Madras and Bombay in the early years of the campaign. A few crores were distributed both as loans and as subsidy but almost the whole capital outlay went waste as the water table in these areas is always too low to yield sufficient water in these wells even for drinking and ordinary daily use. In Rayalaseema where the monsoon failed for four years continuously, the water table fell down considerably and the wells dug on subsidies became a total failure. Even when floods came they had just rolled on becoming a menace to the land and people. As famine relief the mechanized units of the military began boring wells even upto hundreds of feet at great cost, but with very little or no yields.

The story of the tanks is much more reprehensible than that of the wells. In the dry areas a network of tanks capable of irrigating millions of acres came into existence during the time of the ancient rulers. The glory of the Vijayanagara Empire was centered round this net work of tanks which along with the fertile soils made the people rich. The very rains that replenished the tanks brought large quantities of silt by way of runoff from the lands which became marginal due to neglected cultivation or even virtual

abandonment with mass political upheavals. The succeeding Governments cared little to repair these silted tanks either by redigging or by reinforcing the bunds. It was all a vicious circle. The neglected lands accelerated the pace of silting of these tanks which had therefore rapidly lost their carrying capacity and irrigated vastly diminished areas. The whole of Rayalaseema had thus become a prey for recurring visitations of famine with all the attendant misery.

The Krishnamachary Committee on the grow more food schemes have recommended intensified minor irrigation works as the best method of accelerating the food production in the country and in pursuance of this recommendation, the Central Food Ministry started earmarking funds for financing the minor irrigation works with greater emphasis on tank renovation in the various States. Hyderabad has an allotment of six crores for this purpose. If this money is not to go the way of the millions that were spent for the grow-more-food schemes, and if the State Government is really earnest in seeking a permanent remedy, they will do well in discarding the present unscientific approach and ruinous method of digging up tanks or reinforcing the bunds without developing the whole catchment as a unit of operation. The development of the entire catchment of the tank with the dual objective of silt control and land development should constitute the integral part of any tank renovation scheme. There is a grave misunderstanding even among the engineering departments of the States that land development and silt control are functions quite apart from tank digging. It is high time that our technical departments charged with the execution of these schemes would approach the problem in a practical manner bearing in mind that the tanks dug should serve the people for at least a few decades.—By "Soil Conservationist."

UNPAID DEFENDERS OF INDIA'S FRONTIERS

By V. RAGHAVIAH

(Secretary, Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh, Delhi.)

IF one casually looks at the map of India, it does not take much time to realise that our far-flung frontiers are being zealously guarded by Adivasis who are clinging to their mountain fastnesses and wooded surroundings braving unwelcome weather conditions and very scanty means of livelihood. Whether this is due to their inherent love of seclusion and freedom, or to their fear of contact with the sophisticated and clever plainsmen or to their insatiable love of the hills and dales, the mountain breeze, the chase of the forest and the everchanging charms of the flora and the fauna, one thing is undeniable and that is that the Adivasi would not for the world exchange his abode whatever might be its physical discomforts to the fleeting pleasures of the plains. To try to explain away this frame of mind as due to ignorance, or want of civilisation or awakening is to miss the truth and make an altogether wrong approach to understand the problem of an ancient people. Nor is it easy to arrive at a correct approach without a sympathetic understanding of the Adivasi life, its culture and environment.

The Adivasis are there for the past several centuries. They had been there in their own right. They had refused to be drawn into the midst of multitudes and have successfully resisted the misguided enthusiasm of scores of social reformers and administrators who sought to 'improve' them. They are still tenaciously there on the quake-shaken fissure-driven Mishmi and Abhor hills of Assam, the trackless, cheerless, and communicationless unadministered areas of our N. E. Frontier, at the mysterious origins of the great rivers and in the innermost recesses of thick inaccessible jungles the haunts of the fierce python, the ferocious Bengal tiger and undaunted rhinoceros. It is not that they do

not love and value their lives as well as we do, for it is only a few months back, when we were touring the 'Baiga Chek' in Madhya Pradesh in the worthy company of our pioneer Adivasi leader Sri P. G. Vannikar, that a whole village of defenceless Baigas had to leave their immemorial ancestral homes consequent on the ravages on their lives committed by the striped beasts. Reluctance to leave one's ancestral hearth and home, however unpaying it may be is a virtue or vice which the Adivasi shares equally with his countrymen. It will be foolish, nay purposeless to root out these sturdy denizens from their old homes where land is plenty and reapers few and plant them on new soils, strange surroundings and utterly alien means of living where natural humane considerations cease to operate and ruthless competition works alarming havoc. This is the fate that has overtaken the millions of plains' aborigines all over the land disclaimed by their kinsmen and despised by the plainsmen. They have indeed bartered a life of unbridled freedom to one of abject servility. That is why the Adivasi shudders to leave his place and he is not altogether wrong in arriving at that decision.

There is not much sense either in the easy-going social reformer or the over-busy politician, insisting on their transplantation. If a catastrophe should befall what will happen to the exploitation of India's unlimited forest wealth, its timber exploitation, its mineral resources, that are hidden in these areas, not to speak of the colossal blunder that would have been committed from the security point of view, of leaving long stretches of our frontier, depopulated, unprotected and at the mercy of India's merciless neighbours. The apprehension entertained that our Government has not progressed even an inch in its fron-

tier policies more than what its predecessors have left behind, is not far wide of the mark. Though the Kyber Pass has ceased after the formation of Pakistan, to be our eternal red-rag, our northern and north-eastern frontiers remain. They extend over a couple of thousands of miles with Adivasi habitats studded all along commencing from the Jaunsar Bawar tribes of lower Himalayan ranges near Chakrata and extending eastwards through the Kinnar Pradesh, the land of Lepchas, the Nepal border, the Santal Pahadias, the Abhor and Mishmi hill areas on the southern and south-eastern fringes of Bhutan and then the inaccessible dense jungle regions miles beyond the now extinct Sadiya along the impenetrable valleys of the Brahmaputra and its tributaries, the Dihang, Dibong, the Subansiri rivers, upto the bend this mighty river and its sister Irrawady take on the Indo-Chinese border and coming lower down the lands of the Mikirs, Miris, Nagas, the Khasis, the Garos, the Lushais that squat on our eastern frontiers and contact with whom on a fairly useful scale was established only since 1826 when Captain Bedford made his first visit.

Equally important, perhaps more from the defence point of view, are our vulnerable western frontiers which border on Pakistan where the 'no man's land' or the 'unadministered areas' do not exist as they do on the north east frontiers. No point here is inaccessible. Natural barriers of an insurmountable type do not protect us on the west as they do on the east. The frontier extends for hundreds of miles over land which is mostly plain and is negotiable by every manner of transport. It is here that the Bhils live, the brave soldiers who defended freedom for freedom's sake during the entire long drawn century wars that raged unceasingly between the Rajputs and the Moghuls. Poor but dignified, of medium height but sturdy, unassuming, not at all theatrical but unbending in spirit and unflinching on a point of honour, these simple, loyal

and chivalrous people with a population of more than twenty lakhs have been our guardian angels and had stood like a wall against the inroads of relentless invaders. They had been the unpaid soldiery of our far flung frontiers. All that they bargained for in lieu of their patriotic and unique services was liberty to lead their harmless lives in their own mountain strongholds without much outside interference. Their loyalty to the ruling dynasties was legendary and their services were always available at a moment's notice by a beat on the kettle drum which is still the means of gathering crowds in these rocky and mountain parts. It is to be noted that the Bhils are still as loyal and patriotic as they were before despite the cruelties and rackrenting practised by the erstwhile rulers of these states and the withering indifference shown by their successors.

In other parts, too, Adivasis live their traditional life. They have not been much touched by India's newly won freedom. Some of them have not forgotten the spectacular though occasional munificence showered on them by Governors, their durbars and the missionaries that shone in their reflected light. The speed with which the rulers of the Republic will be able to attract these people must naturally depend on the pace at which the wheels of their ameliorative machinery travel.

The Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh has put on the mantle of the late Thakkar Bapa who was a beacon to all the down-trodden. It is spreading its activities slowly all over the land. The Madhya Pradesh Government is one of the foremost of India's State Governments that is doing its best to alleviate the distress of lakhs of Gonds, Baigas and other Adivasis. Its Hony. Director, Shri Vannikar, a life long disciple of the late Bapa is a chip of the old bloc. Madhya Pradesh is taking long strides in the right direction, but there is much more yet to, be accomplished.

MOST POWERFUL MAN IN U. S. AFTER IKE

HERBERT BROWNELL is Attorney-General in Eisenhower's cabinet.

There was a time last Spring when Gen. Eisenhower looked far less than a sure thing. It was a few weeks after his rather poorly received Abilene "homecoming" speech. The amateurs had been in full control of his campaign which meant haphazard public relations and what's even worse, from a political viewpoint, hardly any courting of Republican convention delegates. Then Gov. Dewey of New York sent out his best man to save the General's slowly marching campaign. Herbert Brownell Jr. arrived in Chicago just before the 4th of July weekend. To this day Taft's managers are not sure just what hit them. One of the more realistic of Taft's aides sensed trouble when Brownell arrived in the Windy City. "When you're in a fight with that guy", this Taft man said, "it's like wrestling with a cloud."

Although Brownell technically had entered the campaign on March 25, when he flew to Paris to confer with Ike, the results of his work never became apparent until the opening day of the Chicago convention.

The bare facts of Brownell's life offer little clue to the man's character or capabilities, except that he was always serious.

He was born in Peru, Neb., in 1904, into a family of four girls and three boys, of whom he was the second. His father, Herbert, senior, was a professor of science education at Nebraska State University. One of his brothers, Dr. Samuel M. Brownell, is now a professor at the Yale Law School and president of the New Haven State Teachers' College.

All the sisters taught school and three married academicians. Brownell Jr. attended the University of Nebraska, edited The Daily Nebraskan, and was active in campus politics. At the University his classmates noted the one characteristic which has stayed with him: he always liked to operate behind-the-scenes. One of his cronies reports

that in a pleasant way he was always "planning and scheming".... "he was always up in the attic in a secret little group", according to his recollection of young Herbert.

When Brownell left the University he had the choice of two scholarships: one at Columbia in journalism, the other at Yale Law School. He chose the latter; went on to become editor of The Yale Law Review, and after leaving Yale became a law clerk in the office of Root, Clark, Bruckner and Ballantine in 1927.

Two years later he joined the law firm of Lord, Lay and Lord, one of the city's elders now celebrating its 105th anniversary. The partners there were quick to realize Herbert's potentialities and three years later at the age of 28 he became a full partner himself. His major work is serving as general counsel to the billion-dollar hotel industry.

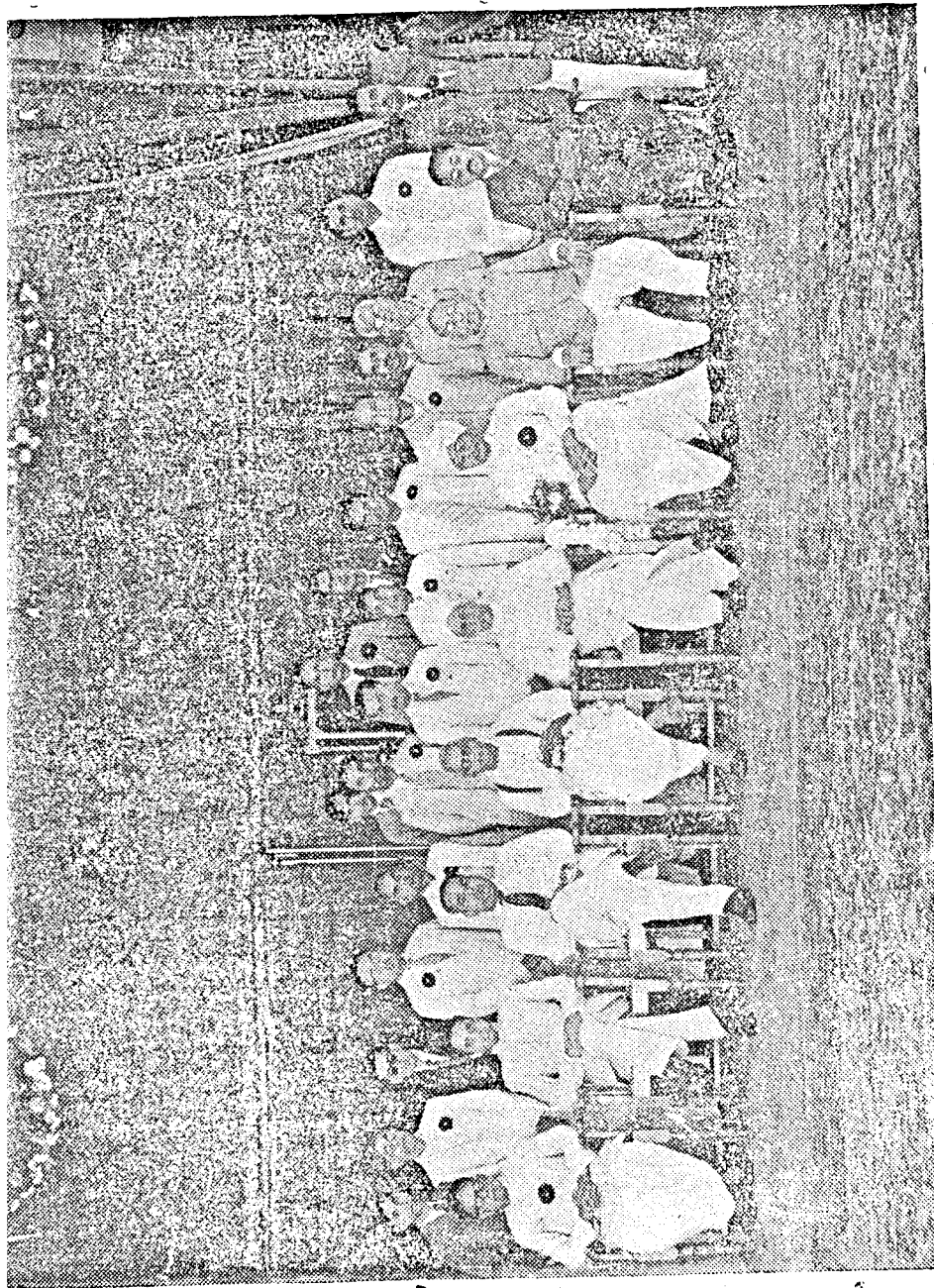
On June 16, 1934 Herbert married Doris A. McCarter. They have four children, Joan 16, Ann, 14, Thomas McCarter, 12, and James Barker, nine. They live in a comfortable old home in Framercy Park but will move to Washington after the New Year.

Brownell does not profess to have a profound knowledge of all the problems, even including civil rights, which will face him in his new post. He does have a capacity for learning and in appearance as well as intellect resembles the "egg-head" in politics. He's bald and bright.

It may be humility or it may be that Brownell is looking ahead to the personal relations problems that might grow out of it, but he is not happy about his designation as "the second most powerful man" in the new administration, next to Ike.

Shrewd politicians will ask who will help Ike on his non-cabinet decisions. The answer is Brownell and the men he has placed on The White House staff. Ike knows it and likes it. Taft knows it and doesn't like it. What he does about it may be one of the big stories to come out of Washington in the next four years.

—P. G. KRISHNAYYA.



Group Photo of Directors and Officers of The Andhra Scientific Co. Ltd., Masulipatam, taken on the occasion of the visit of Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, for the inauguration of the Silver Jubilee Celebrations of the company and the unveiling of the bronze statue of its Founder, the late Sri A. R. Murti. Left to Right (sitting) K. Subba Rao Naidu, Director, Dr. Ramanadha Babu, Director, N. V. Narendranath, Director, Dr. M. V. Krishna Rao, Minister, Dr. Managing Agents, C. Ramachandra Reddi, M.P., Chairman Board of Directors, Rajah Y. Sivarama Prasad Bahadur, S. Radhakrishnan, B. Ramachandra Reddi, Managing Director, S. R. Y. Ramakrishna Prasad, Director, Rajah of Chalapalli.



BOOKS & AUTHORS



1. A GALLERY OF AMERICANS. 2. A DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES. Mentor Books. 35 cents each. Published by the New American Library of World Literature, Inc., 501 Madison Avenue, New York 22.

The United States justifiably claims to have made prosperity the heritage of the common man. The venture is now being extended to the field of culture, cheap (only in price, but not in the quality of the get-up) reprints of classics are being offered for the million. Attractive compilations are being made. The development of America is being presented through the ages (not too long, though) narratively, pictorially, documentarily, and in other ways. With the passing of world leadership into American hands, outside U. S. A. also there has developed a lively interest in American affairs, and in spite of the dollar shortage, bookstalls and libraries even in remote mofussil stations are filled with inexpensive American books, detective stories, classics for the mass, wild west books, histories, biographies and in the place of Punch and Strand and Graphic we see Collins, Saturday, Reader's Digest and other "true story" magazines concerning love and crime. The cinema has accustomed us to the half nasal twang—somehow like Donald Duck. Sartorially flamboyant neck-ties and picturesque bush coats have become common. Among the "upper" classes also a new snobbery has come into being. In the old days an adventurous soul would go to England and return with strange habits and would sometimes be bold enough to employ a cook from a caste different to his. To have visited England was a mark of distinction. Alas, this is no longer so. To visit England is like visiting Trichinopoly; nothing to talk about. Several orthodox persons have recently gone to England and have returned without in the least impairing their religion. Today it is distinguished to visit U. S. A. and return and speak (with as much nasal twang as one can manage) of Twa, and say O. K.

In such a world, one that is slowly being Americanised, it is but natural that the cultural values of that great country should also gain ground. It is equally natural that books that relate the lives of men who have been responsible for making their country great should be in demand. "A Gallery of

Americans" is "a vivid panorama of American personality" and it contains sketches of adventurers, war leaders, pioneers, Presidents, journalists, authors, reformers and preachers. Taken together, they lead us to some thoughts about the American spirit, which is briefly composed of a spirit of adventure, tremendous energy, idealism, a strong and youthful imagination and also an unmistakable religious motivation. Further, "there is a love of bigness which seems to be related to the pride which is felt in the vast sweep of the country's prairies, the length of its rivers, and the height of its great mountains" (this sentence is a quotation from the book). The lives of the men portrayed illustrate the definition or rather the definitions of the American spirit briefly described above.

"A Documentary History of the United States" is animated by the same American spirit but is rather more serious in its content. It contains a series of extracts—political mainly—from the speeches of men who have built up America. It also contains brief accounts to keep up historical continuity. This is altogether a valuable book to the serious student of freedom and democracy. The speeches were made by men who lived before America had a world message to deliver, the pre-atom bomb, pre-Hollywood men who did not know of Radio City and the Empire State Building, but who, nevertheless, were imbued with a rugged determination to live and strive for such basic things as equality of opportunity and democratic government. Men like Jefferson, Jackson, Lincoln and Roosevelt are the real stalwarts of history whose words have a ring that lingers in the ear.

Americans, however, are apt to believe that goose and gander should thrive on the same diet. Unless we learn to appreciate the causes that, in the particular circumstances of a country, have led it to power or have pulled it down into oblivion, we will be blinded by the glammers of success into an uncritical approbation of the contemporary scene and to lay stress on the forms and exhibitions of prosperity rather than on the spirit that has willed it into existence. It is this latter study that calls for discrimination by which alone will adaptation to the needs of one's own country—its civilization, resources and culture—be made possible.—VISWAMITRA.

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.

Andhra-Tamil Relations

In the comments made by Saka to my letter published under *Sidelights* in *Swatantra* of 27th December, 1952, apart from a general toning down of virulence in Saka's reply to my letter, it is gratifying to note that *Swatantra* stands squarely by its earlier declaration on linguistic division, but the gratification becomes less pronounced when he goes on to say that the changed set-up has wrought a change in its outlook. Perhaps the analogy of Mahatma Gandhi harping on the evils of the two-nation theory and the essential unity of India in spite of manifold apparent diversities until the 14th of August 1947, and succumbing to the inevitable on the 15th brings home the contention. But it is the common belief of one and all that the inevitability of a political dogma or a political force taking shape does not sanctify the evil propensities it may have and in the case of linguistic division they are only too manifest even at the early stage of the malady and Saka does well to warn against the "advance signal of the exclusivist process of linguistic administration" gaining ground.

We are made to feel at the end of Saka's reply that the seeds of bitterness existing between Andhras and Tamilians are sown by an interested and astute politician, out to fan the burning fires of ill-will to its utmost fury, not to reap popularity but only to be further 'sunk' in the estimation of his own people! But for him we would have seen the happy vision of the Pennar overflowing with the milk of mutual regard and affection existing between the two people. We wish the picture is true but facts are only the sore points to reckon with. With all the paraphernalia of democracy, the legislature, the press and the jibes of political opponents, trumpeting around, it is idle to say that a puny Chief Minister can do so much mischief, even assuming that he is fully upto it. The ill-will is there from the time each suspected and then questioned the bonafides of the other or from the time the disgruntled Andhra and the assertive Tamilian set foot on the same soil.

"Tit for tat" is the motto of primitive society. Being a Rayalaseemite myself, I would be the first to oppose any move to cut power supply (from Chittoor) but I am at a loss to know why Saka should be horror-struck by a suggestion put in with the sole intention of forcing an argument. I am glad he is quite asser-

tive when he says that no Tamilian will do anything to disrupt power and water supply and wish he had been equally assertive in the case of the other side in other respects. Then all this talk of ill-will and misunderstanding will become mere wishful thinking. May I appeal to the "saner elements" of both sides to join hands and forge a united front against the disruptionists and thereby provide stable foundations for the two infant States (still unborn) and enable them to make rapid growths."

V. PADMANABHAN.

Guindy.

Kashmir And India

It is an irony of fate that India, of all members of the United Nations, has bracketted herself with South Africa and France by rejecting a resolution of the United Nations. The Anglo-American resolution on Kashmir was adopted by a majority of eight to nil by the Security Council. Even Russia would not vote against it and thereby veto it. India rejected it, while Pakistan accepted it. It is obvious that whatever India may think of her case, she has not been able to persuade any of the members of the Security Council to support her, even as South Africa was not able to convince a majority of the General Assembly of the righteousness of her cause. If each nation is to be the sole judge in her case, the effectiveness of the United Nations will be considerably reduced. It is only when a State submits to the judgment of its compeers, however unjust she may consider that judgment to be, that progress is possible. At the outset, India set a high example of devotion to, and respect for, the United Nations. But her latest action is hardly consistent with her former attitude.

At the same time, it is difficult to understand the reluctance of the United Nations, or the Security Council, to give a finding on India's original cause of action, namely, the aggression of Pakistan. It is certainly better to concentrate on composing differences than in judging them. But it will not add to the trustworthiness of the United Nations if it gives legitimate room for the suspicion that the merits of a case do not count at all. The Security Council would have done better to confirm the finding of one of its own delegates that Pakistan was guilty of international impropriety and then persuaded India not to press for just retri-

bution, but to be content with the finding and concentrate on composing the present differences. Such action would vindicate international morality, satisfy India, do no injustice to Pakistan, and help to create the necessary co-operation between the two for a peaceful and honourable solution. Any solution agreed to by the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan would be better than the arbitrament of war or plebiscite. Indeed war is better than plebiscite on a question like accession to India or Pakistan, the population of the Kashmir State being what it is in the matter of political education and communal affiliation. War has some rules of the game, but communal barbarities have none. It is impossible to conduct the propaganda for and against accession at a high intellectual and non-violent level. The partition of India was preceded by non-violent agreement, but was accompanied by unprecedented barbarities and violence and by the tears and anguish of the innocent.

P. KODANDA RAO.

Bangalore.

"C. N. Annadurai"

When an article on "C. N. Annadurai" appears in "Swatantra" it is natural for the readers to pay special attention to it. In that way I was attracted by the article on "C. N. Annadurai" published in your esteemed weekly for December 27, 1952; but I hold no brief either for C. N. A. or the Dravidian Federation.

It is a nice and well balanced article with interesting, analytical and critical comments. The impartial outlook, the able expression and the logical conclusions maintained throughout the article deserve appreciation. The praise is limited and devoid of exaggeration. The criticisms are positive and creative.

"Annadurai respects punctuality very little"—quite true! "He comes to meetings late"—a correct observation! Stalin considered his late arrivals at meetings as virtue, according to Louis Fisher. To substantiate this Louis Fisher quotes what Stalin once said when he arrived late at Teheran after Roosevelt and Churchill: "... 'big man' should usually arrive late at a meeting so that the people at the meeting wait for him with bated breath.... it makes an impression and inspires respect." It would have been better had the author of the article "C. N. Annadurai" quoted an incident to prove that "Annadurai considers his late arrival at meetings a virtue."

Another notable fact omitted in the article was that with Annadurai it was quite common to disappoint the orga-

nisers of meetings by not responding to their calls to address them, despite his full consent having been obtained by them well in advance.

TAABHI.

Communists And Foreign Aid

Professor H. N. Mukherjee, speaking in a symposium organised by the Communist group in Parliament declared that "the country is in danger of being used as a beast of burden by those who offer assistance" and that "a real plan for India can be made in the way Russia and China did." It would be interesting to note how Russia and China made their plans.

On October 9, 1928, the General Electric Company of U. S. A. signed an agreement with Russian Amtorg granting the Soviet State credits amounting to 28,000,000 dollars and to furnish the Soviet electrical industry with part of the machinery and appurtenances for its vast expansion plans. Another contract was signed on May 31, 1929 between Henry Ford and the Amtorg according to which Ford designed the Soviet factory at Nizhni-Novgorod capable of producing 100,000 automobiles annually, gave the Bolsheviks all his patents, sent American engineers to Russia, trained Russian automobile engineers and mechanics in America and provided short term credits for essential Russian purchases from U. S. A. All told, in 1931 the Soviet Government owed 1,400,000,000 dollars to foreign governments and exporters for goods bought under credit facilities required to finance the First Five Year Plan.

The leaders of the Soviet Union also turned to the capitalist West for technically trained personnel and much of the advanced machinery they required in the vital first stages of their First Five Year Plan. The great Dnepr river hydro-electric system, for example, was built under the American engineer High Copper and received its basic equipment from the General Electric Company's plants in Schenectady, U. S. A. Such examples could be multiplied.

As regards China, everyone knows that the country is full of Soviet advisers and technicians and borrowed heavily from the Soviet Union. Soviet worshippers as well as independent observers have testified to this fact.

The Communists must stop playing this game of planned and persistent lies. They should state frankly that they do not want India to become developed and strong so that it may be easier for Emperor Stalin to incorporate her into his Eurasian Empire like countries of Eastern Europe, China, Tibet and North Korea.

SITA RAM GOEL.

Calcutta.

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ANDHRA STATE ON THE ANVIL

THE arrival of Mr. Justice Wanchoo in Madras, charged with the mission of studying the financial and other implications of the establishment of an Andhra State, has not promoted friendly feeling between the representatives of the various interests involved. It has provoked a spate of divergent viewpoints and spread utter confusion in our midst. The Tamils generally have claimed Madras City as their own. They are opposed to the Andhra State having its capital there even temporarily. Some Tamil leaders have laid claim to territory hitherto considered as preponderantly Andhra, such as Tirupati and the surrounding area in Chittoor district. The Andhras are unwilling to give up Madras which they feel they have helped to build as much as Tamils, and they want both to have their capital in the City and to have the City itself converted into a Chief Commissioner's State. Another issue over which conflict has arisen is the future of the three Telugu taluks of Bellary district. The Andhras want these taluks to be incorporated in the Andhra State, but the Canarese want them to continue to be integrated with the Bellary district which they wish to form part of residuary Madras State till a separate Kannada State is formed. Andhra Communists have taken a separate line of their own. They admit Madras belongs to Tamil Nadu and they insist that the capital of the Andhra State should lie in its own territory. They are not interested in the constitutional future of Madras City. Whether it should be annexed to Tamil Nadu or be con-

verted into a Commissioner's State, they leave others to decide, and express no concern, themselves, one way or the other.

These differences of views have come to the fore with a good deal of rancour and bitterness that has clouded the atmosphere and obscured the realities. If people could think afresh in the light of their own advantage, they would be as anxious to abandon some of the views upheld by them, as they are now active in proclaiming them and fighting for them. Tamil opposition to the housing of the Andhra High Court in Madras City is a case in point. Many Tamil advocates draw a lucrative practice from the Andhra districts. The economy of their households will be thrown completely out of gear by the removal of the Andhra High Court to a distant town where they could not follow and re-establish themselves. A common Governor, likewise, would mean no hardship to Tamils. On the contrary it implies an advantage,—the advantage being that another State would meet a share of the cost of upkeep of an ornamental figurehead that will have to be maintained anyhow, but is constitutionally bereft of any effective function in the administration in normal times.

For a city to have the capital of two States within its bounds is a piece of extraordinary luck, luck of a sort that rarely turns up once in centuries. The wealth and prosperity of Madras will be doubled as the capital of both Madras and Andhra States, and in view of that economic blessing, every other adjustment of

anticipated difficulties is well worth making. It can be made, given a little goodwill. It is a pity that, unable to realise where lies their own benefit, the Tamils should be averse to welcoming this step. Andhra insistence on Madras as capital is partly due to ingrained love of the city developed over two centuries of close association, and partly due to the absence of a suitable sizeable town to serve as a substitute within the Andhra area. Most of the difficulties confronting the Andhra leaders would be got over if the Telugu districts of Madras State were to be added to Hyderabad State till the time that State is disintegrated so as to get its Canarese and Maharashtra areas incorporated into their respective linguistic hinterlands. By means of this arrangement the Andhra State would get the benefit of a capital immediately without a conflict with the Tamils, and the State would also be saved from the necessity of having to spend huge sums at its very inception on the construction of a capital, to the pre-

judice of more emergent popular requirements.

We are informed however that a great part of the enquiry of Mr. Wanchoo covers decisions already arrived at in Delhi. It would appear that one of these decisions is that Madras would be the temporary capital of the Andhra State for five years and during that period Madras and Andhra would have a common Governor. Pandit Nehru seems to be convinced now that the miserable decline in the electoral position of the Congress in Andhra was due to the failure of the Centre to deal seriously with Sri Prakasam's charges against some of the Madras Ministers. Though nothing can be done about it now, Pandit Nehru apparently realises that to the extent possible, the future should be ensured against the mishaps of the past. That means that, outside the Communist fold, a position of dominance is assured to Sri Prakasam in the politics of the Andhra State when it emerges.

Sotto Voce

THE MISSING LINK

THE seminar on Gandhian ideas assembled at New Delhi is a semi-official affair. Maulana Azad was naturally piqued that neither China nor Russia had responded to their invitation. He wondered that countries which were constantly advertising their interest in peace should have so ostentatiously kept aloof from a discussion of the ideas of the Mahatma, the Apostle of Peace. Such ingenuousness as this, worthy

of the good Soldier Schweik, should set the Kremlin and the Lion Palace roaring. How much it were to be wished that our crusaders for Peace had a snare of Schweik's horse sense as well as his artlessness.

If the Nehru Government chose to take at its face-value Communist-inspired 'Peace' crusades, there was no corresponding obligation cast on the realists of the Red World to

adopt the same naive attitude towards other pedlars of peace. In this matter at least they have acted honestly. Gandhian non-violence and the Communist's passion for "liquidating" the Opposition are as poles apart. Russia and China may have quite reasonably thought that the Government of India, in annexing Gandhiji for the nonce, had some axe of their own to grind. Surely, if the Gandhian ideology has a remedy for the world's *malaise*, the world may be expected to look for it without New Delhi blowing upon its penny whistle.

Mr. Nehru compared the effect of Gandhiji on his own mind to that of Socrates on Plato. While his loyalty to the memory of his master is undoubted, that virtue seems, unlike in Plato's case, to have interfered with the clarity of his analysis of the Mahatma's mind and method. He does rather less than justice by suggesting that the older leader had the inflexibility of the prophet, while "politicians and statesmen" in an age of democracy—presumably this was said by way of personal apologia—had to compromise in order to carry the laggards with them. The Mahatma always insisted that he was a politician first and last. And his capacity for compromise was often disconcerting to less subtle minds.

Mr. Nehru was on even less sure ground when he went on to analyse *satyagraha*. He claimed that Gandhiji differed from the great ones of former times in applying the principles of non-violence and truth on a mass scale and that, too, in the field of politics. But in the process non-violence and truth often got considerably damaged, a fact which the Mahatma himself sorrowfully acknowledged. The truth is that saints are not mass-produced and the field of politics is not a Dharmakshetra though it is only too often a Kurukshetra. And the Gandhian method of moral pressure had no automatic safety-catch, as Mr. Nehru imagined.

Mr. Nehru suggested that infliction of suffering on one's self, as a means

of converting one's opponent, cannot be overdone, "as the pressure was limited by the capacity of oneself to bear it." This can hardly be sustained in the face of the Sri Ramulu tragedy. And British Imperialism, before it beat a retreat under the pressure of world events, frustrated the satyagrahis again and again. It relied, and successfully, not on its moral defences, such as they were, but on its guns and its butter. Acharya Kripalani was more acute in pointing out that Gandhiji was primarily a social reformer, who however sought to regulate individual conduct by formulating certain principles, and so achieve harmony between the individual and society.

The reformer in him was often at odds with the mystic; it is the mystic strain which, as Prof. Massignon's interesting talk showed, has a special appeal to the disillusioned intellectual of the West. Now, there have been great mystics—St. Teresa was one—who had also a splendid capacity for action. But they avoided politics like the very devil—else they shared the fate of Father Joseph—and they did not believe that common clay could be transmuted into gold overnight. Theirs was essentially a private mission: their concern was with the individual. They left the redemption of the mass to the great religious leaders.

Every authentic religion expresses itself in a characteristic way of life. It makes its conquest not by superseding the agencies that uphold the social fabric but by impregnating them with a new life and a new hope. It firmly believes in a hierarchy of powers and a hierarchy of values. Society is an infinitely complex organism; and the moral law must take account of this. All truth has to be mediated to the mass if it is to be assimilated. If chemical engineering is needed to translate the chemist's inspiration into a factory, spiritual engineering is no less necessary to translate the saint's intuition into pabulum for the general. Satyagraha failed to 'click' because it did not look for this missing link.

VIGNESWARA.

SIDELIGHTS :

PROFESSOR Ranga delivered a very fine speech at the Lakshmipuram Young Men's Association on Thursday. It was an audience mainly of Tamils, and he carried it with him in everything he said. There should be more speeches of the kind to relieve the tension between Andhras and Tamils that has got worked up to a high pitch by the rancorous incitements to illwill being indulged in by some of the trouble-shooters on either side. He dived into the realities at the core of life as fashioned under the concept of freedom by the Indian Constitution, and proved that they provided sufficient reassurance against the threat of disruption conveyed by the mutual discriminatory orgies of the linguistic fanatics. He would rejoice, he said, to have Madras City placed in his own State of Andhra, but he would not be miserable if it was placed in Tamil Nadu, because wherever placed, his right as a citizen of India to visit it without license and bask in the delight of its numerous beauties would remain the same. No Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu could take it away from him. Many displaced persons from Pakistan had come and settled here and acquired rights of citizenship in no way less than those of natives to the soil born, and Andhras could not be ousted of the same privilege if they chose to exercise it in Madras City. The word *State*, said Professor Ranga, gave a wrong impression of greater separateness than existed in reality. Actually, Indian *States* were *Provinces* of one all-embracing common State and nothing more should be imported into the transfer of any territory from one *State* to another than mere administrative convenience. It left the rights of the people concerned wholly unaffected.

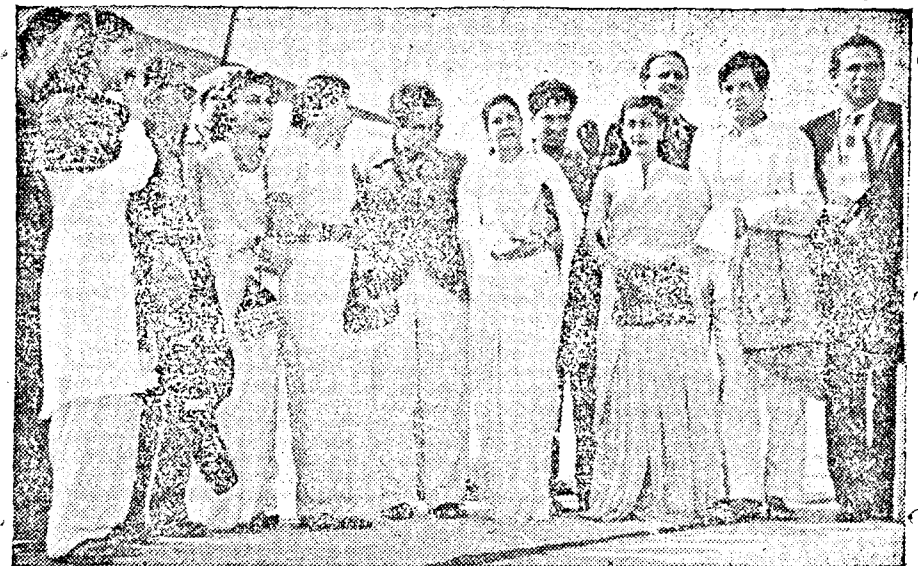
If the Communists who always have a game of their own to play are excluded, I find that a new dignity and desire for conciliation, peace and unity has come upon many of the leaders of Andhra. Sri Sanjiva Reddi's pronouncements nowadays

are phrased with exemplary polish, courtesy and responsibility. The man has risen in stature visibly in a short period. It is the Tamil leaders who usually gave the lead in commonsense and shrewd and balanced judgment that are found receding at present into a reactionary collective belligerency. The Rajaji administration has literally fizzled out, disowned and repudiated by one half of the State. With his connivance rather than otherwise, Tamil Nadu Congress politics seems to be passing into the keeping of the discredited ex-Minister Sri Bhaktavatsalam, the architect of the whole administrative mess to which the origins of the present linguistic illwills in the State are traceable, and Sir M. A. Muthia Chettiar. The other day in *Andhra Patrika* I read the report of a speech in Tiruttani by our Mayor Sri Chengalvarayan in which he had heroically proclaimed that not an inch of soil would be allowed for the Andhras in Madras City even to burn or bury their dead. What would he do with the unburned and unburied dead bodies, I wondered. Would he place them in the Corporation Council Hall and contemplate them for inspiration in the discharge of his Mayoral duties? But today I find in the *Andhra Patrika* an intended contradiction of the Mayor which is really no contradiction at all. He says that "he did not speak as reported; even if he did, he did so only figuratively." How a man who did not speak, spoke only figuratively, is a mystery of the Mayoral veracity which, with less hope than the crossword puzzles, the leisured community may use their time and brains to solve. But when Sri Chengalvarayan proceeds further to say that he is prepared to quit the Mayoralty in order to fight for Tamil rights to Madras City, he expresses a sentiment which will meet with the cordial approval of all with some understanding of the proprieties of municipal chairmanship. In a city with a substantial Andhra population, a Mayor who conceives it to be his

duty to fight with them for whatever reason, is clearly out of place. If he persists in office, he will find, like all whose greatest enemy is the illwill in their own selves, that there will be nothing left to fight for except the "inch of soil" for burial or cremation which from his august gadi he was so firmly bent on not conceding to his poor fellow Andhra humans.

Discipline is all in all in the police, and the practice of prompt obedience to the orders of superiors is the very basis of police efficiency. It is a quasi-military service to which ordinary modes of agitation and organisation are not permissible. The need for contentment in the police force is so well recognised in England that through liberal treatment over a period of years it has been converted into one of the most attractive branches of the public service. Nowadays, even graduates from Oxford and Cambridge do not sniff at entering the Metropolitan Police Force of London. With their traditions of disciplined behaviour, the Madras Police have won a reputation for smartness throughout the country, but lately, in the lower ranks, emoluments have not kept pace with the

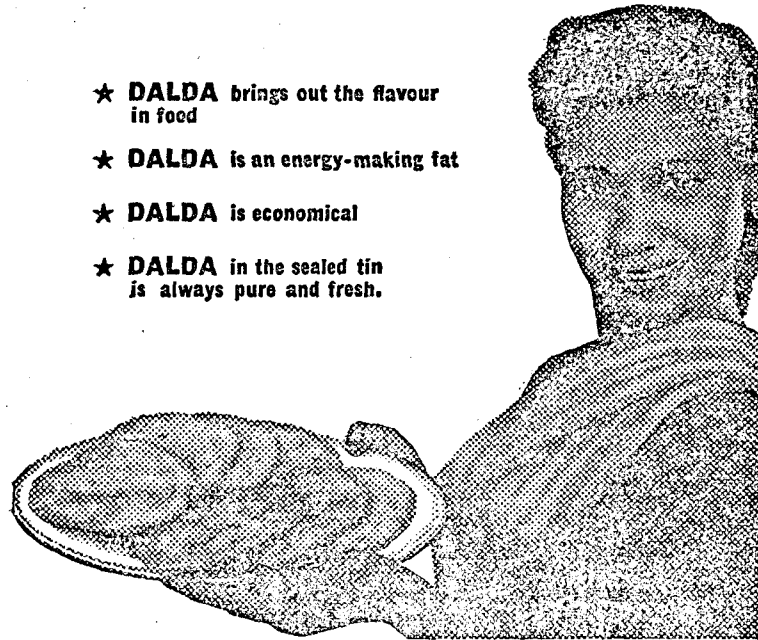
rise in the cost of living. The recent refusal by Madras City constables to take their salaries is an indication of grave economic unrest in an exacting branch of the public service which the State cannot afford to neglect or provoke in the interest of its own stability and the safety of the population. The Chief Minister started by applying demagogic tactics to a situation that admitted of no such shilly-shallying, but the responsible heads of the force seem to have quickly taught him to realise the error of it. By prompt and firm action they restored discipline just when it was on the brink of collapsing. I am told that in one locality a dismissed constable got together a rabble and led an assault on Sri S. V. Arul, Dy. Commissioner. It was only the great courage and presence of mind of this officer that saved the situation. If the constables had broken their discipline the City would have been given over to a rout. From this the people have had a Providential escape, but the risk of a recurrence of danger is not over yet. Full security will be established only when niggardly economics and amateur political handling cease to make a mess of the security side of the State administration.—SAKA.



Film stars played a cricket match last Sunday at the Corporation Stadium, Madras, in aid of the Cyclone Relief Fund. Picture shows the Hindi film stars on arrival from Bombay at the aerodrome.

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Spotlight On The World

ASIAN 'LEFT' STRUGGLES TO GROW UP

SOCIALISM is not native to the soil of Asia. It was born and has grown in the industrial society of the West, and the process of industrialisation has barely begun in Asia. Outside of the Soviet Union and White Australia, Japan and India are the only countries in Asia with any considerable size of modern industry. Socialism, or more broadly speaking the Leftist movement, in Asia has therefore been a strange mixture of Marxist doctrine and Asian reality, of Utopian Socialist aspirations and primitive nationalism.

The Rangoon conference of Asian Socialists has revealed many paradoxes, by simply bringing together from many lands people who are themselves full of paradoxes. Who would have expected that a Socialist from one country would be unable even to sit and talk together with a fellow-delegate from another country simply on grounds of nationalist animosity? Yet the Egyptian and Lebanese delegates to the Rangoon conference have found that they could not sit round the same table with an Israeli Socialist.

This is only an extreme instance of the strong nationalist bias of Asian Socialism. Indian Socialists have also furnished examples of nationalism overcoming Socialist theory. When the Congress launched the mass resistance movement in August 1942, the Socialists not merely joined in but assumed the leadership of the movement, despite the fact that the efforts to paralyse the administration, if they succeeded, would have facilitated the conquest of India by the Fascist militarists of Japan. Yet Socialists were earlier in the forefront of Indian anti-Fascists.

More recently, Socialist participation in the Hindu Mahasabha agitation for strong action against East Pakistan betrayed the same susceptibility to nationalist anger. The Socialist demand for economic sanc-

tions against Pakistan may perhaps be defended as a means of exerting pressure to secure humane treatment for the Hindu minority in that country. But they voiced the demand in company with and on the same platform as others who went much further, asking for exchange of populations, cession of territory to India and other extremist solutions.

If excessive nationalist fervour is a weakness of Asian Socialism deriving from the colonial past of Asia, the other weakness is shared by it with Western Socialism. Almost every major Socialist party in Asia boasts a 'Right' and a 'Left' wing, the one more pro-American than the other, standing for collective security and neutralism respectively. This is broadly on the lines of the division which overtook Western Socialist parties in Europe at the end of the last war, when many European Socialists found it impossible to believe that their Communist comrades of yesterday in the resistance movement had turned into the agents of the expansionist aims of Russia, also a comrade of yesterday in the common battle against Hitler. These trusting friends of the Communists continued to collaborate with them, paying for their mistake ultimately the terrible price of their own lives and the freedom of their countries in the case of Eastern Europe. This served to weaken the faith of the Left Socialists of Western Europe in the peaceful and progressive aims of Russia. But it did not diminish their dislike of America.

The Left Socialist in Europe, however, is only anti-American, not neutralist. Mr. Bevan is against what he considers excessive rearmament by Britain not against rearmament in principle. But in Asia the Left Socialist tends to move from a legitimate criticism of purely military defences against Communism to a position which is neither morally

defensible nor sensible from a practical viewpoint. The representative of Japan's Left-wing Socialist Party at Rangoon is reported to have said in defence of the decision to form an Asian Socialist Bureau separate from the Socialist International: "The Socialist International considers the present tension in the world as due solely to Russia and therefore supports an armed peace. We do not." If Japan should follow the prescription of her Left Socialists, she will not arm herself at all, and will therefore be unable either to defend herself against attack or play her part in collective security. Others will have to perform both duties.

Asian Socialists surely need to define their attitude to collective

security and neutralism more clearly. So far as America is concerned, it would hardly seem necessary to divide on the question of what attitude to take towards a democratic country which has many points to show even to a Socialist-ruled country such as Burma in the field of social security.

More than nationalism and division over foreign policy, the chief weakness of Asian Socialists is their inability to present concrete Socialist solutions to the economic problems that beset Asia's millions. Vague aspirations are no substitute for an intelligible plan for economic development. The Rangoon conference does not promise to produce one. Subsequent conferences of this nature cannot avoid the task.—S. R.

ASIAN SOCIALISM

By A Special Correspondent

RANGOON: In the simply but tastefully decorated spacious assembly room of the Rangoon City Hall, the seat of the city's Corporation, delegates representing the Socialist parties of Asia and Africa met on January 6, 1953, punctually at 10 a.m. It was a varied gathering, though there was unanimity of purpose behind it. The parties represented are not all of the same hue, some show streaks of red rather than "pink" and owe allegiance to Marx and Engels.

Nine Socialist parties—the Burmese Socialist Party, the Partai Socialist, Indonesia, the Praja Socialist Party of India, the Mapai (Socialist) Party of Israel, the Right and Left wings of the Social Democratic Party of Japan, the Progressive Socialist Party of the Lebanon, the Pan Malayan Labour Party and the Socialist Party of Pakistan—have sent full-fledged delegates who can participate in the deliberations of the Conference, while four others—the Tunisian Neo-Destour Party, the Nepali Congress, the Uganda African Congress and the Kenya African Union—have only observers. Fraternal delegates have come from the Socialist Inter-

national, the International Union of Socialist Youth, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and Fenner Brockway's Congress of Peoples against Imperialism.

Red Common Colour

The walls of the Central Hall where the Conference session began were draped with the red banners of the participating parties, while outside the building were fluttering majestically the national emblems of the countries whose Socialist parties were represented at the Conference. The Burmese, Indonesian, Pakistani, the Japanese Left Socialists and the Yugoslav parties have flags which are only slight variations of the Stalinist red banner and flaunt the hammer and the sickle, though in an inverted form. Red is the common colour; the new flag of the Indian Praja Socialist Party has a white band in the centre, representing the Praja wing of the merged party, whose (Praja Party's) spokesmen were however conspicuous by their absence among the Indian delegates at the Conference. The Japanese Right-wing Socialists have a blue banner and the Egyptian Socialist Party—whose credentials are widely doubted—has a green flag

with the crescent and the stars on it.

There is no denying the fact that all these parties do not speak the same language, either at home or abroad. The parties of the Lebanon and Egypt are mere nationalist parties with all their parochial prejudices and racial loyalties. From the beginning of the Conference, they are not tired of saying that there is nothing in common between the Arabs and the Jews, even though both are Socialists. Moreover, they have been contending that the State of Israel, though having the social democrats in government, should not be recognised by the Conference and its representatives should not be allowed to participate in its deliberations, because that will amount to accepting the "plight" of the million Palestine Arabs!

There is much difference in the experience of the participating parties, too. Three of the delegate parties—the Burmese, the Indonesian and the Mapai (Israeli)—are associated with the Governments in their respective countries, while in Yugoslavia, which has sent fraternal delegates, the party, now the League of Communists, is in power. (In Indonesia, two of the Ministers are Socialists, who have been given permission to join the Cabinet in their individual capacities.) The rest of the parties are in opposition, the intensity of which again varies from place to place. The Pan Malayan Labour Party, for instance, which is an exact replica of the British Labour Party without its trade union base, is for a gradual transfer of power in that country and is even shy of asking for the withdrawal of British troops from Malaya, because it will create a vacuum which only the Communists can fill. Together with the Mapai and the Right-wingers of the Japanese Social Democratic Party, the Malayan Party forms the extreme right fringe of the Conference, while the Left Socialists from Japan, backed by the irresponsible Egyptian and Pakistani parties, take the extreme position on the left. In the centre are the dominant and comparatively stronger parties from India, Burma and Indonesia, the three sponsors of the

Conference. These alignments were throughout noticed in the committees into which the Conference split up to tackle the individual items on the agenda.

No Rift

But these differences do not produce a rift in the Asian Socialist lute. There is undoubtedly a large measure of agreement among the participating parties on a number of issues. More than all, they are all convinced that on the domestic as well as international planes they should reject both "capitalism and Cominform communism" the former because "it was based on profit motive and gave birth to imperialism and colonialism" and the latter because "it employs methods of terror of the secret police, which are also felt in the sphere of production." They are also of the unanimous opinion that the Asian countries, with their agrarian economies, cannot afford industrialisation through large scale mechanisation because capital formation is bound to be slow. So their common solution is redistribution of land among the peasantry, who will be given proprietorship of the small fragments of land they cultivate. This, they feel, will release an enormous amount of creative energy from the now dormant masses who will not only offset the consequences of fragmentation of holdings but will enhance agricultural production by leaps and bounds. In the urban sector, they stand for the establishment of small machine units of production *a la* Japan, for which much capital will not be necessary.

The initial achievements of the conference are agreement on eight general principles of democratic socialism and a decision to set up permanent machinery for co-ordination among the Asian Socialist parties, apart from the "European-dominated Socialist International." In the wake of these will follow an economic council for the study of common economic problems and for exchange of information and experience on the economic plane as well as a bureau for helping the freedom movements of the colonial people. Among the other items on the agenda are Asia and world peace in

the discussion of which will figure the Korean issue as well as the Indo-Pakistan dispute on Kashmir, agrarian policy of Asia and economic development of Asia.

Apart from the regular proceedings of the Conference, the delegates assembled here are occupied with incidental problems such as the Right and Left divisions in the Japanese party, relations with the Socialist International and the Arab-Israel rivalry. The impression widely prevalent abroad that the Left Socialists of Japan are like the "Left Socialists" in Burma, India and Italy, who have made common cause with the Communists, seems to be erroneous. They have never lost an opportunity to dissociate themselves from the methods of totalitarian communism and to accept wholeheartedly the democratic methods of achieving Socialism. To the draft on the Principles of Socialism, the Left Socialists moved an amendment that the method of achieving socialism should be specified as democratic. On several other issues, such as attitude to America, rearmament of Japan, etcetera, they have fundamental differences with their Right-wing comrades who are like the Social Democrats of Europe. There is also the clash of personalities in the rivalry between these two wings and so the chances of a rapprochement are meagre.

On the Asian Socialists' attitude to the Socialist International, opinion is generally in support of the centrist view taken by the Indian, Burmese and Indonesian parties that an organisation for the Asian parties should be set up now and that its relations with the International should be according to the circumstances. On the Left, the Japanese Left Socialists, the Egyptian, the Lebanon and the Pakistani parties

want that the Asian organisation should have no truck with the International, "which is trailing behind the Anglo-American bloc," while on the right, the Malayan, the Israeli and the Right-wing Japanese suggest closer and closer liaison, if not actual integration, with the International. It is now left to the International to influence the Asian Socialists' attitude to the world body. If they take a conciliatory attitude, accept the Asian organisation as a regional body and change their attitude on the colonial and economic issues, the Asians organisation may yet seek affiliation with them. The twin grouses of the Asian Socialists are that on colonial issues, the European Socialists side with their Governments, however reactionary they be, and will themselves follow the same policy when they get into power, and that economically, European Socialists in Government do not strive for the betterment of the underdeveloped areas with Socialist regimes (Burma is an example) but look to their own needs and comforts. Both these points are sought to be included in the Principles of Socialism.

The Yugoslav Communists, generally cold-shouldered by the European Socialists, have done well in sending a strong team under Milovan Djilas here. It seems the Asian Socialists are very near to them. Another significant development here is that the Indian party has again veered away from its non-Marxian stand, which it adopted at the time of its recent merger with the Praja Party, and has fallen in line with the Burmese, the Indonesian and the Yugoslav parties. What its repercussions will be on the Praja wing of the merged party, it is too early to say.

While at Banaras, I had the opportunity of studying the condition of the local handloom silk industry. Even during the 150 years of British Rule this industry of Banaras remained a flourishing industry all through. But, now out of the 5,000 handlooms employed in this work very nearly 4,000 are lying idle. Some of the skilled artisans who were working at these looms only a few years back are now drawing rickshaws to support themselves and their families. Some have left for distant cities like Bombay in search of work. Thousands that are still in Banaras are living under pitiable conditions. In most of their houses food is cooked only once in two or even three days. The sight of their famished children is extremely distressing.—**Pandit Sundarlal in Harijan.**

DEMOCRATIC CONVENTIONS

By S. RAJAGOPALAN

ONE of the primal needs of a democracy is the growth of healthy conventions in the body politic, which working alongside the fundamental principles of the constitution, make modern democratic governments a reality and not a sham. In India, the Constitution itself embodies some of these vital conventions but obviously even a perfect constitution cannot provide for every contingency. At the same time it is necessary to guard against a few tendencies, which are creeping into the administration, and which, although seemingly innocuous, might yet cut across cherished concepts of democracy.

In the English Parliamentary system, the Prime Minister and his colleagues in the cabinet, doubtless, occupy a very high place in public affairs and even in society, but there are some well recognised inhibitions which ministers of all political persuasions have always set before themselves. No minister in England, not even one of the stature of a Churchill or an Atlee, has allowed himself when in office to be lionized by his adherents or admirers: a Minister's portrait is seldom unveiled during his tenure of office, and his birthday is a purely private affair, not an occasion for public celebrations. We, in Madras, have yet to cultivate this trait. Our ministers have been doubly sinned against: they are abused without reason at the one end, but flattered without compunction at the other. Of course it is not, often enough, the minister's choosing—both Nehru and Rajaji have sternly discountenanced such ebullitions—but his friends are irrepressible. Portrait-unveiling is a bad Justicite legacy, and Congressmen can do worse than imitate it. The most amusing part of these proceedings however is that the occasion is utilised for some kind of stunt or propaganda. At the recent unveiling of the portrait of a Union Minister, a local minister built up a long argument on the Telugu-Tamil controversy over the Madras City.

The British Constitution is regarded even today as the sole example of the successful reconciliation of order with liberty, in which the three main arms of the State, namely, the executive, the legislature and the judiciary are separate and mutually independent. The judiciary is noted for its detachment and impartiality. Judges, it is said, should be of undoubted ability and integrity, conscientious in their devotion to their high calling and free from any thought of obligation to answer the call of politics or special favour, even though the response be only sub-conscious, and under no circumstances lending colour to any suggestion or subservience to political influence. Our ancient law-giver Manu too had some such ideas in his mind when he suggested that the judges should be Brahmins—his view was not to create a caste-monopoly but to relegate administration of justice to a class which in those days was respected and revered by the sovereign for its learning ability and independence.

In America the judges start from their judicial career in the subordinate positions, looking to the State of the popular vote for promotion. But in England judgeship is the fruition of a lawyer's career; and once appointed a judge, it is said, has not only nothing to fear he has little to expect from the Government. A county court judge is only rarely promoted to the High Court. Promotions from the High Court to the Court of Appeal or the House of Lords, it is pointed out, does not add much to the dignity or the emoluments of the promotee. The salary is more or less the same except in regard to three major judgeships. As for dignity, Mr. Justice Avory, MacCardie have been as much well known as Lord Atkin and MacMillan. Retirement benefits are very liberal both in America and England. Judgeship is practically a life tenure in America and the pension is practically the whole of the salary. In England the retiring age has recently been

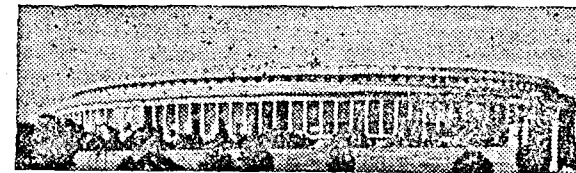
fixed at 72 and the pension works out at three-fourths the salary. No judge can resume practice at the bar on retirement and even Lord Birkenhead with all his influence did not succeed in breaking the convention. All these factors make for the independence of the judiciary.

An altogether different picture emerges from India. The Constitution no doubt safeguards the independence of the judiciary and indeed a specific provision disables judges appointed after the Constitution from pleading or acting before any court or authority. At the Constituent Assembly discussions Prof. K. T. Shah moved an amendment disqualifying them from being appointed as Governors or Ambassadors but it was defeated, perhaps because it was felt that conventions in that regard would grow up. As it is, the constitution envisages only two avenues of re-employment and promotion, namely, as ad-hoc judges and Supreme Court judges. The prohibition against other employment is implied, although it is express in regard to the Public Services Commission members. Later, however, as the Calcutta Weekly Notes has recently somewhat bitterly complained, no judge has after the Constitution gone into real retirement. Judges appointed before the Constitution have resumed practice at the bar in all courts except their own, and declined to follow the wholesome example of Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer who considered his tenure as Executive Councillor an impediment to practice. Others are manning the various quasi-judicial tribunals dealing with income-tax and labour problems. Commenting on the appointment of a retired Chief Justice as special officer to revise the Bengal Code, and incidentally alluding to the translation of a Supreme Court judge as Governor, the journal proceeds to point out that these eminent men "suffer in the estimation of the people at large," "doing good neither to themselves nor to the society." Criticisms so frankly if not harshly expressed, cannot escape the attention of the government.

But in fairness to the judges themselves, certain circumstances have to be adverted to. Employment of retired personnel is however a recent phenomenon and has been necessitated not only by the sudden depletion of talent in the wake of independence but also by the establishment of expert and judicial tribunals. Furthermore, retirement for an Indian judge is always irksome. In the vast majority of cases no pension is admissible because of the shortness of the duration,—which means, at any rate to those who have not made their pile at the bar, a lifetime of penury. The pension itself is very meagre. Even the forthcoming legislation awards them only Rs. 6,000 per annum.

As regards promotion to judges and ex-judges, it would be well to observe a few conventions which have been observed in the West. Within a department, promotion is desirable, and a puisne judge promoted to be the chief or to the Supreme Court, would not be violating any convention; but not he who is transferred from one post to another, such as Governorship or Ambassadorship, because that would be at the behest of the executive. No doubt occasions may arise when a judge may be found indispensable for a particular executive job—even in England a Lord Chief Justice was sent out as Viceroy; but hard cases should not make bad conventions. In Madras, a retired Chief Justice of Part B State, who was also a High Court Judge in Madras, has just been appointed as Director of Legal Studies, which is an euphemism for the Principalship of the Law College. To associate the judiciary with the administration of the Law College—which in fact was the rule in Travancore some years ago—does certainly add to the prestige of the institution, but it is not clear as to why this extraordinary step has been taken to assign a retired judge to a job where he has to work under the direction of both the Government and the University, which does not conduce to the independence of the judiciary.

NEW DELHI DIARY



By V. V. PRASAD

CLEM ATTLEE is a very modest man, as Colonel Blimp told Mr. Churchill. And Mr. Churchill replied, "Yes. And he has very good reason to be." Be that as it may, one cannot deny that Clem Attlee was the best Prime Minister that England ever had. His handling of the Press Conference with us convinced us that anybody cannot become Prime Minister of England—as is possible in India and some other countries in this part of the world. Attlee never lost his temper throughout the Conference. We were surprised. He never gave lengthy and rambling answers, losing himself in a maze of words. We were amazed. His first sentence was never contradicted by the second. We were stupefied.

I asked Mr. Attlee, who was speaking of Soviet Imperialism, whether there was in existence a thing called American Imperialism. He admitted there was, but thought that Soviet Imperialism was more dangerous because it was—in his opinion—a new kind of Imperialism. Mr. Woodrow Wyatt, one of the younger Labour M.P.s, said recently after a visit to the United States that the Americans do not think that any country which receives large sums of money from them can have any advice worth listening to. Mr. Wyatt's statement was approvingly quoted in the *Hindustan Times* recently by its Columnist, "I. D."

The best question of the Conference was put to Mr. Attlee by our friend, P. N. Bajpai. He asked, "Do you regard the Congress Party of India as the Socialist Party of India?" Mr. Attlee said, "Certainly not. The Congress Party never claimed to be a Socialist Party. They have, of course, some socialist ideas—as every progressive Party must." The political sagacity of Clem Attlee

really came to light when it was found after his departure to Rangoon that he never uttered a word in praise of our Prime Minister. Indeed, the general British point of view was expressed at the Press Conference by a British Correspondent who asked, "Do you think that the threat of Communism can be met more successfully in India if the Government devoted itself to domestic problems such as food and clothing instead of to international affairs as at present?" Mr. Attlee obviously did not wish to pass any judgment on our Government in categorical terms. So he said, "While every Government should devote its attention to domestic problems, it cannot neglect international problems."

No foreign statesman has ever received such a warm welcome in New Delhi as Mr. Attlee did. Despite some people in New Delhi and Mr. Campbell-Johnson, it looks as though we still think that it was Mr. Attlee who gave independence to India on a platter, and not Lord Mountbatten. Hundreds of people had to go home without listening to Mr. Attlee because there were no seats, although the Indian Council of World Affairs held this meeting in the largest Hall in New Delhi—the Library Hall of Parliament, where the Constituent Assembly of India held its sessions. It was to the Constituent Assembly of India that power was transferred by Mr. Attlee's Labour Government. Attlee today is an old man at 69, and he will do well to transfer the leadership of the Labour Party to a younger and a fiery man—to Mr. Bevan, whom he described to us as "a very good friend."

Mr. Ralph Bunche, I regret to say, was quite a disappointment at his Press Conference. He did a lot of humming and hawing before words

came out of his mouth, and it looked as though someone had to hammer the words out of him. Despite his mannerism, he proved to be an able speaker when we met him more informally at the National Physical Laboratory over a cup of tea. He asked me why we were so kind to him at the Press Conference, and I told him that it would have been criminal for us to put difficult questions when we knew that he had no sleep for four days continuously. I told him it was remarkable for him to have refused the post of Assistant Secretary of State on the ground that his acceptance would create the impression that the position of the negroes in America is much better than it actually is. Bunche said that that was not the ground. He said that he did not accept the post because the position of the negro in Washington was such that he and his family were likely to suffer greatly on account of it, and that as long as those conditions remained he could not accept a Government post in Washington. Which came to the same thing, really. Bunche said that as a result of his declining the post on that ground, there was considerable improvement in the position of the negro in Washington.

Acharya Kripalani was also there at the N. P. L. tea, which was in honour of the delegates to the Gandhian Seminar. Kripalani said that it was wrong to say that Gandhiji was against modern science. Gandhi was against man becoming the slave of science. The Acharya said that there was no need for him to have been asked to speak to the N. P. L., because he was always in Delhi and he would come many times to the N. P. L. Boyd-Orr or Ralph Bunche asked him how many times he had visited the National Physical Laboratory before. The Acharya was in fact visiting it for the first time.

There is a great deal of speculation about an impending merger between the Congress and the Praja-Socialists. Several diplomats in Delhi used to think that it was Jawaharlal Nehru who asked Acharya Kripalani to go out of the Congress, and that Nehru would choose a suitable moment to leave the Congress him-

self and join the Praja Party—as its leader, of course. Since this did not come off, they are forecasting that Kripalani would join the Congress again. The Praja Socialists will stand to gain if they maintain a separate entity, and remain a Party of protest—as Rammanohar Lohia argues. Even if they wish to share power with the Congress Party, they should do so as members of a Party with a separate identity. There seems, however, to be a general trend to isolate the Communists—which may have a boomerang effect. That is to say, the people of India may come to look upon the C. P. I. as the only party which gives them hope if and when all other Parties discredit themselves by collaborating with the collapsing Congress Party.

R. K. Narayan's "Mr. Sampat," made into a motion picture by Gemini, is probably the first good modern story to be filmed in Hindi in the South. Mr. S. S. Vasan told me three years ago that the great length of his films was due to the demand of the rural public. Now he has produced a picture which meets with the most exacting demands of the most urban public we can think of in India—namely, the public of New Delhi. Apart from the fact that there is a cogent story running through the film, the producer has worked in a number of song and dance numbers without violating our sense of probability. Mr. Vasan and Mr. Narayan have, in this picture, managed to have their say on elections, on political parties, and on the way of the world generally. The topical allusion to the compensation awarded by the Courts for the loss of a little finger is a tribute to the skill of the author of the story.

The huge length of the films in India, to which Indian audiences have become accustomed, may really prove to be a blessing in the long run. For then may emerge in this country writers who have something to say. For them ninety minutes will prove a thoroughly inadequate time to convey their message. Audiences in India are more inclined to favour didactic literature, whether it be on paper or on celluloid.

ENGLISH UNDER THE NEW DISPENSATION

By S. VEERASINGHAM

ONE of the greatest miracles of the modern age is the spread of English as a world language. "The English tongue is of small reach, stretching no further than this Island of ours, nay not there over all," said Richard Mulcaster, a great grammarian and educationist of Elizabethan England and the teacher of prosody to Edmund Spenser, the author of the *Fairie Queene*. It began to expand first slowly and then rapidly. At the end of the 16th century, fewer than 5 millions spoke it; in 1801, nearly 21 millions, and in 1921, nearly 150 millions. Now more than 300 millions out of a total world's population of 2000 millions speak it. Its present position is summed up in the words of Robert Bridges as follows:—

"The English language is spreading all over the world. This is a condition over which we have no control. It is a substantial imperious fact that entails a vast responsibility, and impresses on our humanity the duty to do what we can to make our current speech as good a means as possible for the inter-communication of ideas."

The poet is not guilty of any exaggeration whatever. In 1935, three-fourths of the world's mail was written in English; it was the language of three-fifths of the world's radio stations; more than one half of the world's newspapers were printed in English; it was the common language of all the great seaports of the world. It may supersede French as the language of diplomacy and German as the language of science and theology. Although the days of the political imperialism of England are over, yet her linguistic imperialism is at its zenith. The imperialism is not a curse to mankind, but a great blessing.

Let us come nearer home. Just as the Englishman came to India inspired not by "motives of philanthropy, but by lust of conquest," the

Indians and other peoples of the East took to the learning of English not to drink deep at the fountain of English culture, but to 'gain a way to wealth and power'. The introduction of English into India as the medium of instruction in schools dates from the famous minute of Macaulay who, in a language more charming than sensible, convinced the East India Company, whose role had just then changed from that of traders to that of rulers, that among the blessings which the Indians could ever have on earth, the English language was the foremost. He was not solely responsible for the mischief. There were some patriots among the most distinguished Indians of that time who, by supporting Macaulay, did India a great 'loving wrong'. Among Macaulay's arguments were the following: 1. That the Indians themselves—barring a few old fashioned and orthodox Brahmins—preferred an English education to their own, as the crowding of the Hindu College and the Scottish Church College in Calcutta, and the comparative desertion of the Sanskrit College in the same city, in spite of its stipends, showed. 2. That even patriotic and enlightened Indians like Raja Ram Mohan Roy, admitted that their own languages possessed little that was worth knowing and asked for Western education.

The patriotic Indians and Macaulay were actuated by different motives. The patriots, forgetting what Tacitus said ("The language of the conqueror in the mouths of the conquered is the language of the slave") were keen on securing for India a place in the sun with the aid of the ruler's language. Macaulay thought, "No Hindu who has received an English education ever remains attached to his religion." In fairness to Macaulay it may be said that he rightly thought that English was easier and more useful than Sanskrit, Arabic or Persian, and "would

give the Indian the key to all the riches of Western science and literature." It was a pity that the fate of many generations of children in a whole sub-continent was decided at the instance of these two men, Macaulay and Raja Ram Mohan Roy, neither of whom was competent to undertake the responsibility for selecting the medium of instruction in the schools of India. Macaulay was prejudiced against the culture, languages and the civilisations of the Indians; while Raja Ram Mohan Roy, remembering with agony the unyielding determination of his rabid father to uphold the custom of his caste, 'suttee', by burning alive his daughter on the funeral pyre of her husband, would have been the first man to encourage anything that would undermine the institutions and customs of his people. It is no wonder that he wished English education to supplant native education. These two eminent men merely initiated the mischief. Very soon the craze for English education among the upper classes swept the country like a tidal wave. A few administrative acts of the Government might have intensified this madness.

In Ceylon

In Ceylon the Government refused appointments to anyone who did not possess any knowledge of English. Inducements were offered to the people to learn the new language at the expense of their native tongues. The people's enthusiasm for the ruler's language was so great that costly educational institutions in which provision was made for instruction in English of the pupils in all subjects from kindergarten upwards were crowded to overflowing with children of well-to-do parents. In no other country in the world was such a heavy premium set on the language of the ruling race. The rich heritage of the nation was lost on many generations of school children. Some ambitious parents tried their utmost to protect their children from the evil influence of their own mother tongue which was relegated to the status of a pariah among languages. The native butler of a missionary who had picked up a little broken English enjoyed greater prestige than a native aristocrat or a learned

pundit. Nobody thought of reviving the glories of Taxila and Nalanda, while every ambitious father was dreaming of a career in either Oxford or Cambridge for his son. In spite of much topsy-turvy-dom that prevailed in these countries at this time, some patriots and wellwishers of these countries entertained the hope that some good would come out of this national evil. They hoped that English education assimilated by the upper classes would filter down to the masses, and that capable scholars would produce literary and scientific works of enduring merit in their national languages. All these hopes proved futile, because the highly-educated scholars in the new set-up became not bilingual, in the true sense, able to express themselves both in the native media and in English, but unilingual with their powers of expression restricted to English. The new culture floated like tiny specks of oil on a vast ocean and would not coalesce with the indigenous culture. Whole nations became nations of deaf mutes and the curse of conquest was complete. No runner can run on stilts, and no nation can express itself in a borrowed medium.

Cultural Deserts

The very limited and defective teaching of the native languages in all the leading schools, colleges and universities consequent on their losing pride of place caused a universal malady called "aphasia" among school children. Countries for centuries noted for great literary productions became cultural deserts. The few oases were the achievements of those who either refused to succumb to western influence or escaped from it in time. Rabindranath Tagore, Michael Madhusudan Dutt and Sarojini Naidu may be taken as three typical examples. Tagore who was born in a wealthy family with all opportunities to become a "Sahib" refused to hobnob with western culture. Even his life at school became revolting to him. His fame as a world famous poet is assured; but he owes it to his great works in Bengali, although the outside world knows him only through the translations of his works into English. Michael Madhusudan Dutt narrowly escaped obscurity and oblivion by turning to his native Bengali in time. Sarojini Naidu is the instance of a poet whose tragedy was the tragedy of

wrong medium of expression. The great lady who had the genuine poetic temperament to say

To kings and their cohorts the joy of their deeds,

To priests and to prophets the joy of their creeds;

Peace to the vanquished, and hope to the strong;

But to me, oh my Master, the rapture of song.

will achieve her immortality through her political career and not through her poems.

The revolutionary Tamil poet of South India, Subramania Bharathiar, truthfully depicts his attitude to English education in words which breathe fire and which are therefore untranslatable:

My father's thousand has on me wasted been,

Many a thousand mishaps did me overtake

Not one atom of benefit have I seen

Before forty thousand gods I shall this oath make.

What applies to India applies, not in part, but in whole, to all countries suffering from similar handicaps. It is worthwhile to examine the testimony of competent authorities. Dr. D. N. Mullick of Presidency College, Calcutta, felt that the system of education involved the country in "a tremendous waste of energy". He says, "A boy often leaves school practically ignorant of English, although, he has had English taught him for eight years." About the boy he says, "He is not so dull as that—none of our boys are—and yet that is the result." The Education Commission of 1902 protested against the neglect of the vernaculars. In 1919 the Calcutta University Commission reported, "We are disposed to think that the educated classes in the various provinces of India will wish to be bilingual, to use their mother tongue for those dear and intimate things which form part of life from infancy upwards and are the very breath and substance of poetry and national feeling, to use English as a means of intercommunication necessary for the maintenance of the unity of India, and of touch with other

countries, for mutual exchange and stimulation of ideas in the sphere of scholarship and science, and for promotion of that inter-provincial and international commerce and industry on which economic prosperity of India will largely depend."

In 1949 the University Education Commission (Ceylon) reported as follows:—"Instead of laying stress upon thinking and reasoning we emphasized memorising; in place of knowledge of things and realities, we acquired a sort of mastery over words. It affected originality of thought and development of literature in the mother tongue. We have impoverished ourselves without being able to enrich the language which we so assiduously studied."

Self-evident Truths

No testimonies are necessary to prove self-evident truths; but even the self-evident truths elude the grasp of even intellectuals whose judgment is warped by love of vested interests. Among these intellectuals there are a good many who, while encouraging the study of *swabhashas*, would retain English with its present status. It is a pity that even educationists among them are reluctant to wipe out a national disgrace at whatever cost. To persist in an error after realising it as an error is ethically wrong. The continuance of English as the medium of instruction was politically enslaving and educationally unsound. Its continuance will be morally debasing. Two great sons of India, Mahatma Gandhi and Nehru, who have been responsible for shaping the destiny of New India, had very strong opinions on the subject. Some twenty years ago the Mahatma, when compelled to speak in English with a visitor who did not know Hindi, heaved a sigh and said, "All right then, let the foreign ruler's language be the medium." Almost at the same time, Nehru in a letter he wrote to his daughter from his prison said, "It is perfectly ridiculous for me to write to you in English and yet I am doing so. We shall get out of this habit soon, I hope."

The malcontents have many reasons in support of their standpoint, viz. that higher education is impossible except through English; that

the standard of education will deteriorate; that communal harmony will be upset; that teachers and text books are not available. Those who adduce the first reason cast a slur on the *swabhashas* which are capable of wonderful expansion and adaptation. Like Greek they lend themselves admirably for the purpose of word-coining. Those who maintain that the imposition of *swabhashas* as media of instruction will deteriorate the standard of education speak in colossal ignorance of elementary educational principles. They would rather maintain that a fish cannot swim in water, its own element. The standard of English will no doubt suffer a little, while the standard of education will improve considerably. The only way to prevent English from deteriorating is to bring the Englishman back, and revive British imperialism. That the communal harmony may be upset is a grotesque argument. Those people who adduce this reason forget that a century and a half of English education could not avert the vivisection of India. Let them note that the cure for communal disharmony is not the continuance of English but the teaching of the right ideologies to the nation everywhere and at all times. Let them note the example of Switzerland where a people with four tongues speak with one voice. Teachers and text books will become available in plenty where there is a demand for them, for demand precedes supply.

It is most pleasing to see that the voice of the malcontents all over the newly awakened countries is a voice in the wilderness. The governments of these countries have acted with the most statesmanlike vision. The goal is definitely fixed, and English will be replaced by the languages of the people. There are differences only in the pace and minor details.

This does not mean that English will disappear from these countries. No doubt it will cease to be what it never had a right to be—the medium of instruction, the language of administration and the means of inter-provincial communication. This right is the inalienable right of the national languages. However Eng-

lish is assured of a very honourable place in the curriculum of colleges and universities. The position of English in the new set-up in India was admirably summed up by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad at a press conference soon after he became Minister for Education in the interim Government. These views have been subsequently confirmed both by him and Nehru. Similar views are held by the statesmen of other countries similarly placed. There is a consensus of opinion among the leaders of these countries that English has yet a vital role to play in cultural advancement of these nations.

"So far as general studies are concerned it was never my intention to suggest that there should be any falling in the standard of English. One hundred and fifty years of intimate contact has made English an integral part of our educational system and this cannot be changed without injury to the cause of education in India. In addition English has today become one of the major languages in the world; and the Indians can neglect its study only at the risk of loss to themselves. I am convinced that in the future as well, the standard of teaching English should be maintained at as high a level as possible."

A sub-committee of eminent educationists constituted under the auspices of the British Council (India) reported in 1950: "In the new set-up in India, consequent on the attainment of independence, English will have to be learnt (out of choice) for various reasons. It is indispensable for higher studies as a means of international intercourse, and above all, to keep abreast with the daily-evolving world thought."

All these years, a student, before he reached the university, had to devote ten long years to learning either English as a subject or other subjects through the medium of English for more than twenty hours a week at school alone. Even in the home he was compelled to devote all the time available to him to the study of English. The result was that there were a hundred casualties for every success. In the new set-up the ten years may be reduced to

five and the teaching periods may be reduced to six per week. However it will not be impossible to maintain an adequate standard of English if the nations would realise that education is the most important nation building activity and that primary education is the most important part of a nation's education. Much greater care must be bestowed on this than on the secondary and the university education. Children properly educated in the *swabhashas* for six years in the primary schools can be made to become apt pupils in English. Their mother tongues will become a sure foundation for the new language. Teachers specially trained for this purpose and adopting efficient and up-to-date methods can even prevent the deterioration of English, in spite of the heavy reduction in the time devoted to it all these years. The Secondary Education Commission appointed in India will guide not only the Government of India but other countries as well to formulate their policies in a manner appropriate to the changing conditions of the "changeless East."

Future Of English

The future of English as the most dominant among the languages of the world is assured. Mr. H. L. Mencken, the famous author of the "American Language," ventures a prediction in an article he contributed to Harper's Magazine, a condensed form of which appeared in the Reader's Digest of May 1935. Much information for this thesis was obtained from this article. He

quotes a great author, Mrs. Woolf, the wife of an ex-Ceylon Civil Servant, as follows: "In England the word-coining power has lapsed. When we want to freshen our speech we borrow from American—poppy-cock, rambunctious, flip-flop, booster, good mixer. All the expressive, ugly, vigorous slang which creeps into use among us comes from across the Atlantic." He concludes with the words, "American goes on sprouting and coruscating like the vigorous organism it is. My guess is that it will eventually conquer the English of England and so spread its gaudy inventions round the globe. The conquest of the world by English, if it ever comes off, may really be a conquest by American." If the author had been a politician he might have added that the U.S.A. had annexed the British Isles as one of her states by means of the Marshal Plan.

The present writer ventures no prediction, but he thinks that in spite of the enormous influence which the U. S. A. exerts by various means in the countries of the East, these countries will accept the B.B.C. English in regard to pronunciation; the American English in regard to spelling; any other forms of English in regard to vocabulary and structure only if the new words and structures make a strong appeal to the people who will not be deterred from exercising their freedom to choose the best and leave the rest.

(Mr. S. Veerasingham was lately Principal of Sri Somaskanda College, Puttur, Ceylon.)

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THE 'BLACKMAILER'S TRUTH' ON INDOCHINA

By ANDREW ROTH

MANY 'good Europeans' congratulated the French for securing the NATO Council's support on December 17 for its gruelling war in Indochina. *The Times'* correspondent described this as "the first NATO resolution concerning a territory outside the North Atlantic area; it is thus an important constitutional step in the recognition that the interests of member countries are indivisible."

The resolution did, indeed, involve the future of all Western Europe. But not in the manner in which *The Times* correspondent suggested. The resolution was, in effect, diplomatic recognition of the fact that the military efforts of 25,000,000 Vietnamese are more important than those of 50,000,000 Frenchmen. As such it has pointed out the fact that South Asia's future, while interlinked with that of Western Europe, is at least as vital.

Although this generalization itself is not widely accepted in Europe, the actions which flow from the NATO Council's decision underline its truth. Thus, *The Observer's* diplomatic correspondent reported on January 4 that Indochina was replacing Western Europe as second on the American list of priorities for military aid.

French Truth

The tremendous impact of the Indochina conflict made itself felt during 1952 largely because France, for the first time, felt it necessary to tell a substantial portion of the truth in the interest of what *The Observer's* Paris correspondent describes as "legitimate diplomatic blackmail."

This is not the first time this correspondent has heard the phrase "blackmail" used with regard to Indochina. In Saigon in the summer of 1949 I asked a French correspondent why France continued to fight in Indochina, since the French colonists' paper *Union Francaise* was saying: "No progress whatsoever has

been made toward pacification since 1945....No one can say that the situation is not getting worse...." The French correspondent, pointing out that the first American arms supplies had just arrived, answered cynically: "For blackmail."

Since this conversation over 200 shiploads of U. S. arms and supplies have gone to Indochina, apart from the very substantial aid to France. Indochina still exceeded the proceeds. The U. S. is spending almost \$500 millions in Indochina this fiscal year, supplying the bulk of the war material and 40% of its finances. In addition, the U. S. is spending, according to State Department sources, about \$800 millions on aid to France, including indirect assistance (*New York Times*, October 10, 1952).

But during 1952 France became intensely conscious that the costs of the "blackmailing" operation in Indochina still exceed the proceeds secured. Complained President Auriol on October 25: "No doubt (American aid) helped us. But the defense of liberty in Indochina has already cost us roughly twice what we have received under the mutual assistance programme—1,600,000,000 francs (£1,600 millions) against 800 billion (£800 millions)." The total cost of the Indochina war in 1952 is estimated at \$1,500,000,000 for which France still paid the bulk.

For France this has not only been a financial burden but a severe drain on military manpower (a quarter of its troops, a third of its officers, two-fifths of its NCO's). It has further unsteadied a precarious government stability. It has complicated France's international relations, intensifying its fear of Germany and made its government seem a blackmailing beggar at the table of the United States. All these tendencies emerged clearly in 1952.

The year 1952 opened with the French National Assembly exhausted by a full-dress debate on Indochina, characterized by a number of

views which, a year before, would have been considered defeatist. Particularly striking was the fact that former Premier Daladier, a traditional Radical, added his voice to the many which have stated that by spending lives and money in a seemingly endless campaign at the other end of the earth, France is crippling itself as a European and African power—to the benefit of Germany.

Mendes-France, an unorthodox Radical, hit hard, saying "the main point is this: as long as we go on losing all these officers and men in Indochina, as long as we go on spending 500 billion francs a year, we shall have no army in Europe and only 500 billion francs worth of inflation, poverty, and fuel for Communist propaganda."

The then Prime Minister, Rene Pleven, could only promise that if the Chinese did not send in troops "present plans promised results in fifteen or eighteen months." He hoped an armistice in Korea would create conditions for a settlement of the Indochina problem. But, while fobbing off French politicians with this bit of hopefulness, General A. P. Juin was sent to Washington a week later to a British-French-American conference on Southeast Asia to attempt to frighten the U. S. into increased aid by exaggerated reports of an imminent Chinese invasion. The most he could secure was the promise that should the Chinese intervene in force, Britain and the U. S. would aid France immediately with air and naval support—but not troops.

France's urgent need for troops was highlighted by the decisive defeat at Hoabinh, which fell on February 24th after weeks of French statements that they had defeated the Vietminh forces there. This hub had been described, at the time of its capture by the French the previous November, as the "key to Vietminh's whole system of communications." Its capture then had been secured by Minister Letourneau, apparently to 'impress Washington,' against the best judgment of Marshal De Lattre de Tassigny, who died two months later, depriving France of one of its most impressive soldiers.

The Cabinet of Edgar Faure could not last out the week. A few minutes before the Assembly vote which overthrew his Government, the Premier had emphasized that Indochina was the real heart of the French problem, both in a financial and a military sense. As long as France was alone in conducting this war, and almost alone in paying for it, as long as the cadres of at least six divisions were out there, there could be no adequate French army in Europe, and no stable franc. (Official figures released during the previous fortnight indicated France had spent £1,000 million in Indochina since 1945 and would spend another £432 in 1952; France had already lost 30,000 killed or missing in Indochina and was losing an officer a day there, or more than the annual graduation class at the national military academy at St. Cyr). At the Lisbon meeting of the NATO council Premier Faure had "asked emphatically whether, yes or no, Indochina was included in the common defense strategy?" He had received no answer.

The Pinay Government, which lasted almost the whole of the rest of 1952, appeared superficially to be dominated by the fight against internal inflation and for the restoration of confidence in the franc. But this classical rightwinger was caught between the irresistible force of swelling military expenses, which took about a seventh of the budget, and the immovable objections of his followers to agree to increased taxes. As a result the MRP deserted him because he had to try to cover expenses by reducing family allowances. "Only Ho Chi Minh can save the franc" was more than a Gallic witticism.

Ghost At The Conference Tables

Indochina was the ghost at France's shoulders at every international conference in 1952. Thus, at the May ratification of the European Defence Community France insisted on special new guarantees against the emergence of Germany as Western Europe's dominant military force while France was pinned down in Indochina. It secured the tripartite declaration by the Governments of Britain, the U. S. and

France guaranteeing the "integrity and unity" of the EDC against any subsequent German departure from it. On May 28, French Defence Minister Rene Plevin had secret conversations with Dean Acheson and Anthony Eden during which, according to *The Times*, he was at pains to impress on them "the interdependence of the French war effort in the Far East and the French rearmament effort in Europe." He apparently asked for a further acceleration of arms deliveries to the Baodai forces.

The degree to which the expansion of the war in Indochina (as well as rearmament in Europe) have made France dependent on the United States was indicated by the fact that the French had to open their budget debate on June 10 *six months late* because they had to wait until the U. S. Congress had voted credits. During the debate it was disclosed that an additional £110 millions were needed for the air and naval forces in Indochina apart from the £432 millions already announced for the army there. Max Lejeune, a former Socialist War Minister, repeated the complaint that the Indochina war was undermining France in Europe and Africa. Without this, he claimed, France could have another ten divisions in Europe and the European Defence Community could then safely be forged under France's leadership and not that of Germany. The Minister for Indochina, M. Letourneau, told the 'good news' that Baodai's troops were bearing the brunt of the casualties. Whereas, in 1946, the proportion of purely French to total casualties was eighty per cent, by early 1952 it had been reduced to only 17%. Few took seriously M. Letourneau's hopeful prediction that, thanks to the growth of the Baodai army, some 5,000 French troops might be released for Europe in 1952.

So dependent had the French Government made itself upon American support for the war in Indochina and rearmament in Europe that it took to *planning* on the basis of State Department *hopes*. The U. S. representatives at the Lisbon conference in February had promised the French to *ask* Congress for a total

appropriation of \$650 millions of direct aid for France. But the U. S. Congress slashed these requests, giving the French \$125 millions less than they had already banked on. Commented *The Times* correspondent (July 22): "A threat to the stability of M. Pinay's Government has just arisen...as a result of the 17% reduction by the United States Congress of the military aid appropriations for 1952-53..." For the next several months the French Government acted as if it were going to sue the State Department for 'breach of promise' because the U. S. Congress would not give France as much as the State Department requested to finance the grandiose sentiments contained in M. Pinay's speech of October 12:

We assume the obligations of a great state, responsible for the destiny of the population that history has entrusted to us. We support a cruel war in Indochina, where the blood of our officers and soldiers is spilled daily.... We watch over the safety of vast territories.

The initial Vietminh successes starting on October 14 convinced the French finally that they could no longer "support" the "cruel war" in Indochina even with American economic aid. Former Premier Edgar Faure, addressing the Radical Congress on October 18, reemphasized the truism; "The Indochinese war is the heart of the European problem." He said the French should make their ratification of the Bonn agreement contingent on additional Allied help, including American troops, against the Vietminh. The alternative, he insisted, was to negotiate peace.

A Trick Budget

As the Vietminh successes in Indochina increased, so did French determination to share its burden with others. To make quite clear that it was increasingly unwilling to finance the Indochina war, the Pinay Government produced a trick budget at the end of October. While all other military expenses rose, the fighting costs in Indochina were cut by £13 million. But on the assumption that the full \$650 millions 'promised' by the U. S. State Department were supplied, two additional divisions

were budgeted for in Europe. Another budget, which only counted on the \$525 millions actually passed by the U. S. Congress, deducted the equivalent of \$125 million (or 44 billion francs), finding it impossible to finance the additional two divisions. Commented *The Observer's* Paris correspondent on this threatened reduction in Indochina and stagnation in Europe: "legitimate diplomatic blackmail."

To back up this "blackmail" Roger Massip, senior diplomatic correspondent of *Figaro*, uttered a few threats as a journalistic voice of the Quai d'Orsay:

Everyone knows that peace negotiations in Vietnam under present conditions would incline the vast mass of hesitant Asiatics now daily seeking to guess the winner (in the 'cold war') to turn decisively toward the Communists. But it is to such negotiations as these that France may be reduced if she remains alone to bear the burden of this war which may decide the fate of Europe.

All efforts by the Atlantic community would be in vain if the vast problem of Southeast Asia, and its military and economic strength, continues to be neglected, even by those who in Korea are defending at immense expense a barrier of doubtful strategic value. France can pursue her efforts precisely to the degree to which she receives growing aid from her allies. Left to herself she cannot continue for long to assure the protection of the only Asiatic bastion which ought to be defended at all costs.

By the beginning of November France had made it clear that it would insist on the NATO countries collectively taking some responsibility for financing the Indochina war, or else it would decline to expand its contribution to NATO and stonewall German rearmament.

On December 17 the NATO Council, meeting in Paris, expressed its support of the French struggle in Indochina as "an essential contribution to the common security of the free world...in fullest harmony with the aims and ideals of the Atlantic community." It therefore agreed that "the campaign waged by the French Union forces in Indo-

china deserves continued support from the NATO Governments."

French diplomacy counted this a victory, since the British and American governments began considering again how to shore up the Franco-Baodai position. The British whose help until now has been largely in naval and intelligence collaboration, have begun to think of making available large quantities of ammunition to supply the British guns used extensively by the French forces. The U. S., which has steadily been stepping up the tempo of its aid, is considering giving Indochina priority in its world strategic picture second only to Korea and *ahead of Western Europe*.

Thus, France has won a Pyrrhic victory since it has helped convince the world that the struggle in Indochina is more important than the rearmament of Europe. To secure the support it wanted, France had to proclaim to the whole world its debility in the face of Ho Chi Minh's forces. Although much has been made of Chinese help to Ho Chi Minh, there has never been any authoritative estimate placing the arms supplied at above 1-3,000 tons monthly during 1952. American aid to the Franco-Baodai forces, on the other hand, was already three times as great (7-9,000) in the Spring of 1952 and mounted steadily thereafter. The Chinese supply of training grounds and instructors are clearly counterbalanced by the American supply of airplanes and patrol vessels which enable the Franco-Baodai forces to dominate the air and sea. In short, the shrill French appeals for help have called attention to the fact that France, with the aid of the Baodai regime, which was established largely to recruit indigenous troops, and American financial and material supplies, cannot keep step with the expansion of Vietminh forces receiving considerably less support from China.

Little wonder that this has convinced many of the superiority of Asian troops. This recognition has frequently emerged in a distorted form, such as Gen. Eisenhower's campaign statement that Asians should be used in Asian conflicts. Few conclusions can be drawn yet

about how the Eisenhower-Dulles policy will be implemented. But it is perhaps significant that the first indications (*The Times*, December 22, 1952) spoke of the new Eisenhower-Dulles regime concentrating "in particular on a new policy in Indochina, envisaging a substantial increase in American military supplies, equipment, and weapons, particularly aircraft, and a formal recognition that she agrees to share responsibility with France for ending the conflict there.

"Such a policy of more American aid for France in the Indochina war—aid short of troops—would be accompanied by a formal warning to Peking that any overt Chinese aggression would have serious consequences.....

"But if General Eisenhower were to decide to offer France really sizeable military aid in a concerted effort to end the war in the foreseeable future, there can be little doubt that America would insist on certain

undertakings by the French Government, of which the principal might well be the dispatch to Indochina of one or two more additional French divisions. In all probability the French would also be asked to make a precise and unequivocal offer of complete independence to Vietnam by a certain date....

"It seems likely....that some supplies would have to be diverted at least temporarily from western Europe and from American units other than those in Korea....

"....Mr. Dulles is known to take the gravest view of the danger of losing Indochina to the Communists. 'Indochina is the key to Southeast Asia, upon the resources of which Japan largely depends,' he said in May."

In short, with the help of loud French cries for help, the conflict in Indochina in 1952 convinced many, including the new leaders of the Atlantic Community, that South Asia should have priority over Western Europe.

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THE NATYAKALA CONFERENCE

By "ARTLOVER"

THE sixth South Indian Natyakala Conference organised by the Indian Institute of Fine Arts, Egmore, was declared open by Dr. U. Krishna Rao at the Museum Theatre on December 26. Prof. P. Sambamurti presided over the session. Addressing a packed gathering of artistes and connoisseurs, the Minister paid a tribute to the services rendered by Nattuvanars to the country by preserving Bharatanatya in its purity, during the decades of artistic degeneration in the South. Prof. Sambamurti appealed to the Government to reintroduce dance recitals at temple festivals, as dancing was a part of worship in Hindu temples.

The seven-day session was devoted to expert committee discussions in the mornings and music and dance performances in the evenings, by mainly amateur artistes. At the forenoon meetings, there were talks, discussions and demonstrations, in which many eminent artistes and critics participated. Some of them were Natyakalakesari Vazhuvur Ramiah Pillay, Natyakala Visarada Chockalingam Pillay, Sri K. P. Kittappa, Vidwan Maharajapuram Viswanatha Iyer, Musiri Subramania Iyer, Sri V. Sethuramiah, Shrimati Lalita (of Saraswati Gana Nilayam), Sri Nala Najan, an American student of Indian dancing and dancers C. R. Kannan and G. Kausalya.

Mr. K. S. Ramaswami Sastry delivered a talk on "The Evocation of Rasa Dhvani in Bharatanatya," with quotations. Sri K. Lakshmanan, Director of the Tagore Academy, Coimbatore, discussed the popularity of Bharatanatya in the Northern States and claimed, from the experiences of his institution that a cultural invasion of the North by the South was on its way.

Prof. A. N. Parasuram discussed in detail the background of the themes, and the technique of presentation of "Sangha Kali," a dance-drama of Kerala, with the humorous and lucid expression of a teacher. Mr. Lakshmanan pointed out that a similar system was seen in Assam, while

Mr. Renga Vittal, an exponent of Kathak and Manipuri, remarked that it went only from Kerala.

"The layman's point of view" was put forward by Sri S. Bashyam who condemned the amateurish attitude of society girls to the art of dancing, and said that, the standard of art had deteriorated by the entry of aristocratic girls into the sphere, who took to it as a pastime and as a good physical exercise. Sri Bashyam stressed the place of physical charm and good health in the presentation of Bharatanatya and condemned the practice by society girls of stopping dancing after a certain age. Among many interruptions and disagreements, "Chandilyan" called upon the people to remember that Bharatanatya was a penance, to which the girl or boy had to dedicate her or his life.

Yet another talk that did not evoke smiling faces from all quarters was the one on "A Peep into the Present-day Art World" by Sri V. S. R. Krishnan of Madurai, who deprecated the highly commercial approach of South Indian musicians and dancers to the arts, and claimed that the degeneration in standards of the arts in the province was mainly on account of the attitude of our artistes. After making an all-round survey of the recent trends in the world of artistes, the speaker appealed to the sangita vidwans, Nattuvanars, dancers, and even amateur exponents to develop a broader outlook and approach the art that is their knowledge, in a spirit of dedication. He stressed the need of an association of artistes to enable vidwans to come round and discuss problems in exposition of art, to do research on the technique and themes, and to bring into closer harmony the differing groups and schools.

Mr. Renga Vittal, Srimati Gowri, and many others participated in the dance demonstrations, while the students of the Institute gave dance and music performances in the evenings. Sri K. P. Sivanandam

gave a veena recital which was very much appreciated. There was also a Hindustani music performance on the last night.

While the secretary, Sri P. S. Sarangapani, working under the inspiration of his noble chief, Sri V. V. Srinivasa Iyengar, deserves to be congratulated on his sustained efforts in convening the conference every year, there seems to be still the need to solicit closer co-operation from all groups of Nattuvanars

and dancers. The inclusion of classical, at the same time popular artistes like Balasaraswati, Rukmini Devi, Shanta Rao, Kumari Kamala, Kumari Kausalya and Hemamalini, would increase the popularity and significance of the conference, while also bringing in some revenue. The executive committee of the Indian Institute of Fine Arts would do well to consider this suggestion when chalking out the programme for the next session.

THE AMUSING 'DEVIL'

By D. ANJANEYULU

MR. R. Srinivasa Iyengar (Coimbatore) has taken exception to 'Viswamitra's' use of the term 'printer's devil' in the generally accepted sense of 'printer's error.' He has quoted chapter and verse to prove that 'printer's devil' means 'an errand boy to a printer.' Whether an errand boy in the press is mainly or solely responsible for all or most of the 'printer's errors,' simple or serious is more than any editor or publisher can say. But, the unconscious humour and the unpremeditated aptness that characterise some of these slips raise them far above the common run of the mere prosaic and meaningless 'errors.' More often than not there seems to be a method in the madness of these mistakes (if they can be so miscalled at all) and the devilish pranks played on the dismayed author amply justify the meaningful expression "printer's devil," in spite of all the grammarians and lexicographers of the English language.

To illustrate, here is a report from a respectable North Indian newspaper with a reputation for careful editing and correct printing:

"The Central Government has instructed State Governments to intensify their efforts to combat the spread of babies."

This is the sort of news that must put some heart into the stout protagonists of birth control who are sure to contemplate the unlimited spread of 'babies' with more consternation than they do the growth

of 'rabies'. That the original text referred only to canine madness or the horrible and humourless hydrophobia is beside the point. To combat that dread disease is such a commonplace affair as to strike the reader as outmoded, if not irrelevant. On the other hand, how topical is it to speak of the dangers of over-population which are stressed time and again by Dr. Stone as well as Dr. Radhakrishnan, not to mention Rajkumari Amrit Kaur (who may differ in the means but agree on the end)? The threat of babies is real, regular and recurring (not remote like rabies) and it is time that the Centre and the States are up and doing something about it.

Truth is sometimes said to be the first casualty of war. In the stress and strain of the life and death struggle that is involved in modern wars, accuracy in reporting is impossible to expect, especially if the newspaper office is badly damaged as in the London Blitz. The description of a war-weary veteran as a "battle-scared" warrior drew a prompt and well-founded protest from the person concerned, who took it as an insinuation on his courage and an affront to his self-respect. The obliging editor of the erring newspaper hastened to make amends for an unjustified, if unwitting, accusation on the hero of a hundred battles by putting in a correction in the next issue. But, lo and behold, the victim was further intrigued to see himself referred to as the "battle-scarred" warrior. His well-known

weakness for Scotch whisky must have served as an unkind commentary on the interlude!

The awful, and often amusing, mess, caused by the puckish devil is likely to be more complicated and less complimentary (to any party) where a woman is involved as in this classic instance. An obituary note on a reputed and respectable lady paid glowing tributes to all her virtues, charity in particular. The unsuspecting sub-editor, whose handwriting was less clear than his intentions, wrote that "the lady was known for her charity". The printer (the compositor or the lino-operator as the case may be) and his "errand-boy" must have found the strange scroll beyond their normal vision, but they certainly, with an innate sense of chivalry, tried to put a favourable construction and gave the benefit of doubt to the deceased dame, who became "known for her chastity" in the rough proof. The proof-reader, an imaginative and enterprising species of the newspaper fraternity, is always inspired by healthy doubt and never accepts anything without questioning the 'why' and the 'wherefore' of a given statement. In this confusing context, he must have got the honest and reasonable doubt if the word in question was 'chastity' or 'charity'. Not able to make up his mind, he puts an interrogation mark in the margin and the sentence reads in its final and published form as:

"The lady was known for her chastity?" Needless to say that the confusion is worse confounded. The virtuous (?) woman must have turned in her grave at the *post mortem* verdict on her character!

The wayward tricks of this mischievous imp (the printer's devil, let us call it for the sake of convenience) sometimes tend to be more malicious (not necessarily of malice afore-thought) than merely harmless and amusing. Mr. K. M. Vallatharas, an M.P. from the South, complained in the House of the People a few months ago how the misprint of a letter in the alphabet had assailed the self-respect of 2½ million people. The 'Kallar' community was, it is pointed out, mentioned as "Kallan", the offending letter 'n' having changed the mean-

ing of the word into a 'thief'. Luckily, for all concerned, it was not printed as 'Killer', for then it would have done further damage to their self-respect. The devil would in that event, have verily roused the homicidal instincts of an otherwise law-abiding and well-behaved group of citizens.

Barring a few unfortunate errors, which are more tragic than interesting, Printer's devils have generally a quaint and quixotic correctness of judgment about them. The late Mr. Bevin (who was at times interposed in print with the bellicose and exuberant Mr. Bevan) was once said to have told his partymen at the Transport House: "Give us the fools and we will do the job". One is apt to wonder what need there was to make a demand for a commodity that is never in short supply in the U. K. or any other country for that matter. With his early training as a manual worker he was, no doubt, asking for 'tools'. Bevin's chief Mr. Clement Attlee appeared as Cement Attlee in one Indian daily. It should not, of course, be forgotten that Attlee partakes of the solid, substantial and enduring qualities of this compound. He is justly known for qualities that wear well and often served as a cementing factor between the warring elements inside his party.

The mere omission of the 'r' from Bradman will make a lot of difference. Nearer home, we hear now and then that 'cruel' centres are opened for giving relief to the famine-stricken in Rayalaseema. Until the Governor had tasted that rare liquid and professed his preference for it, we were not able to decide whether it was an act of kindness or cruelty on the part of the Government. Mr. Munshi only intensified the doubts, when he could not manage to get a drop of it in his parched throat. The dazzling delegates to an international conference in the city were reported to have met in a 'specious shamiana'. If the devil is not behind this 'wonderland' where the tables are turned on their unwary victims with a fatal felicity and a motiveless malignity, I, for one, can find no clue to the inscrutable ways of the printer or his errand-boy!

SCIENCE IN SOCIAL LIFE

By S. P. MISRA

INAUGURATING the fortieth Indian Science Congress at Lucknow on January 2, Prime Minister Nehru emphasised it was not enough scientists excelled in their own work. "The best help the scientists can give", he said, "is to develop that critical faculty, that objective way of looking at things, that would tremendously help in lessening tension nationally and internationally. We invite scientists to help solve our material problems," as of food and other necessities, including larger social, economic and psychological problems.

Politicians' View

Scientists, said Nehru, had changed the face of the world enormously, changed the life of man. "But they have not changed man's thinking so much. Our mind continues to function in what may be called the pre-scientific age and sometimes even in an earlier age." There is intolerance in the world. "Whether scientists or politicians or others can solve this riddle I do not know." But such problems are best considered in "the even temper of science."

U. P. Chief Minister Pant, welcoming delegates, said the entire social fabric rested on science and technology. "Scientists should," he said, "concentrate on faithful adherence to eternal truth and moral rearmament."

Addressing the Congress, Governor Munshi said: "Science has given power, but the mind which has to use the power has remained fixed and static. This we should never forget when we emphasise scientific achievements. The usefulness of science is, therefore, being limited in its power and scope, for it has not been founded on an expanding view of life; it has not given to man a broader vision of the goal and a clearer perception of the direction in which man is to proceed."

It is remarkable how the obvious act escaped some of the best intellects. Science has progressed enormously, altered conditions of social life with corresponding alterations in human thinking. For instance, sla-

very was once thought right and just, as is capitalism in one part and socialism in the other part of the world today.

How We Think

Human thinking can and has altered. The problem is to determine factors governing it, control and direct it to preconceived desirable ends. It is indirect thought-control—control of factors determining thought for progress.

The ancients believed thought and feelings centred in the heart and blood the storehouse of thoughts and memories. Actually, the brain is the material organ permitting thinking occasioned by something else. The idealists believe the "soul", the "absolute idea", the "universal spirit", occasions thought. The dialectical materialists believe thinking reflects the real world of nature.

It is not a reflection as in a mirror, not a passive perception of reality as with animals without consciousness. It is an active, conscious perception of reality in which man participates to master and alter nature. Conscious perception emanates from creative activity with, necessarily, preconceived aims. Whereas things, the sun, rain, electricity, elicit merely unconscious responses from animals, humans appraise them consciously—act creatively on what to do with them and how. Animal activity is instinctive—behaviour patterns. Human activity is conscious, creative, based on achievement of preconceived aims. Acting collectively, socially with preconceived aims, planning, inventing tools, methods, using own experience, his contemporaries' and of preceding generations, man conceives thoughts in the progressive interference with nature.

In idealism the mind cannot be known since the "soul" is independent of the body and immaterial. In dialectical materialism the mind is knowable, both subjectively as experience, and objectively through activity, so controllable.

In creative, conscious activity, there is extraverted introversion and introverted extraversion—the methods of science and art, respectively. After Caudwell, feeling is individual (as pain), sensing is general (as plight of refugees). Similarly, thinking is concrete, particularised intuition having sphere and quality (refers to something particular), intuition is generalised, mathematical thinking (empirical realism in the abstract—any two things plus any other two make four things irrespective of what they are; if everyone stole from everyone or many from many others, there would be insecurity and defraction from productive work, so honesty is a virtue, stealing a crime and a sin).

One feels hungry (introversion), takes steps to get food (extraversion), or senses the suffering of the afflicted (if himself healthy), strives to end ill-health: extraverted introversion, changing of the outer reality, the method of science. By intuition one recognises the ugliness of things (extraversion—conflict between the reality of life and ego) and paints or writes poetry of things beautiful to change the ego, end inner frustration (introversion): introverted extraversion, change of the inner reality, the method of art.

Introverted extraversion (artistic method), if private as a dream, does not lead to art. It is art if it is public—if it expresses the people's aspirations, not the individual's. Art changes man himself. Similarly, extraverted introversion (scientific method) is science only if directed to satisfaction of popular needs. Science masters and changes nature for human benefit.

Contradictory Thinking

In both science and art there is interpenetration of the subjective and the objective. In a class society human consciousness acquires a class character. The same reality gives contradictory reflections. The objective result of a person's activity contradicts its subjective result for him. A worker engages in social labour, produces commodities to satisfy social demands. This is the objective result of his activity. But he is not conscious of the fact.

The worker is not conscious of satisfying social needs but of his own need for wages. This is the subjective significance of his activity for him. There is a contradiction. In capitalist society everything, including human labour, thoughts and feelings, assume the aspect of commodities, of buying and selling relations. The objective social significance of phenomena having a contradictory subjective significance for individuals is most evident with capitalists. They are unconscious of the social significance of production. To them all production is for profit.

The workers share in the contradiction but is negated in them by the capitalist system itself. In selling their labour workers are related with workers in a class of sellers of labour against the capitalist class of buyers of it. In a society based on mutual exploitation, there is class warfare, not always armed insurrection. Buyers of labour continue lowering production costs by lowering wages, rationalisation, raising prices. Sellers of labour continue demanding higher wages, better working conditions, amenities.

Separatism, Anarchism

In a class society the leisured class is more and more isolated from reality, more and more concerned with thought, with pleasures with culture. Meanwhile, the working class is more and more isolated from thought, condemned to monotonous labour, force of circumstances. Specialisation and leadership separated. Specialist workers were no longer leaders but also sellers of labour.

Nehru's advice that scientists should develop "the even temper of science," objectivity, was unnecessary. Unlike politicians ignorant of science, scientists are always objective—no scientists if not. Precisely because of scientific critical objectivity Pant's "faithful adherence to eternal truth and moral rearmament" is impossible. To science things are true only so long and so far as they are not contradicted by fresh knowledge—nothing is eternal. Even matter and energy, neither to be created or destroyed, are not eternal since they are interchangeable.

Science suffers, not from critical objectivity, but from capitalist separation.

ratism. It causes individualism in science, art, culture. It takes three directions: to fascism—the highest form of the capitalist national state; to blind revolt against capitalism, all social organization—anarchism; to socialism and communism—social integration, satisfaction of needs, individual and collective. release of consciousness, removal of contradiction in thought.

The Fundamental

Science, art, culture perish in fascism under intensified capitalist contradictions. Anarchism asserts bourgeois creed, demands "complete personal freedom"—destruction of all social relations. It seldom takes form of anarchist armed insurrection. Its usual form is "art for art's sake," "science for science"—even "biology for biology," "physics for physics." There is complete separatism, ignorance of social relations, interdependence of social activities, anarchism. It destroys bourgeois society without creating another. Only under socialism, communism are contradictions resolved, art and science survive, progress in an integrated society where each is socially conscious activity is made.

Pant's belief that the entire social fabric rests on science and technology is incorrect. The basis is the economic structure of society at the given stage of its development. The superstructure is the political, legal, religious, artistic, philosophical views of society and the political, legal and other institutions corresponding to them.

Culture is a social by-product of leisure. Economic social production determines whether there is more or less leisure for contemplation from the time-consuming struggle for existence. Efficient production affords leisure for thought. Integrated social consciousness and leisure produce art which changes man, indicates directions science may alter nature. But that is possible only if art and science are free and capable of such interaction.

In a class society in all things, including works of art and science, artistic and scientific labour, as other works and forms of labour, have the aspect of commodities, are chattels of commerce, the buyer class

determines the scope and purpose of art and science, inevitably utilises them for own victory in the internal class war and the inter-state wars for foreign markets. Contrary to Munshi's belief, usefulness of science is not limited. The limitations are imposed by the buyer class which also utilises it for destruction.

Man recognises necessities, struggles against nature for satisfaction, using natural laws discovered in the process, so achieves freedom progressively. The individual is free only in so far as social labour, to which he contributes, is successful against nature, only in so far as his needs are satisfied. Primitive life was short, brutal, unfree, because of meagre success against nature.

High capitalist production, scientific development, are for profit, not satisfaction of popular necessities. There is poverty, wretchedness, ill-health, in the midst of plenty of commodities and facilities possible.

Classless Society

Blanqui first coined the phrase, "dictatorship of the proletariat." It inadequately expresses the type of organisation Marxism believes which must assume some or all functions of the existing state for the transition period preceding socialism, to be followed by communism and a classless society.

The recent meeting of the Congress Working Committee has amended the Objective Clause (Article 1) of its constitution to include the establishment of "a classless society by democratic and peaceful methods" as the objective.

Since Marxists apply the scientific method to everything, since politics is management and the more scientific the management of social life the greater the efficiency and progress, the Congress objective of a classless society adds significance to Nehru's request for scientists' aid, at the Indian Science Congress, in the solution of the "larger problems, social, economic and psychological."

Nehru's most important contribution is his admission that he came, "not to speak of scientific subjects, but rather to listen to scientists, to learn something." It is a contribution politicians should first of all and most appreciate.—Copyright.

JAPANESE MOOD

By MURIEL LESTER

A scene in one of Thomas Hardy's books shows a hard-faced shrew of a farmer's wife killing one of her pigs. She was in a frustrated mood instead of her usual competent self when she slit its throat. The creature's blood spurted all over her. She raged in fury at the dying animal for spoiling her nice clean clothes.

This episode came forcibly to my mind as I was pondering on events in Japan. I have been there on two long and leisurely visits during the last 18 months and mixed constantly with every sort of person: cabinet ministers, old-time militarists, university heads, Buddhist leaders, Japanese Christian church leaders, Royalty, women's groups, students, rank and file citizens, labourers and villagers. On both occasions I was the invited guest of the Japanese and renewed very old acquaintance with people in the Northern island of Hokkaido and in remote areas of the two Southern islands.

On arrival the immense difference between the pre-war and the post-war mood was obviously attributable to the deep relief, actually the delight, that had come upon the people with their total and uncompromising repudiation of militarism, contained in the much-publicised disarmament clause of their new Constitution. This had saved them from the 20-year old tyranny of their own militarists who had climbed to power through a series of murders and with the help of international financiers and munition makers. Ordinary people like ourselves, fathers and mothers, brothers and sisters were now liberated from the iron discipline of the police state, the characteristic efficiency of the Japanese in whatever they undertake had built up the power of the police to such an extent that they dared to promulgate "thought control." Many parents would receive a visit from the local constable who with utmost courtesy and an official smile explained that he had called to report that their son or daughter

would not be returning from school or college that afternoon. He or she had been found suffering from "dangerous thoughts", a notifiable disease, and therefore would be detained until cured. Often there was no return.

Now that phase was over. A new era had started in 1945.

No longer did my friends hold themselves tense and taut if they had occasion to speak to a policeman. They laughed and joked as we would with London Bobbies.

Total release from such ubiquitous fear brought with it an access of creative energy so great that houses, schools, shops and manufactured goods emerged at a speed which amazed those accustomed to our British pace of production.

I enquired of a wise ex-Governor friend how his fellow citizens could manage to keep so free of bitterness; they seemed devoid of all resentment. Was I perhaps deceiving myself?

He answered that the absence of bitterness was due to their philosophy which was fatalism, but of a different kind from what we talk of in the West. The Japanese hold that when an irresistible force overwhelms an individual or a nation, it must be accepted fully. Then the whole available energy must be expended creatively and hopefully in reconstruction. No wonder Japan's recovery amazes and disconcerts us! She has already captured markets we used to enjoy. She surrendered to us unconditionally. Yet now in conference with our textile industrialists she negotiates from strength.

No wonder some of our folk are as annoyed by the Japanese as the farm woman was by the dying pig!

Two weeks after my arrival among these people, so recently liberated from fear, the blow fell. Mr. John Foster Dulles, President Truman's emissary, arrived in Tokyo to prepare the way for the Japanese Peace Treaty. This meant repudiating the disarmament clause of their Constitution.

I wish I could adequately describe the shock, the amazement, the spiritual and psychological reaction to this right-about-turn. Japan's action in accepting disarmament had elicited congratulations from leaders of most countries. Only a few months before Mr. Dulles arrived, General MacArthur had again publicly renewed his commendation of their disarmament. Moreover, Mr. Dulles was perhaps better known in Japan than in Britain as a trusted Christian statesman of great integrity. The complete *volte face* of the West shocked these Asians. Was no one's word to be trusted? Did a promise mean nothing? What about the sanctity of Truth. Wasn't it the sort of rock foundation which Hebrews as well as Christians, Hindus and Buddhists regarded as elemental, lasting, unchangeable, absolute, basic? Or, horrible disillusioning notion, did the Western powers disapprove of Japanese militarism only when it was directed against themselves?

Of course disillusionment leads easily to communism, but the great majority of the people avoided that path. The women's groups are well organized and were the first to rally, with public meetings, an open letter to Mr. Dulles, a request for an interview, and widespread publication of their views under the title "The Women of Japan Speak". Before the war this would have been unthinkable. Then women had no power even to get an interview with the Prime Minister. Now they were well represented in Parliament.

Although the usual pattern of Japanese behaviour is to submit to authority, other groups soon joined them in declaring their strong opposition to rearmament: the non-Communist trade unions, the Socialists, the Fellowship of Reconciliation. The Emperor's brother, the well-known Prince of Mikasa, in a press interview, affirmed his antipathy to militarism, caused by what he had seen while serving in China with his brother officers during the war.

In Rangoon, Hongkong and Manila I had spent some hours on my way East, talking with Japanese war criminals, many of them awaiting execution. Their wives, parents

or children appeared wherever I went during the next six weeks. They felt that to see and to shake hands with me, who had recently seen and shaken hands with their beloved ones, did something to bridge the gulf between them. A silent, pale, thin relict of one of these dashing militarists told me her husband had been executed two weeks after I left Manila. Because I had brought with me by air the packet of fortyseven letters waiting to be despatched, she had received and enjoyed one from him before his death. "If it had come afterwards, it would have been a heavy sorrow", she said. "How can I think you enough?"

I recalled the look of one condemned man as I listened to plans for reviving military might. He had gone out with the hundred other prisoners from the hall where we had met together for an hour or so. They were already under the eye of the officer who was to march them back to the cells, but this one, moved by some strong passion to speak out for once to the outside world what had been borne in upon him during his six years in gaol, came back, strode across the room to me, searched my face as though to assure himself of my sincerity and then said, "Will you take a message to the General?" Of course I agreed. "Tell him, please, that if they encourage Japan to rearm they will be doing evil....a very great evil."

Gen. MacArthur was very busy and could not see me. So I wrote out for him the message of the prisoner turned prophet. Other war criminals, both Japanese and German, were set free, if not indemnified; but they were of the sort that would be useful to Western plans. I have repeated the gaunt old man's message all over the world, but what I say is the merest whisper whereas the Press in most countries, though called 'free', generally depends on foreigners for its supply of paper and often also for its investors. Many financiers and businessmen in Japan, as in other countries, like to be ranged on the side where dollars are plentiful.

I suppose, however, we do not need a Japanese war criminal who has probably already been killed to

prophecy to us that doom will fall on Britain also if we choose our policies on the basis of self-interest and fear.

God is not mocked: He evidently watched the noble little band of constitutionalists in Japan, the rich and poor, the clever and simple who were resisting the blandishments of rearmament agents.

Then one of those delightfully unexpected and profoundly simple miracles occurred which added half a million to their ranks and enabled a well organised, unified movement to spread over the whole country. Nittatsu Fujii, a middle-aged Buddhist priest of the ancient and revered Nichiren sect, broke the long silence of his Church as regards their basic conception of *ahimsa* (non-violence). He challenged his co-religionists to confess their shame at having acquiesced so meekly in militarist rule in the past. He asked them publicly to pronounce their settled determination to be true in future to their faith, refusing to countenance rearmament. With burning words he pointed out that it was bad enough to contemplate the fact that it was foreigners who had rid them of the tyranny of militarism without effort on their own part but it would be still worse if, having been thus set free, they let the burden be once more bound to their backs. A well-known young airman seconded his appeal. Japan is a predominantly Buddhist country and when a group of some twenty priests spend three days and three nights in a central square in Tokyo, praying and fasting and appealing to the thousands who come to listen to work against rearmament it touches

something very deep down in their religious and racial consciousness.

So it soon became a common experience for me to be met at railway stations by bands of Buddhist priests and nuns with their prayer drums, their chants and their blessings, and to be seen off in the same manner to the next place where meetings were to be held. Huge crowds gathered in the open air to hear aristocratic Japanese women, factory girls, Christian leaders, Buddhists and Socialists make the great appeal.

The genesis of this miracle is to be traced to another servant of God, Mr. Gandhi, in his Ashram in Sevagram. Here in 1940 came a wandering Japanese Buddhist priest. No one expected him. None could understand the Japanese language and he knew no other. Yet quite soon there was forged a bond of deep appreciation and affection between him and all the inmates. His self-discipline, his deep serenity, his humility, his devoted attendance at the 4 a.m. and 5 p.m. prayer time left an indelible impression on them.

In 1941 he was interned and seen no more.

At the end of the war when I was again staying in India, Mr. Gandhi told me of the pleasure he had had in this man's visit and that in memory of him one of his Buddhist prayers had been added to the Ashram prayer book. I enquired his name and was told "Nittatsu Fujii."

Doesn't it seem right and fitting that this quiet man should be the one destined to lead his fellow countrymen along the road of non-violence?

Evidently God is at work. Are we?

The day after I was married I was buying some evening shoes in one of the smartest shops in New York, and I was served by a very nice young man, and I asked him if they'd go well with my evening dress. He said, "Listen Honey, when you got one of those strapless evening gowns on nobody ain't going to look at your feet."—MONICA DICKENS, in a *RBC* talk about her life in the United States.

Though "the words of the wise be as nails fastened by the masters of assemblies," yet their examples are the hammer to drive them in to take the deeper hold. A father that whipped his son for swearing, and swore himself whilst he whipped him, did more harm by his example than good by his correction.—FULLER.

THE MEANING OF MAU MAU

By FENNER BROCKWAY

I hope Mr. Oliver Lyttleton has read Mr. L. S. B. Leakey's book, *Mau Mau and the Kikuyu*. If he has done so, he will no longer have any doubt about the social and economic injustice which have brought violence and terrorism to Kenya.

Mr. Leakey knows more about the Kikuyu, Kenya's troublesome tribe, than any other white man. His parents were missionaries to the Kikuyu and he was born and bred among them. He so identified himself with them that he is an elected elder of the tribe. He is one of the few Europeans who know the Kikuyu language.

I have paid only two short visits to Kenya and have not had the unique advantages which Mr. Leakey has enjoyed. I am therefore immensely encouraged to find him confirming point by point the analysis which Leslie Hale and I made of the situation on our return from our recent fact-finding mission.

For example, while we sensed that the breakdown of the old tribal system and the failure to provide a satisfactory alternative is the root cause of the frustration which has bred bitterness and viciousness, I certainly did not see the full picture of this disintegration. It is not only a matter of the destruction of the old democracy of the tribe with the elected Elders' Councils guiding and harmonising each clan, and of the substitution of European District Officers and selected Chiefs who are servants of the Government rather than of the people; it is a matter of every feature of tribal life, the evolution of the child through the comradeship of his age-group to meet the expanding experiences of adolescence, manhood and old age; the education (though it included neither reading nor writing) which accompanied this from mothers and elders, teaching both responsibility to the tribe and the service of work (particularly for women) and of fighting (for men).

There were, of course, abominable things, women's circumcision, the

slavery of women, witchcraft and the intimidation of oaths, the appalling infantile mortality due to fear that a sick child might die within the hut (and its spirit haunt the home), with the consequence that it died from pneumonia outside the hut. The tragedy of Mau Mau is that it is a reversion to the worst features of the old life: the hideous forms of violence which characterised tribal wars and the sorcery and superstition.

British failure has been that, whilst it has saved the lives of the infants and begun (but only begun) the formal education of writing and reading, it has destroyed community life socially and economically; and, when the inevitable revolt came, the maladjusted victims were forced back to the past instead of challenging the future.

Perhaps the economic causes for the disintegration of Kikuyu life have been more disastrous even than the social causes. To the Kikuyu land is life. Fifty years ago there was plenty of land, but now the Kikuyu reserve is so congested that people cannot live. Half a million of the 1,200,000 Kikuyu have had to leave their territory, to become surf-labourers to European settlers or unskilled workers in the towns or emigres to Uganda or Tanganyika. When I saw these things a month ago I was reminded of the exodus of the people of South Wales from the mining valleys in the 'thirties.

Something like 200,000 Kikuyus are employed on the extensive European farms. (Is it any wonder that they are bitter when fewer than 4,000 British and South African farmers own more land than has been allocated to the whole Kikuyu tribe?) These labourers are literally serfs. They must sign a three-year contract and are paid 12s. to 18s. a month. They are given two acres of land but are only allowed to grow on it food for their own families. They are given materials to build huts but must build them themselves. If a son reaches sixteen years of age he is

compelled to work for the farmer. At harvest time the wife and children of the labourer must also work for the farmer. They are not permitted to leave the district on any occasion without securing passes from the farm manager. When the three year contract ends, there is no alternative except to renew it because there is neither land nor life for them elsewhere.

The men who are driven into the towns are homeless. Mr. John Wyatt, the Attorney General, says that there are 10,000 homeless in Nairobi every night. When they get jobs they are paid wages which cannot sustain physical health. The minimum wage in Nairobi is 56 a week, and the Medical Officer of the city says that 60 is the lowest amount which can keep a single person fit. The wives and children who have been left behind in the native reserve must exist somehow on their small patches of land.

Housing conditions are appalling. Leslie Hale and I knocked at the door of what appeared to be a row of latrines. They were one-roomed dwellings 10' x 10'. In the room we entered, windowless and dark, three married couples lived. There is a pleasant little housing estate in Nairobi but here also there is the same overcrowding. We went into one-roomed dwelling where two married couples and four children lived and where the cubicle kitchen was occupied by a goat needed to save the cost of milk.

In the background of all this is the colour-bar. The four races—African, Asian, European and Arab—are

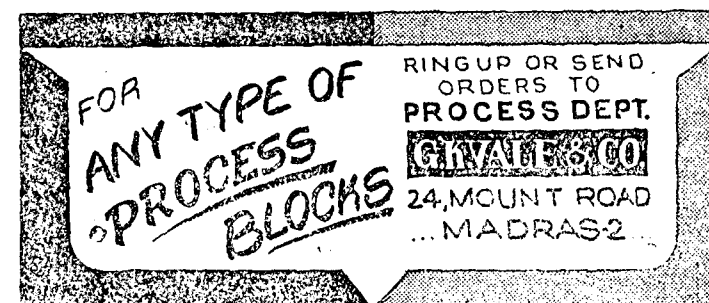
segregated in every sphere. They cannot eat or drink together in any restaurant. They have to reside in separate locations. The children go to separate schools. There are separate hospitals and clinics.

Perhaps the best picture of the racial discrimination is provided by a table of figures in the report of the Department of Labour. The lowest income group among Europeans is under £600 per year. Fewer than 3,000. The lowest income group for Asians is under £180 a year; the number is under 4,000. The lowest income group for Africans is under £20 a year; the number is over 46,000.

These inequalities are reflected politically. Of the 54 members of the Legislative Council, 40 are Europeans. There are six elected Asians and two Arabs, one of whom is elected. There is not a single elected African. The Government selects six.

Contrast this representation with the population figures. There are 12,000 Arabs, 30,000 Europeans, 100,000 Asians and 5-1/2 million Africans.

Mr. Leakey reveals most of these facts and many more. His conclusions for immediate action are very much the same as were reached by Mr. Hale and myself: The need to make more land available for the congested tribes, the need for agricultural cooperation with modern technique, the need for a subsidy to reduce the price of posho (their staple food of maize flour), the need for increased wages and large-scale



rehousing. Above all, the progressive elimination of the colour bar.

But beyond these, racial discrimination and segregation and economic exploitation must be ended and political democracy must be introduced. If Kenya is to be saved

from worse disasters only very bold and imaginative policies will serve. Our first task is to convince the British people and particularly the Labour Movement of the necessity for an utter repudiation of the old evil courses of imperialism.

RAFFAELLO SANZIO

GOING through the Pitti and Uffizi Galleries in Florence, the Borghese Gallery in Rome and the endless row of rooms and chapels at St. Peter's in Rome, one would certainly wonder how so many, and such great, works of art could have been achieved by one man in the span of thirty-seven years. Twenty-five of these were spent in painting, as Raphael, born in 1487 and deceased in 1520, budded forth in 1495 with a votive painting now at Liverpool, at the age of twelve.

Together with Leonardo and Michelangelo, his contemporaries, Raphael ranks among the Renaissance's greatest three. He was lit throughout his short life by a quiet, inner glow which led his brush to couple the Greek ideal of serene beauty to the flame of Christian love.

Perugino, an old master of the Central Italian school, took the young painter as an apprentice. Raffaello's personality was in turn influenced by his master's manner and by the Flemish, and later reflected some of the features of his two great contemporaries. In Perugino's school, Raphael took part in several now scattered paintings, in which his personality, though delicate and shy, comes more and more into the foreground.

His Umbrian period over, Raphael settled at Florence and came into closer touch with the art circle around Michelangelo and Leonardo. From these he learned a firmer technique, a sturdier architectonic frame for his ethereal figures. The first results of this new influence can be traced in a further series of works, now in the U. S. A., Russia and Germany, a string of famous Madonnas.

Raphael's evolution seemed to go on in four-yearly cycles. In the year 1509 he started working in Rome at the Vatican, in that splendid court basking in luxury, power

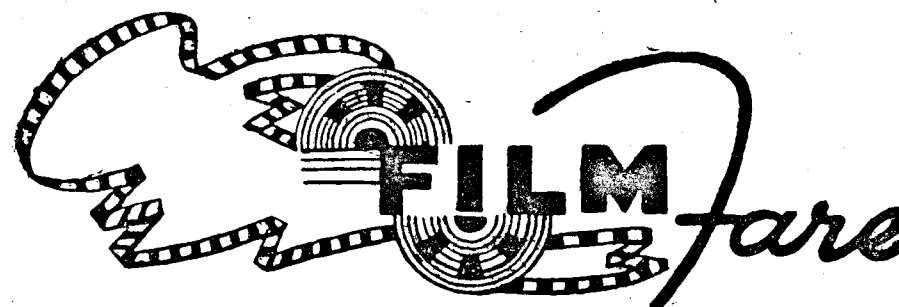
and worldly enjoyments, where Christ's moral law seemed to grow dimmer and dimmer, whereas Renaissance put the stress on the might and beauty of old Rome.

Into that world Raphael brought a fresh breath of pure, serene Greek beauty. It was the time when Greek art, buried deep under debris and oblivion, had to be re-born on a higher plane. Through Raphael, it was transfigured in the glow of Christian selfless love. His art seems to nestle happily into the memories of old Greece and the story of Christ and to remain untouched by outward events and unsullied by violence and greed. He felt Greece as intensely as any Renaissance scholar or prince, but he did not stop at the gorgeous forms: he saw God through beauty.

He reached the peak of his career around 1514. His masterpiece is perhaps the *Sistine Madonna*, now at Dresden, where the Virgin seems to materialize out of the heavenly clouds, a graceful picture of human and divine loftiness, the highest expression of mankind on earth and beyond.

Raphael never finished his *Transfiguration*, which was however carried to an end by his disciples. The excess of work and the orders raining on him from all sides had told on the standard of his art and on his health. But in his last years, though staying unmistakably faithful to his own genius, he had learnt from the Flemish and the Venetians a fuller, mellower quality of colour, from Michelangelo a more powerful design.

Scattered in the whole world but centered in Rome, Raphael's work stands out not so much as the legacy of a great artist, but rather as a stage in the evolution of mankind. —*Italian Cultural Digest.*



By V. P. SATHE

THE most publicized event of the week was the arrival of Sohrab Modi on Friday afternoon by air. Journalists were specially invited to the airport to attend a reception. The studio staff and other admirers and business associates of Sohrab Modi, as well as the film magnate, Mr. Chandulal Shah, had come to the airport to receive him. At 2-30 P.M. Sohrab Modi with his wife dressed in a green saree and their son alighted from the specially chartered Air India International's plane. Sohrab Modi expressed gratitude to those who had come to receive him and expressed the hope that his picture *Jhansi-ki-Rani* would come up to public expectation. Later, he had a brief meeting with the press people. He said he would meet them at a press conference soon. The studio staff who greeted him felt happy that their boss had come back with hundred prints of the picture with him. In fact, the plane was chartered mainly to bring the prints in time for the release of the picture in the Republic Day week all over India.

Incidentally, it is interesting to note that some weeks ago a Bombay newspaper gave currency to the rumour that the negative of *Jhansi-ki-Rani* had been confiscated by the British Government as the picture was anti-British. On the face of it, this canard was baseless; but it spread and one film periodical wrote an editorial on it without verifying facts or even caring to understand how on earth could the picture be confiscated when it had not been released. The whole thing was of course utterly ridiculous; and yet

there were many people who believed in this canard.

Sohrab Modi took over six months to do the editing, printing and other work in London; almost the same period was taken by Mehboob to complete *Aan*. In both cases, the release had to be postponed by two to three months.

Personality Of The Week

Bhal G. Pendharkar is one of those rare persons in the Indian film industry whose careers have lasted over a decade. Bhalji is in the industry as an author, director and producer for at least three decades; and today he commands greater respect than he ever did before.

One of the most outspoken persons in the film industry, Pendharkar is the brother of Baburao Pendharkar and cousin of Shantaram. All of them began their careers in the twenties when Baburao Painter was at the helm of the Maharashtra Film Co. Of all the brothers, Bhalji alone had a literary flair and so not only he wrote stories for the film but plays for the stage; and his early success as a playwright explains his unique command over the Marathi language and his trenchant and forceful dialogue. From the beginning he took interest in film not merely as an entertainment but as a medium to enlighten and educate people. It is on record that during his entire career he has not made one 'escapist' or flippant picture. His pictures always had a message; they always upheld the trinity: 'God, Country and Religion.'

Bhalji, unlike most of the film producers, has always had a mission

and a purpose in making motion pictures. Two of his most favourite subjects have been Shivaji and Lord Krishna. He must have so far written, directed and produced several pictures based either on episodes from the life of Shivaji and his lieutenants or episodes from Mahabharat and Lord Krishna's life. He is a devotee of both these great personalities.

He has not made any social picture at least in Hindi. Only during the last decade he started producing Marathi socials and achieved instantaneous success with pictures like *Sonbai* (Daughter-in-law) and *Meeth Bhakar* (Salt and Bread). Dressed in simple white *kurta* and *pyjama*, which is sometimes replaced by *tehmat*, Bhalji Pendharkar is a much-married man; but his best known wife is Leela, the erstwhile Prabhat star who has been acting only in Bhalji's pictures for the last decade and a half. It was Bhalji who introduced Shahu Modak and Shanta Apte in *Shyam Sundar* in 1931. He was also the author of Shantaram's first venture in colour *Sairandhri*.

His views on politics and public life closely follow the pattern of Rashtriya Sevak Sangh and Hindu Mahasabha. And yet he is no fanatic communalist, and in the sphere of his art he can work with people of any community or shade of opinion. That is why even people like Prithviraj, whose all plays are directed against communalism, holds Bhalji in esteem and has always shown willingness to work in his pictures like *Maharathi Karna*, *Valmiki* and *Shivaji*. It was in *Valmiki* that Raj Kapoor played his first feature role as Narad. That is why a Marxist poet like Shallendra undertook the task of writing lyrics for *Shivaji* with pleasure.

Yet due to his strong political views he was the victim of mob fury after the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi and his entire studio was burnt to pieces. Out of this ghastly tragedy with the help of a loan from the Government of Bombay, Bhalji has built up his studio again and realized one of his most cherished dreams of producing the film biography of *Shivaji* which was released

on January 9 in Bombay and other places. This picture, as Bhalji describes in the introduction, is an humble offering by a devotee to his idol. And whatever the shortcomings of the picture, no one can doubt Bhalji's sincerity and honesty of purpose—the two qualities due to which he is respected by even those who do not agree with him.

One of his ambitions has been partly realized with the release of *Shivaji* and one has no doubt in another five years at the most his other ambition of producing the life of Lord Krishna will be realised.

Picture Of The Week

Though it has already been released in North and Calcutta, Talwar's *Sangdil* is yet to be screened in Bombay. At a preview I saw the picture and I think this is the finest picture that has come from Talwar since *Manchali*.

The picture has many commendable features. First, the director has succeeded in creating an atmosphere and investing it with a touch of mystery and suspense right in the tradition of *Jane Eyre*. Second, though there are dull patches the story never loses the grip and is enlivened by pointed and clever repartees by Dilip Kumar who has a masterly way of putting them across to the audience. Third and perhaps the most outstanding feature is the performance of Dilip Kumar who dominates the entire picture. In *Duag* he had tough competition from Nimmi, Lalita Pawar; here he is a master of all his surveys, except when Anwar Hussain and Kuldip, the two guests stars, make their brief but startling appearance. This does not mean that Madhubala, Leela Chitnis or Shammi have done poorly. On the contrary they are good; but somehow they never reach the heights of Dilip and as such provide an excellent foil for him to show off his mastery.

Dilip has an interesting role. As a child, played by Surendra, he loved an orphan girl, Kamla. When he grew up he was married to a crazy but rich woman as a result of which he got wealth but lost happiness for ever. The crazy woman is kept away in a locked room, though at midnight she comes down and haunts the

house. Rich, lonely Dilip takes revenge on the dirty trick that life played on him. He turns a philanthropist and a wreck. The arrival of his childhood sweetheart who has dedicated her life to God by becoming a *pujaran* kindles a ray of hope in him. He gives up his old line, and Shammi who is part of it, and is ready to marry Madhubala when the terrible secret of his marriage is revealed. Ultimately when the crazy wife sets fire to her own house and burns herself, the lovers are united.

The role offers Dilip quite a range of moods and expressions; and he makes the most of it, lending vitality and vigour to his character. In contrast, the role of *pujaran* is to begin with unreal; for no such institution of *pujarans* exist in India. Hence the tussle within her mind between her vow not to marry and her desire to unite with her childhood mate remains vague, undefined and ineffective. She is the weakest link of the picture more so since her attire and demeanour serve to emphasize the artificiality of the whole character. That is why even the final re-union after the hero

becomes blind does not come off with the necessary dramatic impact.

The story, as usual, is static and had the dialogue not been lively it would have become dull. The dialogue saves the picture; the songs by Rajender Krishan and the music by Sajjad enrich its emotional appeal.

In fine, *Sangdil* is a good picture, somewhat different from the usual rut.

News Of The Week

—Nootan and Shammi Kapoor will lead the cast of Lekhraj Bhakri's new picture *Thokar* now on the sets at Shree Kant Studios.

—While *Jhansi-ki-Rani* will have its premiere on January 23, on the same day Mehboob's *Aan* would have completed its twentyfifth week at Liberty. *Aan* is the second picture to run for 25 weeks at Liberty (Bombay); the first being *Andaz*.

—Lata Mangeshkar plays a very small role in *Chhatrapati Shivaji*. She sings herself on the screen, a couplet from the last song. Her appearance was greeted with applause. Both Mehboob and Kardar came to the preview of *Chhatrapati Shivaji* on Thursday night.



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1-2-26

LOVE'S LABOUR

By S. M.

WELL could Ramnath smile to himself as he sprayed eau-de-cologne generously over his shirt, for love's labour had not gone in vain. He combed his cropped head to glossy smoothness and even rubbed a pinch of Cuticura powder over his clean-shaven face until it disappeared into the skin. That evening he had an appointment to keep. Sarasu had promised to meet him on the beach at six.

Even as he stood before the mirror studying his reflection, he kept on recalling to his mind the hectic events of the week that had culminated in his triumph. He had snared the heart of his dream girl. How his own heart had thrilled at the first sight of the maiden waiting at the end of a long queue for the bus bound for the Exhibition grounds. Dressed in a gorgeous red silk saree, a tight-fitting pink-coloured blouse with a solitary red rose adorning her plait of hair, she was pretty and demure. A necklace of cheap imitation pearls hung round her neck but how graceful and charming she looked. Ramnath was standing close behind her as the bus came but the queue had broken up and there was a mad scramble for seats. People pushed and jostled and both Ramnath and the girl were caught in the melee. Crushed and pattered, they came back to the bus stop to await the next vehicle.

Suddenly, the girl turned pale and looked about in dismay. Her hand went up to her throat as if she wanted to stifle a cry. "My purse! It is gone!" she exclaimed to nobody in particular. There were about thirty passengers crowding around the bus stop but Ramnath made bold to peak to her.

"Was it not a red-coloured plastic purse?" he asked.

"Yes, but where is it? How did I happen to lose it?"

"No, madam," replied Ramnath, confused at his own abrupt way of speech. "I saw an old woman behind you holding it. While she fought her way into the bus you stayed behind. But I did not see how she took it from you."

He was about to ask her how much of money she had lost but he was hesitating. He noticed tears glistening in her eyes. She suddenly left the bus stop and walked straight into the street opposite. Ramnath gazed at the retreating figure in bewilderment for some minutes until another vehicle came and stood between and blotted out his view. He thought of following her but, on second thoughts, he refrained. He was afraid she might resent such manners. He shrugged his shoulders and boarded the bus. But he felt lonely and depressed. He had fallen in love.

The next day, however, he saw her on the Exhibition grounds. She seemed to have sprung up from nowhere. She paused as she looked at him and smiled in recognition. She was going in the opposite direction. He noticed that she was unaccompanied. She wore a white lace-bordered silk saree this time, a white muslin blouse and a bunch of jasmine flowers in her hair. An English novel in her right hand gave him sufficient indication that she was educated.

She passed on gazing at the metal wares of a stall and he, too, went past her, smiling. But he turned and looked back till she was lost in the crowd and the glitter of lights. He moved on, idly gazing at the crowd, his mind wandering in the direction of the girl. He completed a full circle to meet her at the same

point. She laughed at this coincidence and spoke to him first. "You visit the Exhibition every evening, I suppose?"

"Yes, yes," he said, confused. "By the way, couldn't you trace out your purse? It was unfortunate....."

"That is all right," she replied, smiling. "There was only some small change in the purse. But it included bus fare. And so I went home straight."

"It was lucky your home was not far off," he remarked.

"It was; you know, I am residing with my mother in No. 1, Thanpal Naik Street, a stone's throw from the bus stand."

This was unsolicited information and he was indeed grateful. "Oh!" he just exclaimed, "Otherwise, perhaps, you would have come to the exhibition yesterday."

"Yes," she agreed. "I would have come here yesterday. But mother wants me to return home early. She goes every night to attend on her ailing sister in the next street."

"I see," was all he could say, folding his arms upon his chest and walking by her side with the air of one who knew her from childhood. He felt thrilled and elated as she poured out her confidence without betraying any shyness or nervousness so common among the girls he had met.

"Care to have a drink?" he suggested.

"I don't mind," she said. "But sometimes I am allergic to ice, as the doctor has warned. 'Sarasu,' my mother always exhorts me whenever I leave home, 'whether you go to studios for work or elsewhere for recreation, don't take those iced sharbets and crushes. They never agree with you.'"

Ramnath was breathless with amazement. This girl was as talkative as she was pretty and had almost told her life-story to a stranger. He knew her name now, her residential address, her likes and dislikes. She must be an 'extra' girl working in a studio, he guessed. Probably her father was no more and she was the bread-winner of her family with free and easy manners.

But how enchanting she looked. She was a perfect modern witch.

They finished the drink and walked round the stalls again. But she did the talking all the time, while Ramnath threw in a word of assent or a smile in agreement. Next Sunday evening, she said, she would go straight to the Marina opposite the University buildings. Would he care to meet her there for a pleasant chat on the sands near the waves?

Couldn't he? He was in raptures. There was longing in her eyes as she looked at him but immediately averted her gaze. His heart was too full for words. He managed to stammer out his thanks and his readiness to wait for her on the Marina next Sunday evening.....

Thus recollections came thick and fast as Ramnath stood before the mirror, combing his head. Surely, she is in love with me, he mused. What charm, what grace, what energy Sarasu possesses. And.....

He was interrupted by his mother's voice from the kitchen. "How much money has your father sent today and what has he said in that letter?"

"He has sent us five hundred rupees in an insured cover, mother," he shouted back, "to meet our expenses for two months. He is in Bombay now and expects to proceed to Delhi next week. And he comes back to Bombay after a month. He will be sending us railway fare to proceed to Bombay."

"Don't you waste money like water, be careful," she warned.

Ramnath didn't think it worth while reassuring his mother. "I am going out, mother, and won't be back before ten. Have the front door bolted."

He didn't take long to find Sarasu out. She was sitting on the sands close to the waters, studying the waves. Being a very cold evening, not more than a dozen people were strolling about.

"Hello," she greeted him with her bewitching smile. "You are late by five minutes. Come on, sit close."

He was embarrassed and awkward in his manner of speech but she soon put him at ease. "What is that book in your hand, Ramnath?" she

enquired. "Let me have a look at it. You know ever since I left High School I have been an avid reader of light fiction. What is the title of the book? My! It is 'Love Among Haystacks'. Ramnath, one day I am going to write a novel 'Love on the Sandy Beach.' What do you say, dear?"

Ramnath was grinning all the time, his face redder than the sun that was sinking behind them. Smitten with love, he was tongue-tied and thoughtful. She edged towards him, slowly diminishing the distance between them and her arm slid round his waist. He looked about to make sure that there was no one watching them. The beach was indeed deserted. The biting cold and mist had sent even the few strollers scurrying across towards the main road. Ramnath brought his face towards Sarasu's and kissed her passionately on the lips. She didn't resist and sat closer to him.

"It is time we made a move," she suggested, after some minutes. "Tomorrow we shall meet on the Exhibition grounds, darling, at six sharp. We can go from there to some cinema. No objection, I suppose?"

"Not at all," he assured her, delightedly. "Sitting in the picture house must be as thrilling as sitting on the sands, don't you agree, sweetheart? We shall take the rear-most seats."

She clung to him like a creeper to a wooden pole and both walked on in silence. They fell apart as they came near the lights and reached the bus-terminus.

Back in his room after his meal, Ramnath threw himself on the bed, dreaming of the happy days in store for him, of the first lesson in love that he had received a few hours back. This whirlwind maiden romance had left him almost breathless. A wonderful girl was Sarasu.

Drat that old mother. Her voice from the kitchen rudely interrupted his dream.

"Ramnath," she angrily demanded. "Where have you kept that insured cover? I wanted to take ten rupees out of it but I couldn't find it in your drawer. Where is it?"

The youngman jumped up from his bed as if stung by a scorpion. Just then he had recollected having placed his father's insured cover between the pages of that book 'Love

Among Haystacks' which Sarasu had taken from him for reading. Could he recover it from her now? Could he go and disturb her at this unearthly hour? Before he knew what he was doing he ran towards Thanpal Naik Street. It was dim and deserted but he was able to spot House No. 1, a small dwelling with a room jutting on to the road. He could not bring himself to knock on the door. His heart was beating like a sledge-hammer. He paused and

listened. Yes, he could hear Sarasu talking and laughing. "Yes, mother, I took the book when I saw an insured cover peeping from inside at me. At first, I had an eye on his gold wrist watch but I found taking the money was easier. But I will avoid him hereafter, mother. I have secreted the currency notes and burnt that envelope."

Ramnath was stunned. It was minutes before he could persuade himself to return home.

THE CITY CONSTABULARY

By P. N. SAMPATH

THE manner in which the members of the City Constabulary Association have been forced to embark on a programme of coercive action against the government and the punitive, though rather indecorous counteraction taken by the latter, have brought to the fore one salient fact viz., that the whole episode has been badly managed right from the beginning and that those in authority have not been guided by prudence and circumspection.

The City Constabulary Association was started in the year 1938 with the due sanction and encouragement of the Government then in power and it was accorded recognition with a view, among other things, "to enable the Constabulary to make representations to the authorities of their general needs and grievances in a constitutional manner." In keeping with this privilege granted to the Association, the members met and prepared a list of their grievances and needs and placed it in the hands of the proper authorities for being looked into and for passing appropriate orders thereon in consonance with accepted canons of justice and fairplay. The main demand, as we could well suppose, was that the monthly basic pay of a constable should be raised from Rs. 35, the scanty sum now given, to Rs. 45. To any one who knows or has experience of what it takes to make both ends meet at the present day, in view of the prevailing high cost and acute scarcity of even

some of the bare necessities of life, it will be quite easy to visualise the difficulties which a policeman drawing a meagre pittance of Rs. 35 will be facing in his every day life.

Of course, in the aforesaid role, the policeman has to be an exemplar himself in the matter of discipline and devoted service. When there is indiscipline and chaos in his home front, the natural concomitants of unrelieved want, both of means and of material, it is too much to expect the policeman to be a beau ideal of discipline and incorruptibility in his official sphere. But, the Madras policemen have been showing a high sense of discipline and, prior to the unfortunate episode of last week, far from there having been any complaint on the score of indiscipline, they have actually earned unqualified praise from all quarters on more than one occasion, for their general bearing and functional efficiency. Even so, the credit or discredit for having brought them to such a pass as the present one should go to the authorities concerned and the administration as a whole.

The authorities would appear to have slept over the memorandum of demands left with them by the Association. This prevarication, in a matter which vitally concerns the most loyal and hardworking servants of the State, must be enquired into and firm disciplinary action taken against the persons responsible therefor.

The policemen, mortified at the inexplicable delay of the authori-



Miss Suryakumari and others discussing on the field just before the film stars' cricket match began.

ties, sought to express their mild protest against the Government's non-possumus attitude by attending to their duties but refusing to receive their pay until their demands were considered with the sympathy they deserved. This is misrepresented as indiscipline whereas it is only an act of self-mortification in the best traditions of non-violent struggle. It has also been widely publicised that there was some outside influence at the back of all this. It is like giving the dog a bad name before hanging it.

A Government which admits of considerations of justice but fails to apply them in practice can be best described as apathetic. Policemen are public servants bound by strict rules of discipline, but they are not mere automatons. They are human beings and as such are subject to the limitations which that status entails. A wise Government would strive to keep them contented and above want, free from all possibilities of a lowering of standards and morale, and would under no circumstances allow the seeds of discontent to settle and vegetate in their midst. While admitting, belatedly of course, that the demands of the City Constabulary were just, the Chief Minister pleaded that the finances of the State did not permit of any enhancement in the policeman's pay. The Association requested the Government to waive the stipulation that the President of the Association must be a gazetted officer of the Police Department. There is justice in this demand, since what the Government stipulated was analogous to insistence that a wolf should preside over an association consisting of lambs. This demand was not touched upon. Certain subsidiary and comparatively insignificant demands like the allowance of a day off in the week and reduction in the number of parades per day have been granted with the air of a mediaeval monarch distributing largesse. Like a cart without the horse, these amenities are inadequate in themselves and are far short of the policeman's honest needs.

The Chief Minister's plea of financial limitations is nothing new. There is also a hard core of fact in it. But, which Minister or high Gov-

ernment officer is willing on that account to reduce his salary as a gesture of sacrifice and duty? To draw fat salaries themselves and at the same time to discountenance demands for a living wage of loyal servants serving in a vital sector of public service, on grounds of financial stringency, is something which is as illogical as it is infelicitous.

Policemen in this country are the most illpaid in the whole world. In America and Britain, they are not only well paid but also given all possible amenities. It is no wonder therefore that they have built up fine traditions of police work. Some people may retort that India is a poor country compared to America and Britain. I ask them: Does the poverty of the country become a compelling factor only when illpaid public servants put up demands for enhanced emoluments, and not when the serried ranks of the bureaucracy are paid fat salaries through the country's nose? Verily, there must be one common measure of justice and consideration for all, for the high as well as the lowly.

The problem of inadequate pay is not an isolated one peculiar to policemen of the City alone. It concerns the police force in the entire State. The only difference is that the City constabulary were having an Association of their own, whereas elsewhere, policemen have not had the means for collective representation of their grievances, which are more or less identical with those of the City policemen.

While the Government may derive satisfaction in the fact that the defiance of the City Constabulary has been definitely put down, with the withdrawal of the right of association and the impounding of the trouble-shooters, the Government will be well advised to realise that this attempt at insubordination is only one manifestation of the deep-rooted discontent in the ranks of the State police force. If the Chief Minister has not learnt the lesson which the Madras episode has to teach, it will be an everlasting slur on his reputation for administrative acumen. Not to see this is to leave a huge sunken rock unmarked in the chart of orderly administration.

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.

Radhakrishnan And Sanskrit Classics

According to a report published in the Madras daily Press recently, Dr. Radhakrishnan, quoting a stanza of Appayya Dikshita, observed: "Whether Janardana or Maheswara, there is no distinction as far as metaphysical reality is concerned." Please permit me to point out that this constitutes a complete misrepresentation of the theological and metaphysical position of Appayya Dikshita. The fact is that even though Appayya Dikshita has composed stanzas in praise of Siva and Vishnu he definitely and unequivocally regarded Lord Siva to be the Supreme Reality. He did make and recognise the traditional and classical distinction and difference amongst the trinity or triumvirate of the Hindu pantheon—Brahma, Vishnu and Siva.

Appayya Dikshita has argued that all the three deities have to be relegated to a lower degree of reality (i.e. the lower-degreed Saguna level) and that the Supreme Metaphysical Reality should be admitted to be a fourth entity. (i.e. Tureeya). This fourth again, he argued to be Lord Siva (Tureeya-Siva). Thus, Appayya Dikshita who strode the amphitheatre of Indian theology and philosophy in the 16th Century like a colossus did make a distinction between Siva and Vishnu.

Not merely this. Appayya Dikshita has argumentatively maintained the supremacy of Siva over Vishnu. With the **Brahman** of the opening Vedanta-Sutra, Appayya Dikshita has identified Lord Siva.

Theological controversies and debates can never be dismissed as insignificant or useless. Vedanta has to be lived in concentrated Yogic meditation. Unless the object of meditation is definitely fixed up and settled, meditation would be mere pursuit of will-o-the-wisp.

Appayya Dikshita was the celebrated champion of Saivism. The main philosophical and theological position of Dikshita has been argued with a wonderful wealth of illuminating detail in his "Siva-Tattva-Viveka", "Siva-Karnamrita", "Sivarkamani-deepika" and "Siva-advaita-niraya."

Appayya Dikshita's works have been challenged and criticised by Sri Vijayindra Tirtha, contemporary, critic and companion of Appayya Dikshita, from the standpoint of Vaishnavism. Vijayindra has argued an unexpurgated case in favour of Vishnu. Vijayindra's adamant advocacy of Vishnavism is

embodied in "Paratattva-Prakasika," "Saiva-Sarvasva-Khanadana," and "Madhva-adhva-kantakoddhara."

Thus, Dr. Radhakrishnan's portraiture of Appayya Dikshita's position is basically and fundamentally erroneous. For very obvious reasons, modern cosmopolitanism, theological indifferentism and internationalism could never have been anticipated by India's master metaphysical craftsmen like Appayya Dikshita.

According to another report, Dr. Radhakrishnan, addressing the Ottappalam session of the All-Kerala Sahitya Parishad, observed that "Valmiki in the Ramayana was described as Tapaswadhya Nirata."

Will you allow me to point out that this constitutes a hyper-broddingnagian howler?

The epithet **Tapaswadhya-Nirata**, which means constantly and intensely engaged in penance and scriptural studies, has been actually applied to describe Narada and emphatically **not** Valmiki.

In the context of the opening verse of the Ramayana, Valmiki has not been described by any body else. Valmiki is describing himself in the third person. Valmiki is not blowing his own trumpet. He has extolled Narada as **Tapaswadhya-Nirata**, from whom he got the entire story of the Ramayana.

Was not the speech of Dr. Radhakrishnan reported correctly and accurately? Or, was the Ottappalam conference treated to a veritable howler? Or, does the present attempted transfer of what applies to Narada to Valmiki possess the textual sanction of some variae lectionae newly discovered by researchers working in any of the modern universities like Oxford and Moscow universities? Will any of your readers be pleased to throw some light on this matter?

R. NAGARAJA SARMA.

Looting At Vijayawada

On December 16, the day after the death of Potti Sriramulu, an unarmed mob of two or three thousand attacked the goods shed at the Vijayawada railway station and looted 260 railway wagons, resulting in a loss of not less than two crores of rupees. The looted property includes thousands of bags of rice, hundreds of wrist watches, radios, cycles, clothes, electrical goods and fancy articles of daily use. Even the human skeletons being sent to the Medical Col-

lege Laboratory were looted and demonstrated in the main streets of Vijayawada. A man who saw this thrilling scene, died on the spot by heart failure.

All this took place from 9-30 A.M. to 2 P.M. in the presence of the Deputy Superintendent of Police and Sub-Collector. A police force stationed there to "protect" the railway station did not even try to avert the loot. It is quite unbelievable that no organisation was behind such large-scale, systematic looting. Are the police officers afraid of unarmed mobs? If this is the case in a city like Vijayawada can our police force save the country from systematic revolts if they take place?

M. GIRIDHARA RAO.

Guntur.

Claim To Madras City

The Andhras as a people were noteworthy as valiant, non-violent fighters against the foreign Government in the cause of India's freedom. Lord Willingdon was forced to acknowledge in the old non-co-operation days that Guntur shook the very foundations of the British empire in India. It is surprising, therefore, that a few Andhras, in whose veins also such heroic blood runs, should yet continue to prolong the struggle orally by demanding that something should be done about Madras City, when they have handsomely won their cherished desire of a separate Andhra State. It might be that originally their ambition was to get at least a part of Madras City included in their new State wherein they could locate their capital in familiar surroundings, but this seems to be so vexed a question as to offer endless future trouble, when all that will be needed at the inauguration of a new State is peace and goodwill all round?

All struggles must have a peaceful end, if they are not to end in total destruction, and it is not always that all objectives are gained in every demand. Even great wars between nations end in treaties, which incorporate some compromise or other.

In this successful struggle of the Andhras (all glory to them!) the Tamils also stand to lose much—the Andhra co-operation and the full benefit from the natural resources of the erstwhile Telugu districts which they had had for many years. But, have not the Tamils too contributed (by allocation from common revenues of the Madras State) in some measure to the present prosperity of the Circars?

The Andhras' gain from what has been proposed will indeed be very substantial, except for one item—a single city. They can easily build upon this gain, if only they show the same determination and will as they have

shown in the past in their other endeavours. By prolonging the dispute over Madras City they will be only impeding the formation of their new State and betraying their weakness. Heroes that they are, they should content themselves with the victory (factual as well as moral) won already and make the best of it. Let the Andhras close up their ranks in a national cause and assist Mr. Justice Wanchoo to the best of their abilities and thus help themselves to herald in the new Andhra State at an early date.

V. NARAHARI RAO.

Coimbatore.

An Appeal To Andhra Leaders

The Andhra Association of the Benaras Hindu University recently passed a resolution appealing to all the Andhra leaders to work together and put forward an agreed formula for the creation of Andhra State. This is the time for the Andhra leaders to exhibit their highest sense of statesmanship. I am sure that this appeal, made on behalf of several Andhras, will not go in vain. The Andhras living outside Andhra area are as anxious as those living within to see the birth of Andhra State so that it may take its rightful place in the map of India and be a source of strength to the Central Government.

Y. S. R. K. SARMA,
President,

B. H. U. Andhra Association.
Banares.

Voices In The Wilderness

The Andhra State has now become a certainty. But this is only the beginning. Agitation for other linguistic States will follow and cannot be denied once the principle is conceded. Things are moving with the inevitability of a Greek Tragedy. Any day, and soon, in terms of History, we shall land ourselves in a number of rival States.

Power-crazed politicians, slogan-riden students and a gullible and ignorant public have landed us in this pass. Neither you, Mr. Editor, nor I can alter this, but we can place our judgement on record, as it is the bounden duty of every free citizen to do.

The passage that follows is from my scrap book, written in 1942. Whether it is my own or a quotation I am not able to say at this distance of time but it seems relevant to the present condition: "Stupidity backed by authority is more than evil, it is a positive evil. It is inescapable, it is contaminating, it is devitalizing, it breeds despair, it saps hope, it fosters hatred and resentment, it dulls the intellect, it coarsens the mind, it thickens the wearied body, it kills response."

T. V. RAMAMURTI.

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TOO MUCH POWER IN ONE

PANDIT NEHRU combines in himself four roles. He is the Prime Minister, he is the Minister for Foreign Affairs, he is the Congress President, he is the Chairman of the Planning Commission. The combination of so many functions in one individual makes for a tremendous concentration of power. It carries everything before it, and nobody is able to develop against it effective dissent or independent judgment. Whatever Pandit Nehru wishes, carries the day, and all others subside into assent. It follows from this, that in one sense, the Congress and the Government represent costly luxuries that are essentially illusive in character. So much expensive paraphernalia is really unnecessary. Pandit Nehru could run the Government and the Congress with a few secretaries receiving his instructions, and the result would be no different from what it has been. We have democracy in name and all the complicated appurtenances of democracy, but actually there is no play of fresh and independent minds, no give and take between leaders and thinkers with wills of their own, it is all one fatiguing sameness, one dead rut of stereotyped administration handled for the most part by decrepit cronies with accumulated deposits of cynicism in their blood, that ought to have been pensioned off long ago.

The terrific concentration of power at the top has exposed the wielder of it to the natural disintegrating effects of such a position. The wildest flatterers in the world abound in New Delhi. If still Pandit Nehru,

holding in his hands a degree of absolute power that the President of the United States might envy, has not sunk to the cruel tyrannical rule of the sort associated with Hitler or Stalin, it is only because in Pandit Nehru humanity is greater than love of power. He lacks ruthlessness, and the cruelty inseparable from ruthlessness. Because of his engaging and lovable personal qualities, he has not brought the Congress to ruin though the system of overmuch concentration of power of which he is the centre, carries with it inevitably the germs of destruction.

In the States, unfortunately, the deputies of Pandit Nehru through whom Congress power is exercised, lack his charm, integrity and essential purity of motive. Whatever patriotic fervour the Congress leaders once had, they lost in a short time in the reactions of greed set up by office-acceptance. They now stand before the public as mere careerists tenaciously exploiting the name of a great institution, but that greatness of the institution itself is diminishing under the burden cast on it of their littleness. Though to some extent Pandit Nehru's association has saved the Congress from complete decline, Congress rule by Pandit Nehru's associates in the States has lost for the Congress the goodwill and support of the young. For thirty years past the same leaders have been dominating the Congress. They seem determined to cling on until death intervenes, and not in the least willing to make way for younger men. The obdurate selfishness of the old brigade is like a wall

blocking the entry of newcomers into the Congress. The Congress is today a haunt for old men of exhausted energies, and if they are not replaced with more vigorous substitutes capable of galvanising the energies of the masses into paths of constructive social good, it will be wiped out of existence by an electorate that has no use for it.

The heart of the country is not touched by all the output of eloquence at the Hyderabad session. We believe there is still enough of a core of good in the Congress to serve as the basis of a renovation drive and Pandit Nehru is the man for it. But not if he continues to be overburdened as now with too much work and too many tasks leaving little time for reflection and intelligent planning. He must choose between the Congress Presidentship and the Prime Ministership. The apathy of the young towards the Congress will not be broken so long as their ambitions are blocked by determined clingers to posts of authority who have survived their credit and utility and have little inspiration to offer of national value. We would like an earnest search for fresh talent to be made before the next elections to replace the far too many who have proved useless or pernicious in key positions in the Congress organisation and in Congress seats in the legislatures. The building up of a succession to the leadership through the discovery of new talent is a necessity of democracy, and the greatness of leaders like Gandhi is illustrated by the success they achieved in this mission. Herein Pandit Nehru has failed most deplorably.

End Of An Epoch

IT is perhaps too early to attempt to evaluate the position which Mr. Truman will come to occupy in the history of the United States and the world. However, the tentative conclusions that may be safely

reached can leave no student of public affairs in doubt that, without actually attaining the genius which animated his famous predecessor, he discharged his onerous responsibility with dignity and honour. He was not the least among the Presidents of the United States.

Mr. Truman delighted to describe himself as a plain man. But, the task which awaited him on his unexpected elevation to his high office might well have daunted a Disraeli or a Churchill in its complexity and momentousness. It was an irony of history that some of the most baffling problems in statesmanship should have presented themselves for solution before the plain man of Missouri. Before he had been a few months in office, called upon to preside over nothing less than the resettlement of the democratic world after its mortal conflict with Hitlerism, he was required to decide whether or no the atom bombs should be dropped over Japan. This was characteristic of the eight years of Mr. Truman's reign. It is conceivable that none of his predecessors had been called upon to make so many supreme decisions.

Mr. Truman's foreign policy was inevitably a legacy from that of President Roosevelt. It was largely governed by the extravagant concessions to Russia which were made, principally at Yalta, under a total misconception of Soviet policy after the war. Mr. Truman set himself to repair the mischief as best he could. While he was fortunate in that the United States had not relapsed into isolationism, as after 1918, and also in that, under Senator Vandenberg's perspicacity, a bi-partisan policy could be formulated, there could be no doubt of Mr. Truman's own determination to oppose Soviet aggrandisement in Asia and Europe, where she had advanced beyond her utmost historical dreams. Those potent instruments, the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation and Marshall Aid, were aspects of his resolve that

Communism shall not prevail in Western Europe. This was a great act of faith, for to attempt to bring together nations, sundered by historical jealousies and quarrels and grounded in fervid nationalism, was a task which might have daunted the most optimistic statesman. That it has, however, succeeded to the extent it has was due as much to the good sense of the threatened nations as to the determination of the President. He actively fostered the United Nations and did not abandon it even when he might have been induced to do so, wearied of its futility and disgusted with its acrimony.

Mr. Truman was perhaps less successful in Asia. It was the Korean war which brought down Mr. Truman's administration after the Democratic Party had been in power for twenty years. The loss of China to the Communists has been a disaster from which the United States has by no means yet reco-

vered. From this cardinal fact of the situation have taken root the diversions in Indo-China, Malaya and Indonesia. Yet, if Mr. Truman was unable to pacify the Far East, he firmly set his face against the irresponsible adventures which that prancing proconsul, Gen. McArthur, would have the United States embark upon. His resounding quarrel with that spectacular personality perhaps alienated some sections of public opinion in his country, but it was an insignificant price to pay for having averted yet another world war.

A famous general, already secure of his place in history, has succeeded him. It is conceivable that Gen. Eisenhower will succeed in many particulars where Mr. Truman failed. Nevertheless, the free world will be grateful to the plain man, who guided it in the paths of peace and who brought to it, enervated as it was, succour and good cheer.

Sotto Voce

FADED GLORY



PORTUGAL is angry with the Vatican. The elevation of the most Reverend Valerian Gracias to the Sacred College is regarded by this little country as an intolerable insult to itself. Being ruled by a scholar-dictator and living mostly in dreams of past glory, it thinks it has a prescriptive right to be consulted on all that concerns the Church in India. Was not 'the fabled Indies' re-discovered in the fifteenth century by its own valiant sons who roamed the high seas impartially

intent on shaking the pagoda tree and plucking the burning brands from Hell-fire? And that too at a time when German and English and French had flouted Mother Church and were gorging themselves on heresies?

There were distant rumblings heard before Salazar so audibly dropped a brick. Cardinal Gracias is an Indian—the first non-European to put on the Red Hat. His spectacular rise was the result of a sudden inspi-

ration. He was not chosen when the others who have now been appointed along with him were selected. One of the nominees, an old man, happening to die a few days before the consistory was to be held, Pope Pius filled the vacancy by naming the Archbishop of Bombay. It has been stated that policy played a great part in inducing the Pontiff to make so striking a departure from precedent.

In discussing motives we are naturally in the realm of guesses. But it is well known that the appointment of a Prince of the Church is not determined merely by considerations of personal holiness. Fr. Gracias is, of course, highly respected for his Christian virtues. But the recognition that has come to him is evidently due to his place in the Roman Catholic hierarchy in this country and the importance that the Holy See attaches to India as a base for future operations. We have heard much in the last few weeks of the apostolate awaiting the faithful. And the need to fight Communism and all its works has become urgent with the submergence of China.

Apparently, though Portugal still looks upon itself as the Knight-errant of the Holy Roman Church, it cannot be persuaded to cross the colour-bar. True, Rome has been rather more forward-looking in these matters than those Protestant Churches which have affiliations with the temporal power. While firmly wedded to a sense of hierarchy in ordering the relations of clergy and laity, the Holy See carried Indianisation to considerable lengths before the Reformed Churches took the first step. And it might be said that Portugal did not object. But it is one thing to have coloured Bishops. It is quite another thing to robe brown or black in scarlet and biretta, to dump an Oriental among the August electors of the Vicar of Christ.

The pretensions of Portugal remind me of an old neighbour of ours in the village whose first and last adventure was his marriage. A beau-

tiful girl from a rich family dogged by an evil star was accepted by his father as his only son's bride, in spite of being assured by astrologers that he himself would have to pay the forfeit with his life. And so it fell. The hale old man sickened and died within a few hours of the wedding, hardly before the *saptapadi* was completed. And on this capital the son flourished for the rest of his long life. He lorded it over his meek spouse and extracted the last anna of conscience-money from the more than usually decent lot of her relations.

Though he unashamedly sponged upon them, it was a point of honour with him to insist upon being invited with all the incidents of formality to any auspicious ceremony in the home of his "in-laws," however insignificant. If the carriage did not come, if he was not offered the first *tamboolam*, if his preternaturally sensitive nerves told him that he had been slighted in any way, he made a bee-line for home. And once safe within his castle he took it out of that long-suffering woman, his wife. Likewise, because Pero da Covilha blundered upon Cannanore in the summer of 1488, Salazar claims for Portugal perpetual ecclesiastical surveillance over India.

Reflecting sombrely at the hour of his great countryman's triumph an old and broken-down poet exclaimed, "How much better would it have been for us, Prometheus, and how much less harmful to the world, had you never breathed life into that image of man and fired it with over-reaching desires!" Today the exploits of Covilha and Manoel and Vasco da Gama are as flies preserved in the amber of Camoens's genius. The 'illustrious Ganges' and her companion the Indus, which the poet in his fervent patriotism had sought to picture as offering to Portugal the throne of India, retain their ancient integrity, while the invader clings desperately to a tuft of grass on a shelving beach. How it were to be wished Portugal could yet profit by his sad wisdom.

VIGNESWARA.

SIDELIGHTS:

SRI Sanjiva Reddi did not reveal the balanced judgment that had lately become habitual to him when he said in the Congress session that whoever spoke ill of Sri C. Rajagopalachari was either a lunatic or a fool. The virtue of the soft word that turneth away wrath does not belong to the word of flattery that is not true. If speaking well of C. R. be the test of sanity or wisdom, neither sanity nor wisdom is found at present in Andhra except in microscopic drops; and it is to be feared that the Pradesh over which Sri Sanjiva Reddi presides is full of lunatics and fools mainly. It is no use mincing matters. Within the very brief tenure of less than a year of his Chief Ministership, C. R. has worked himself into the distinction of being not only the most unpopular man in all Andhra, but also the worst spoken within the memory of present living generations.

The Andhras carry their emotions on their sleeves and are very easily overpowered by a little show of sympathy. With a kind word, they can be made loyal and generous for life. But they are sensitive to arrogant attitudes, and harden into ill-will when hurt. Then they get tough and lapse into rude behaviour. The late S. Srinivasa Iyengar was able to get the best out of the Andhras, and to this day he is cherished by thousands of them with loving remembrance. C. R. seems to possess a veritable genius for getting the worst out of the Andhras. His puritanic soul with its chill austerity and exacting censoriousness, seems to writhe under the careless hedonism of their sunny disposition. He evidently takes their lack of sophistication for an uncultured condition. Assessing them as tribal and rough, he has been provoked into harsh propaganda and a constant belittlement of them, until the estrangement between the two has become a breach that no arts of diplomacy, or will to be polite, will apparently ever suffice to bridge. The effervescence of Andhra denunciation which is more noisy than

dangerous, is a pledge of security to C. R. The Andhras are never so ready to hurt others as to hurt themselves. If there could be an Andhra C. R. dealing with Tamils as C. R. has been dealing with Andhras, he would have been done to pieces by this time, and there would have been precious little of verbal warfare.

It is futile for Sri Sanjiva Reddi to seek to gloss over with pleasantry the tragic reality of the great Andhra-C. R. discord. It has gone beyond the stage of mending. If millions of people could have one mind, the Andhras have it now, and it is full to the brim with a consciousness of C. R.'s hostility to them. They do not believe in his friendship. They believe in his unrelenting pursuit of them with evil intent.

Chance has added one more cause of resentment to the old stock of Andhra grouses against C. R. He has never figured hitherto as an opponent of the principle of linguistic division. On the other hand he has been bestowing on it cordial theoretical approbation, only taking care, by pulling those strings which he knew to so well how and where, to sabotage it effectively in practice. But in Hyderabad he reversed the gear of his tactics. We find him now calling halt to any further extension of the process of disintegrating territory on the basis of language, until the Andhra experiment is proved fully stabilised. What does all this mean? It means that the disintegration of Hyderabad which is necessary for the stabilisation of the Andhra State, is to be guarded against from now on by a statutory prohibition of C. R.'s invention. The idea of a strong, powerful Andhra State including Telengana and having its capital at Hyderabad, seems to be abhorrent to him. He would like to condemn the future Andhra State to an anaemic destiny. The major part of his participation in the proceedings of the Congress looks like devoted to this end.

For the time being the Congress has accepted C. R.'s suggestion, and C. R. has triumphed. He has also started on a subtle process of putting the Prime Minister in his pocket with effusive flatteries quite unlike the cold purport of his jealous reticences in the past. But both the Chief Minister and the Prime Minister are reckoning without their host, the new democracy that will drive them to its command against their will, if they cannot adjust themselves to it and yield in time. The time for checking the spread of the movement for division of the country on linguistic lines is past. In forming the Andhra State Pandit Nehru has let loose forces which he will be powerless to control except by yielding to demands for further logical extensions of the principle until the whole force of it is exhausted by total response. The alternatives are: compliance gracefully with judgment and discretion, and surrender to compulsion unwillingly after useless resistance.

The Press were treated to a preview of *Jhansi-ki-Rani* at the Ashok Theatre on Thursday. Even to one who did not understand Hindi, it was a thrilling picture. For the glory of the India of old that was brought back to life in real colours, for the magnificence of its settings, for the gorgeousness of its pageantry, for the vividness and drama of its battlefields and scenes of carnage, for the heroism and love of freedom enshrined in it, this is a picture of which the country will be proud. Sohrab Modi was superb as Raj Guru. Mehtab seemed to have got a little lost in the crowds at first, but this turned out to be an illusion later on; a deliberate illusion, perhaps, to convey a delicate tribute to the feminine grace and charm that could not be dimmed by the martial valour, so unique, of the Rani. She lingers on the mind long after her disappearance from the scene, which is one effect of perfect acting.—SAKA.



Mr. C. Kondapi, Advisor to the Indian delegation to the U. N. General Assembly, was given a reception at the office of Dr. P. G. Krishnayya, managing editor of the Orient and World Press. Picture shows Mr. Kondapi (seated at the extreme right) and others.

HONOURING GANDHIJI

By Dr. C. S. S. SARMA

HOW would you discharge the duty and honour of having been Gandhiji's contemporary? Do you know that there are many things which you can do, which do not cost a single pie to preach or practise?

(1) You may just decide to speak the truth and shame the devil; (2) You can get up early in the morning at least if not hours before the sunrise; (3) You can be punctual; (4) You can pledge yourself to be tolerant in thought, word and deed; (5) If you cannot fast now and then, at least you may eat just what you want and no more and do not waste or throw away food and see that your children too observe this; (6) You may travel light and travel 'third' and endure the extremes of weather, —having been born in a country which has all sorts of climates and conditions to harden the human constitution; (7) you may, if you have that much will, practise self-control as the best form of birth control; (8) you may mentally picture to yourself that Triple-Monkey-Minature, the group that symbolically closed their eyes, ears, and mouth to symbolise that they would not see, hear or speak evil; (9) you may say Ram Dhun, relax and regenerate at the same time; (10) you may at least learn to study, sympathise with or even beg to serve that curious creature, the 'common man', the dumb-driven millions of India, the landless ryot, the oppressed worker, the man who cannot get even a single square meal a day all through his dreary existence.

We turn now to those items that cost a little. (1) Of course there is the self-spun and self-woven Khaddar; (2) you can, little by little, reduce your wants, and aim at "non-possession absolute" at some distant date; (3) you can give, not a mere 10 day's pay, but anything you can spare for the numerous all-India objectives for which he sold autographs, auctioned souvenirs, made forced marches and melted the minds and lightened the purses of millionaires; (4) you can adopt a Harijan

boy or girl and bring them up as a member of your household without coercion, mental reservation or hypocrisy or expectation of any return and even in the face of ingratitude, as a species of racial atonement; (5) you may engage a tutor and learn Hindustani in both Hindi and Urdu script; (6) you may carry a time-piece as an inexorable reminder that not only time spelt with a capital T, is money: but time is God; (7) you may travel about and use your holidays in less sophisticated nooks and corners of your orbit, to get the rural bias, and the village uplift bias in their proper setting and help others to do so if you are yourself handicapped or under some duress; (8) you may plant a garden or otherwise produce with a little investment something, whatever your present means of livelihood and if you are a public servant try to show that service and sacrifice guide you in thought, word and deed; (9) you may read and distribute copies of the 'Gita' to your friends and relations on any important occasion; (10) if you have not given up intoxicating drinks, you can punish yourselves by putting the equivalent in cash into a savings bank and earmark it to a good cause (This applies equally to your indulgence when tempted to any other dissipation e.g., the races, women, shooting, excessive cinema-going).

There are also calls to practise Gandhiji's tenets on the heroic style and stature; (1) You can sell all and follow him as the Nehrus did; (2) you can rush with the armour of non-violence and the buckley of Truth into the thick of the battle and fall bleeding and martyred or fight on till you have a breath left; (3) you can turn yourself to be a Tolstoyean peasant, living the plain life and thinking high, and spread an illuminating, loving kindness in the environments where God has planted you; (4) you can turn Apostle and carry his message first-hand to countries where the great name has been heard and requires to be

de-legendized and humanized and brought to bear on live problems as the master architect talked, discoursed, commented and annotated to the uttermost detail; (5) Gandhiji's single, simple recorded voice was on God and its emphasis on whomsoever heard it was on the "altered life and conduct" of the man. He was at once converted and illuminated and endowed with grace. You may imitate Gandhiji like unto a Thomas a Kempis' Redivivus and whatever your

cross, you may take your cross and work, for sure, there is no crown without its cross.

Above all, contemplate at all hours of the day and night on this eventful and epochal man born in the Bharata Bhumi, amidst portents for good and evil and the mixed heritage of many a culture and tradition which a world symposium pondered deeply over to discover its meaning and message.

YET ANOTHER FRAME-UP

By A. UMAKANTHA SARMA

SINCE the end of World War II, a series of purges, "trials", and executions has taken place in the Soviet Union and the "peoples' democracies" of Eastern Europe. After the Kostov "trial" in Hungary, there was some respite and the wave of purges stopped, probably due to the fact that Kostov resisted police pressure and did not "confess." But another wave of purges is now swaying Eastern Europe.

Though in the latest purges and "trials" the accusations and "confessions" are almost similar to those of Pyatakov-Radek and Zinoviev-Kamenev conducted in the Soviet Union, there is one thing that is remarkably different. As usual, the criminal plays a Jekyll and Hyde role, beats his own chest in contrition for his sins, glorifies the god-like dispenser of justice in Kremlin and does not even pray for clemency. The defence attorney vies with the prosecution in establishing the "guilt" of the accused. The accused surpasses the prosecution and defence attorneys in aiding the frame-up. These have become the usual features of "trials" in communist countries.

But what is it that is different in the latest trials from the old ones? In the latest trials, frank accusations are made against the victims, of disloyalty to the Soviet Union. This accusation, however false it may

be, is partially true. Slansky, Clementis and other co-accused of the latest Czech trial, though they are loyal henchmen of Kremlin, can transmit the growing pressure of masses to the authorities and make them feel it. The lesson of Yugoslavia and the pressure of the masses should have given rise to waverings in their minds regarding the justifiability of their loyalty to Moscow. Such wavering minds are not tolerated in the totalitarian structure. The logical development of such intolerance is "trial and execution."

Another new feature of these Czech trial-shows is a tirade against Zionism. In this tirade Stalin is faithfully following Hitler. In their allegation against Slansky and others, Slansky was said to have helped Zionism and supplied arms to Israel. When the new state of Israel was born, Stalin schemed that by helping Israel against Arabs, he would have one more addition to his satellite countries. Czechoslovakia, under the instructions of Stalin, supplied arms to Israel. Such arms-supplying was no secret and even the Czechoslovak Government approved it. But as Stalin's scheme failed, he found suitable scapegoats in the persons of the accused. Stalin always pursued such policies when new nations are born. When India became independent, Russia thought—as in the case of Israel—that if it

sided Nehru, he would align himself with Russia; and the Communist Party of India toeing the Moscow line supported Nehru. Rajani Palme Dutt even advised the Socialists to join Nehru's cabinet. But Nehru was a hard nut to break for Stalin. Therefore he asked the Communist Party of India to withdraw its support to Nehru. As a scapegoat for his belied schemes, Stalin got P. C. Joshi expelled—if it were in a "Red" country, he would have been liquidated—from the Communist Party of India. Slansky's fate was also, similarly the result of the frustrated schemes of Kremlin expansionists.

It has been believed by many—mostly political ignoramuses—that since the allegations have been apparently approved of by the accused, they must be true. But what the accused "confessed" was almost always lies. For instance, in the Pyatakov-Radek case, the first notorious Moscow trial, Pyatakov "confessed" to his having flown in December to Oslo to take "instructions" from Trotsky. But the authorities of Stortington aerodrome, Oslo, stated on the very next day of Pyatakov's "confession" that not a single foreign plane had landed on the Oslo airport in the whole month of December. Another instance of such a "confessed" lie was that one of the accused in Moscow trials testified to having met Trotsky in Hotel Bristol in Copenhagen, which in fact never existed!

But how to account for the confessions? This is a riddle which puzzles the minds of many. Perhaps, as was guessed in the case of Vogeler in Hungary, some drug is being used to extract the confessions. Contradicting this a correspondent said that he also used the drug which was available in all stores and found it only to be a stimulant. But the correspondent himself was apparently drugged to believe the frame-ups and "confessions". If the confessions were voluntary, in the first place they will not be far from truth: they will be made only in the face of overwhelming evidence to

prove the accused's guilt beyond doubt. But in the case of the communist-engineered trials, neither the confessions are true nor is there overwhelming (in fact not even an iota) evidence to prove the guilt of the accused. The confessions are an enigma to the thinking public, which will be solved only when the Iron Curtain is torn open.

As was predicted, the trials did not stop with the "exposure" of the "conspiracy" of Slansky and others in Czechoslovakia. Another conspiracy was "unearthed" in the land where Communist Party candidates win the elections by 98-100% of the votes cast, where the "father of all the working masses of the world" reigns. After 35 years of Communist Party's dictatorship, after so many years of Stalin's regime, after so many conspiracies were exposed, after all traces of opposition to the communist rule were "liquidated" still some people exist in the top ranks of Soviet hierarchy, who plot for the overthrow of Stalin's Government. It is quite incredible how these conspiratorial elements survived so many years of strict secret police vigilance. When we read reports about the "unearthing of the conspiracy," we are reminded of a statement made by a Soviet woman to Ignazio Silone, when he went to Moscow. She said, it seems, that if she was accused of stealing spoons in Kremlin, that means she did not agree with Lenin on one agricultural problem.

Purges have become export articles of the Soviet Union. It has exported the commodity to almost all the Iron Curtain countries, and also to the communist parties all over the world. The French Communist Party also began its purge. Recently it expelled top-ranking leaders like Guy Mollet and Andre Marty. In Poland, the "bosses" are racking their minds to find scapegoats for the failure of their double-price system. We can expect some more purges both from inside the Iron Curtain countries and also from the communist parties of the West.

TRENDS IN CLASSICAL MUSIC

By RAJI NARASIMHAN

"MUSIC," says the poet, "hath charms to soothe the savage breast." One wonders if it can be said of our classical music, as it is today. Superhuman powers have been claimed for our ragas and raginis. Legends abound, relating their magical effects. The gods are said to be particularly sensitive to certain ragas, and one of the easiest ways of propitiating a deity is by rendering its favourite raga. In short, there is an aura of divinity about our music, going back, as it does, to Vedic times.

With the passing of time and the influence of new ideas, the reverence in which music had been held has disappeared. Religion no longer has the same hold on us, and the change of outlook had its repercussions on music. It has become commercialised; the film is a more lucrative field to a number of our leading artists, who have been well-known screen personalities. Again, there is the radio, which, with the time-limit it imposes on the artists, has contributed its share to the fall in the standard of music.

All these influences acting simultaneously had their effect on our music, and it might be interesting to consider whether the change has been for the worse or for the better. Before doing so, let us be clear about the functions of music. Music, whether classical or popular, has one important, and perhaps the only, function, "to please." However rigid the rules binding it and the technique underlying it, its fundamental requisite of being easy on the ears should always be borne in mind. Genuinely good music goes further; from being easy on the ears, it goes on to produce a multitude of feelings in us—contentment, a sense of well-being, and in some cases, ennoblement.

Considered thus, our classical music today falls short of the standard. No one wants to belittle the

capabilities of our musicians, but listening to the classical performances one cannot but be struck by the total absence of the deeper qualities of good music—sincerity, emotional poignancy, or tranquility. We have the feeling that so and so is performing, well or not well. One is all the time conscious of the personality of the performer, who is trying his best to impress us with his musical prowess. A good musician, one cannot help reflecting, is one who allows himself to be submerged in the music he is rendering, and not try to get the better of it. The performer should always be in the background, allowing the limelight to be focussed on the music. Karaikudi Sambasiva Iyer is a supreme example of the self-effacement so essential to a good musician. There is an impersonal quality about his performances, which makes the audience conscious only of the essence of music, as it were.

The absence of music, as such, is, of course, the result of our changed conception of music. With its increasing commercialisation, we cannot hold it in reverence. We go to listen to so and so perform, and not to listen to music.

Technique plays an important part in our music. Mastery over it is essential for the making of a good artist. This is more marked in North Indian music where we have certain modes of singing more than set, definite songs. But today the accent is on the technicalities of music more than on its technique. Not many of our artists can sing a raga for more than a few minutes without resorting to acrobatics or tight-rope walking. Speed seems to be the basis of our musicians' training. The more he juggles with the notes at a breath-taking pace, the better performer he is considered. Few render a song straight, without embellishments in the form of *swarams*. Within limits, the latter are, no doubt, attractive, but they are frequently carried to

absurd lengths. Many of Dikshitar's *kritis* are noted for their beauty of composition, which is entirely lost in the maze of *swarams*. Certainly, allowance has to be made for the vanity of the performer. But our music allows ample scope for its play. There are the "ragam, tanam, pallavi", which rest on improvisation purely, and here, surely, the performer can give full vent to his inventive genius, without mutilating the songs. It is the undue emphasis on technicalities which gives our classical performances a superficiality of air.

Indulgence in the technicalities is a luxury to be allowed to a very few accomplished masters. They combine a deep knowledge of music with one more aspect of it, which has been sadly neglected for a long time—tonal purity. Whether instrumental or vocal, purity of tone is a vital necessity for good music. It is the lack of it, perhaps, which accounts for the limited number of admirers of our music in the West. A clear voice is a rare gift of nature, but it

can be cultivated to a great extent by intensive training. Further, our music makes provisions for it. The *alapana* and *dhrupad*, with their long, stretching notes, are meant to promote a resonant voice. But, unfortunately, this has been converted into another domain of speed. In the instrumental sphere, Karaikudi Sambasiva Iyer again reigns supreme, combining effectively a deep knowledge of music and resonance in tone. Dwaram Venkataswami Naidu is another. One can also add Subbalakshmi. Onkarnath Thakur is yet another. When these artists revel in technicalities it is indeed a pleasure. But when the lesser artists trespass on their grounds, we cannot but dismiss them as trite and impudent.

There is the hope, of course, that as they grow older, and gain in experience, they would become more subdued, and reflect the nuances found among the chosen few. But how many, judging by their present performances, will blossom out into another Dwaram or Karaikudi?

GROVE PRESS CONTEST FOR INDIAN WRITERS

GROVE Press of New York City announces a contest for Indian writers. An award of \$1000 will be given for the best work in fiction or poetry submitted by a citizen of India before November 15, 1953.

Of the prize money, \$500 will be considered as an advance against royalty upon publication of the manuscript, if they decide upon publication. (If the decision is against publication, the full \$1000 will be given as award and the manuscript returned.)

There is to be no limitation on subject matter; and the award will be made purely on the basis of literary merit. The only outside stipulation is that all manuscripts must be submitted in the English language. Translations will be welcomed, but they too must meet the same qualifications of literary merit. A panel of four judges, two from India and two from America, will make the final decisions.

In the case of a tie vote among the judges, one of the Indian judges will make the final decision.

Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon, who recently introduced the Indian peace resolution on Korea at the U. N., the first editor of Pelican books, will be one of the Indian judges. The second will be announced later.

Wallace Fowle and Alfred Kazin will serve as the American judges. Mr. Fowle's autobiography, *PANTOMINE*, recently appeared, and his new study and translation of *RIMBAUD'S ILLUMINATIONS* will be published shortly. Mr. Kazin, eminent critic and writer, is author of *ON NATIVE GROUNDS* and *A WALKER IN THE CITY*.

The manuscripts may be submitted, as of now, to GROVE PRESS, 59, West 9th St., New York 11, N. Y. It is possible that additional receiving points will be announced later. The GROVE PRESS will return all manuscripts to senders and do its utmost to assure their safe handling.

AUTOMOBILE INDUSTRY IN INDIA-I

By H. RANGACHAR

THE new year has begun with some promise for the much retarded automobile industry in India. The first public function of the President in the year was to receive the Hindusthan car presented to him officially by the Birla Brothers. Sri Rajendra Prasad was greatly satisfied to learn that the car was 60% swadeshi and that the day was not far off when cent per cent swadeshi automobiles would be turned out of Indian factories. In accepting the presentation, the President is reported to have said that there could hardly be any difference of opinion on the industrialization of the country, especially in a field like the automobile industry which, he hoped would receive every support from the Government and the people. Coming as it did from the head of the nation, this was somewhat reassuring, especially in view of the position accorded to heavy industries in the Five Year Plan and the comparative apathy of the Government in promoting this important industry.

Another event of some good augury is the inauguration in Bombay on January 12 of the public enquiry into the automobile industry by the Tariff Commission. It is satisfactory to learn from the speech of the Chairman, Sri Bhal, that the investigation will be comprehensive and embrace the whole question of the speedy establishment of an automobile industry in India on a sound basis. It is therefore opportune to consider in some detail this question and the problems connected with it.

Position In U. S.

The automobile industry occupies a position of paramount importance in the economy of industrially advanced modern countries. The U. S. A. has outdistanced other countries in this respect and is in the forefront in the manufacture and use of automobiles. It has been estimated that Americans own fifteen times as many motor vehicles as do

the people in the rest of the world. An imaginative statistician has calculated that theoretically it is possible for the entire population of the U. S. A. to be accommodated in the passenger cars there at one and the same time. The economic importance of the automobile industry will be clear from the fact that on the basis of value of its products, it is the leading industry, occupying a most important place in the export trade of that country. Americans spend about 10% of their national income on the purchase and operation of automobiles. In other countries, like Great Britain and Canada, it is one of the leading industries, though its position is not so predominant as in the U. S. A.

India Backward

The position in India is in striking contrast and shows how deplorably backward the country is in this respect. There are no factories manufacturing motor vehicles or even the most important components of these on a commercial scale. There are only five firms engaged in the manufacturing of motor parts, the aggregate capital being of the order of 8.25 crores of rupees. Answering a question during the last session of the House of the People, the Union Minister for Industries said that no information was available in regard to the money value of the products manufactured by these—a sad commentary on the availability of essential statistics relating to industries in the country.

The low standard of life in India is reflected in the use of motors. According to the statistics given by the Chairman of the Tariff Commission in his speech already referred to, "the number of persons served by one vehicle in India is on the average 1350, as against three in the U. S. A., 15 in the U. K., 16 in France and 47 in New Zealand. The number of vehicles per 1000 miles of roads is 14 874 in the U. K., 12,146 in the U. S. A. and 829 in India." He also

said that it would serve little purpose to compare India with the highly industrialized countries of Europe and America. Our position however compares unfavourably even with less advanced countries like Ceylon, Malaya and the Philippines. The number of motor vehicles per 1000 square miles is 1330 in Ceylon, 845 in Malaya and 650 in the Philippines against 250 in India. On the basis of population the comparison is still more unfavourable to us.

The automobile industry is one of the leading industries which plays a role, second to none, in importance, in the economy and development of a nation and in its defence and security. During 1951-52 India spent Rs. 92 crores on motor vehicles and motor parts. The development of the domestic industry will enable the country to stop this drain and save a lot of foreign exchange which again will be available for further development works. Secondly, by creating a demand for engineering and other industries necessary for its accessories and components, it will accelerate the pace of the country's industrialization. Thirdly, it will form the basis for allied industries such as internal combustion engines, tanks, tractors, etc. Fourthly, it is one of the most essential factors in national defence and security. It normally supplies vehicles so very necessary for mechanised armies of today. In times of war and other national emergencies, the plants can be switched over to the production of many kinds of equipment and weapons needed for modern war. This is well illustrated by the performance of the automobile industry in the U. S. A. during World War II. Motor industry is said to have accounted for over one sixth of the nation's total war production; it manufactured over a 1000 different products including aircraft engines, bombers, tanks, cannon, gun carriages, etc., not to speak of army vehicles.

Last, but not least, is the position the industry occupies in the transport system of the country. In this, motor transport occupies a place only second to that of railways and is growing in importance continuously. It cannot be sufficiently emphasised that the success of our

Five Year Plan depends, in no small measure, on the capacity and efficiency of the country's transport system.

An essential prerequisite for the efficient and satisfactory maintenance and functioning of the transport system is the availability of locally manufactured equipment and vehicles needed for it. A beginning has been made in this, in respect of other agencies of transport. Two factories for the manufacture of railway locomotives have come into existence. A coach factory is under construction. There is the ship yard at Vizagapatam for the building of ships and the aircraft factory at Bangalore, which should be regarded as a nucleus for manufacturing of planes. The two factories owe their origin to the patriotism and enterprise of Sri Walchand Hirachand. It is a matter for great regret that the aircraft factory, under Government management, has not been developed and has not made any appreciable progress in its main objective, the manufacture of planes. Instead, it is diverting the equipment and resources, in which it is none too rich for secondary subsidiary activities, such as building of railway coaches and motor bus bodies.

In the field of automobile manufacture alone, there has not been even such small beginnings, despite the great potential demand and scope for large development. This is not for want of enterprise or foresight on the part of industrialists—at least the more enterprising and patriotic amongst them. The history of an attempt which nearly became a fait accompli is not without its lesson to us and may be briefly reviewed.

In 1935, Sir M. Visvesvaraya, the great patriot and apostle of rapid industrialization of India, undertook at his own expense an extensive tour of U. K., France, Germany, Italy and the U. S. A. "to investigate the scope and prospects" of a scheme for the manufacture of automobiles, suited to Indian conditions. As a result of this, he prepared a project with detailed estimates which, as stated by him in his Memoires of My Working Life, "Were checked by heads of automobile establishments in several places in America, mostly in Detroit and New York. As a result of this

report and my personal appeals, the Congress Government of Bombay offered certain concessions to Mr. Walchand Hirachand and his associates to establish an automobile plant in the province of Bombay." This was in March 1939. The concession included a guarantee of 3 or 3½ per cent interest on the estimated capital of 1.5 crores of rupees. After a visit to America and pourparlers extending over several months, Sri Walchand Hirachand was able to enter into an agreement, in July 1941, with the Chrysler Corporation of Detroit, according to which the firm undertook to give, on a royalty basis, all help to the Agents to establish a factory and provide all technical data and know-how for the manufacture of motor cars and trucks. It is also of interest to add that the Canadian Ford Motor Company, to which all rights of sale and manufacture of motor vehicles in the British Commonwealth had been assigned by the parent company in U. S. A., was willing to enter into an agreement, provided it was allowed to own and control 51% of the share capital. As this condition was not acceptable to the promoters of the scheme, no agreement with the Company was possible.

The project however could make no progress due to the unsympathetic attitude and even the hostility of the then Government of India. In offering the guarantee already referred to, the Bombay Government had stipulated that the promoters should obtain from the Government of India two concessions viz., the continuance of the revenue duty of 37½% on motor vehicles and parts then in force, and a rebate on duty paid on any imported special parts used in the manufacture of automobiles. The Government of India said that it was impossible to give the guarantees desired. Thereon, the Bombay Government agreed to waive the conditions they had imposed. Though the Congress Government went out of office soon after, the Bombay Government under the personal rule of the Governor were willing to ratify this, provided the Government of India agreed that the industry would help war effort. The response of the Government of India was unfavourable.

The promoters did not yet give up their efforts. Actively guided, as they were all through by Sir M. Visvesvaraya, they opened negotiations with the Government of Mysore who were willing to extend liberal assistance if the industry was established in the State. The Government of India interfered and discouraged its establishment, which "first led to a protest by Sir Mirza M. Ismail Dewan and later to his resignation" of the office which he had held with great distinction.

The promoters still persisted in their attempt and again approached the Government of India, after the entry of Soviet Russia into the war, with a proposal that "during the war they would confine themselves to manufacturing army vehicles, according to specifications that may be given to them, provided the scheme was treated as a war effort." Even this was refused and the scheme could thus make no headway.

It was generally expected that the starting of a full-fledged automobile factory would be one of the earliest achievements to the credit of the Government of India on the attainment of independence. It is sad to reflect that the Congress Government, on the attainment of independence, has not evinced the enthusiasm in starting this industry which the Congress Governments under the British rule displayed. It would be a matter for satisfaction if the reference of the subject to the Tariff Commission indicates an anxiety on the part of the Government to make up for lost time and opportunities and take all active steps for the starting of the industry. The comprehensive terms of reference will not, it is to be earnestly hoped, be allowed by the Commission to make it embark on a protracted investigation in which much valuable time would be lost. Instead, the investigation should be confined to devising ways and means for evolving a plan for the starting of the manufacture of automobiles at the earliest practicable time, availing fully of the investigation and projects so far made, with a proper coordination of the existing plants, facilities and resources.

MUST THE ROSENBERGS DIE?

By J. VIJAYATUNGA

ON Wednesday January Fourteenth 1953 an hour before midnight a young husband and his young wife, parents of two children aged nine and six, were to have gone to the electric chair at Sing Sing prison. The postponement of their execution was evidently due as much to their petition for clemency to President Truman as that of Einstein's appeal to the President. Scientific associations including one from India, have also appealed for the commutation of their sentence. The Rosenbergs are Americans. They have been found guilty of having communicated atomic secrets to a foreign power.

Unless a commutation of their sentence to life imprisonment saves them, their execution will be the first of its kind in the history of mankind. Setting a precedent is a terrible responsibility sometimes. Once the precedent has been set each succeeding act innures mankind to it until it becomes a commonplace arousing no more interest than the backfiring of a car and less emotion than a dockyard fire.

Though the Bible says, "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live" it must have horrified not a few when the Inquisition got hold of the first doddering female and threw her into the flames. Similarly the throwing of the first Christian to the lions in the public arena in Rome must have horrified quite a number of Romans. But the time was to come when the Romans regarded it as a carnival and were disappointed if they were denied the perverse pleasure of the spectacle of a Christian mauled to death by a lion.

Reverting to the Inquisition, let me quote Bertrand Russell who says:

"In Lisbon, where heretics were publicly burnt, it sometimes happened that one of them, by a particularly edifying recantation, would be granted the boon of being strangled before being put into the flames. This would make the spectators so furious that the authorities had great difficulty in preventing them from lynching

the penitent and burning him on their own account. The spectacle of the writhing torments of the victims was, in fact, one of the principal pleasures to which the populace looked forward to enliven a somewhat drab existence. I cannot doubt that this pleasure greatly contributed to the general belief that the burning of heretics was a righteous act."

It is not in a spirit of flippancy that I have quoted the above passage. It is to show that human feelings instead of being more refined with the progress of Time are becoming more and more insensitive. The vivisection of French prisoners and of Jews and gypsies by the Nazis, and other gory details that came to light during the Nuremburg trials prove that human beings of the twentieth century are more callous towards pain and death than those of medieval times.

As a deterrent capital punishment has failed in its purpose. At the moment of mounting the scaffold or being led to the electric chair a condemned prisoner may cringe and whimper. But not till then. No matter how heinous his crime the man who pays for it with his life feels he has expiated it. And others, instead of being cowed by such executions, become defiant. Men who satisfy the demands of the law with their life not infrequently become heroes to their contemporaries and go down in legend and story as such. John Dillinger, a common unscrupulous killer, has a halo (albeit a muddy one) around him in the eyes of many because of the circumstances of his death.

We do not want the Rosenbergs to go down in history as martyrs. Betraying his country is the rottest thing a man can do. That is how the Rosenbergs would be regarded by all decent men and women if they are reprieved. But if they die in the electric chair they would evoke the sympathy of decent men and women everywhere and their deaths would be glorified in

those countries which are opposed to the democracies.

It is because we have chosen on whose side we are that we do not wish to see America equate herself with those countries where executions for so-called treason are so common as to be a travesty of every code of justice. In those countries a son who denounces his father to the authorities is a hero. We would regard him as a dirty skunk.

In the recent Prague trial when eleven Communist leaders (all of them Jews) were sentenced to death for "plotting against peace" Thomas Frejka, whose father was one of the accused, wrote a letter to the Court in which he said: "I see now that this creature, who cannot be called a human being, was my greatest enemy." Signing the letter as "a devoted Communist" he asked for his father's death. The Court granted the son's request!

By sending the Rosenbergs to death in the electric chair America will be only bracketing herself with those countries where national hysteria can be had on tap like hot and cold water once the sluice which is State-controlled is opened at the will of the State.

By reprieving these two misguided Americans America would not only give them a chance to realise the enormity of their crime but she would herself be firmly bracketed with the democracies where people exercise their will freely and not at the whip-lash of a dictator.

England's treatment of Dr. Alan Nunn-May is a worthy precedent to follow. If there was an instance of cold, callous, calculated treason against the State it was Dr. Nunn-May's betrayal of atom secrets to Russia while he was holding a position of the utmost responsibility. But British justice was satisfied by having him sent to prison. Neither the countries whom he served by his betrayal nor his admirers (if there were any) could make a hero of him. He was recently released serving six years of his sentence. Almost the first thing he said after his release was that he had no regrets for giving atom secrets to Russia. Great Britain did not go hysterical over his

attempt to add insult to injury. He has been left alone, and soon he will be forgotten, or, if he remains in the public eye it will be as a worthy citizen regretting his errors.

In contrast how hysterical was the Communist press over the Prague trial! To give one example, the French Communist paper, *L'Humanite* said:

"The trials of Slansky, Rajk, Kostov, . . . all represent an aspect of Washington's plot against peace. . . . However, the conspirators will soon be forgotten as the furnaces and forges of Klement Gottwald will continue through the night to throw their light up towards the stars."

The ravings of the Communist press will not affect those who have chosen on whose side they are. But they will affect those who are wavering—and they are many. We do not want the dictator countries and the dictator-controlled press of those countries to gloat over the martyrdom of the Rosenbergs in the same way. If the Rosenbergs go to the electric chair those countries and their news services will certainly gloat over it. We do not want the Rosenbergs to become martyrs but we want to see them live to see the error of their actions.

In times of war espionage is always punishable with death. No one has questioned that ruling, and no one will. War being an abnormal condition calls for unnatural rules and usage. But the betraying of atomic secrets in times of peace, however grievous a crime against the State, deserves a more lenient punishment.

One recalls the case of Lieut. Stewart-Bailey just before the war. He was an army officer. If the death sentence for treason was ever justified it was in his case. But he was only committed to the Tower. No one made a hero of him. But had he been court-martialled and shot there would have been by now some legend or other about him.

The Hebraic code of an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth is outworn in ordinary penology. Treason, it may be pointed out, is no ordinary penology. But this particular aspect of treason concerning as it does the

giving away of scientific secrets falls into a different category. Scientific secrets do not remain secrets for very long. It is only a question of who gets at it first and steals a march.

We who have the blessing of being able to live under a democracy do not want dictator countries to steal a march over us in the way of armaments. That is clear enough and all are agreed on that point. But if there be traitors who are so misguided as Dr. Nunn-May was, or self-seeking as the Rosenbergs were, then it is better to segregate them from the community till they are harmless rather than exact the extreme penalty.

This is a matter in which the heads of democratic countries cannot interfere however anxious they may be for the reprieve of the Rosenbergs. But there is nothing to prevent ecclesiastical heads like the Pope or the World Council of Churches from interceding on behalf of the Rosenbergs.

Assembled in Delhi until the end of last week were distinguished men and women trying to find out how effective is the Gandhian outlook and technique in public affairs and in public issues. The Gandhian technique in the case of the Rosenbergs would surely have been one of the lesser punishment.

Though it may seem a sacrilege to bring Jesus into this argument yet I would like to suggest that Pontius Pilate had no feelings one way or other about Jesus but washed his hands off the whole responsibility when he handed Jesus to the Jews. But for ever afterwards, to his dying day, Pilate was a doubt-wrecked, miserable man.

It is a good maxim which says that it is better to let a thousand criminals escape than sentence one innocent man. The Rosenbergs are not innocent of the crime with which they are charged; but if they are reprieved we in the democracies would be able to hold up our heads more proudly.

There is still time for Presidential clemency. Let us hope that the President will exercise his clemency and reprieve the Rosenbergs—if not for any other reason for the sake of their two children, aged nine and six.

Sunday is Paludrine day

Take a tablet
after a meal.



ICI 82

EDUCATIONAL OBJECTIVES

DRAWING on Jeffersonian precedent, and armed with statistics from the Harvard Committee Report on *Education in a Free Society*, Dr. Colgate W. Darden, Jr., president of the University of Virginia—the University founded by Thomas Jefferson—proposes far-reaching changes in high school education in the United States. He wants to separate the students who can use a high school education from those who can't. Today, he argues, the high schools of the country are over-crowded and are sinking into mediocrity while trying "to perform an impossible task." To meet the needs of quantity in education, there has been a serious reduction in quality: "Able students are held back and their enthusiasm stultified by others who are not equipped for a general high school education, do not want it, resent it and, resenting it, become lazy or mischievous."

Dr. Darden's rendering of the secondary school situation has this statistical background:

...In 1870 some 80,000 students were enrolled in secondary schools and 60,000 in colleges, whereas by 1940, 7,000,000 were enrolled in the former and 1,500,000 in the latter....Thus, while the general population was increasing three times over, the enrollment of the high schools was being multiplied about ninety times and that of colleges about thirty times. (Harvard Committee Report.)

With these figures in mind, one may easily agree with Dr. Darden that "sheer mass is having a depressing effect on American public education." Following is his analysis of the problem, and his solution, offered in an article, "Too Much Education?", in *Look* for Sept. 23:

There are many youngsters who are not suited, by inclination, personality or lack of intellectual curiosity, for a good, general high-school education. We may call these youngsters hand-minded. Many other youngsters, suited for such an education, may be called book-minded.

Because of these contrasting groups, boys and girls finishing grammar school should be examined—under very strict safeguards—as to capabilities and interests.

The compulsory high-school attendance laws should be amended so that those youngsters not interested in or suited for a general high-school education could receive training in a useful occupation through apprenticeship, in trade schools or (and this offers the least) in vocational classes in high schools....

We should set up a careful and sympathetic examination of every pupil completing grammar school. Boys and girls found uninterested, unwilling or unsuited to do good, hard high-school work—and this ought to concentrate on general education—would be directed toward vocational training. This direction would, be supervised by an appropriate governing board of the school system.

Under this plan, Dr. Darden adds, no child eager for a general education would be "deflected" to vocational training, while, on the other hand, parents would not be permitted to demand high-school work of children who would be "a burden on their class." His general conclusion is this:

In our enthusiasm for mass education, we have lost sight of the vital importance of selecting the work best suited to the child. Compulsory attendance in high schools, because of this lack of selectivity, has been a disservice both to youngsters who would rather be learning a skill and to pupils who genuinely want a general education. Moreover, it has been a drain on the vitality of teachers who now are under the necessity of trying to force education into the heads of boys and girls who are not interested in it or incapable of receiving it....

There is no intent here to detract from either the importance or the dignity of the manual trades. It is simply that, by reason of the known and mysterious factors that combine to mould a human being and to make each one different from the other, some youngsters lean toward manual skills.

Dr. Darden's manifesto has the immediate appeal of candour, and if, for some mysterious cultural reason, it is now possible to discuss in public the extreme differences among human beings with respect to intellectual abilities, then education will doubtless profit by having the problem out in the open. That Dr. Darden seems far from pointing to

the best solution, so far as we can see, is a question quite apart from his courage in speaking his mind, and from the importance of discussing the problem openly.

Jefferson himself—the great Democrat whose mantle presumably shields Dr. Darden against charges of wishing to restore a cultured "aristocracy"—was even more candid in his discussion of public education for the State of Virginia. He proposed dividing the state into public school districts "five or six miles square," which would afford to every child, without charge, three years of instruction in "reading, writing, and arithmetic." The best scholar in each district would then be sent to a grammar school, and from each of the grammar schools, numbering twenty in the state, the best student would again be chosen and enabled to pursue further the

higher learning. In Jefferson's unmincing words, "By this means twenty of the best geniuses will be raked from the rubbish annually, and be instructed, at the public expense...." (*Notes on the State of Virginia.*)

Plainly, Jefferson was not opposed to the development of an educated elite; he accepted the idea of a distinguished few as a fact of nature. His great contribution to education was in establishing scholarly merit as the means of determining membership in the elite, instead of blood lines or the possession of wealth. And, in the eighteenth century, this was indeed a revolutionary contribution.

The defect of Dr. Darden's plan is that it merely repeats a proposal which was "advanced" in the eighteenth century, but is almost an anachronism in the twentieth. The



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problem of education—and of society in general—in the twentieth century has long been before us. One aspect of it was well stated by Arland D. Weeks in the *Scientific American* for February, 1931:

Without education the people were felt to be unfit for self-government; but that with education they might still be lacking seems not to have occurred to anyone. It has remained for us to realize, in a time of the widest extension of educational opportunity, that there exists a range of mental ability that offers some very hard nuts to crack for exponents of democracy. The slump in democracy has coincided with the findings of intelligent tests.

The point, here, somewhat obscurely conveyed, is that the proportion of students who seem willing to grapple with the issues upon which successful self-government depends is not large enough to swing the balance toward intelligent decision. This aspect of our educational problem is not even mentioned by Dr. Darden, who says nothing at all concerning the relative number of hand-minded and book-minded. And he says very little concerning the basic education that is a practical necessity for all members of a self-governing community—which is the second aspect of our problem.

Let us consider first this second aspect. It has been squarely faced by very few modern educators, and by no one, we think, as clearly as by Dr. R. M. Hutchins. In an article directly concerned with the point under discussion (in *Measure*, Winter, 1950), Dr. Hutchins wrote:

Democracy is the best form of society.....The function of the citizen of a democracy is ruling and being ruled in turn for the good life of the whole. In a democracy the good man and the good citizen are identical.....Since in a democracy all men are rulers, all men must have the education that rulers must have.....the only true education is that which aims at a social ideal that can be achieved by the improvement of men. The improvement of men is irrelevant to the preservation of the class and the selection of the elite; for the class

can be stupid and wicked, and the elite can be wicked.

This conclusion speaks in part to Dr. Darden's proposal, for while the President of the University of Virginia has no wish to preserve "class," he is interested in the selection of the elite, just as Jefferson was. But what of the education that all men as rulers must have? Again we quote from Dr. Hutchins—this time from his *Education for Freedom*:

With the whole world in flames we must raise a standard to which all honest and right-thinking men can repair, to which embattled humanity can rally. It is the standard of freedom, truth, and reason....An ancient sage remarked that the state came into being for the sake of life, for mutual assistance and protection. It made mere living possible. But, he went on, the state continued in existence for the sake of the good life, to develop and perfect through common effort the noblest abilities of all the citizens.....A good life is a life direct to knowing truth and doing justice.

We find no fault with Dr. Darden for not solving the problem of reaching these objectives; we find fault with him for hardly mentioning it.

We do not believe that education with these ends need be restricted to the "book-minded" among the young. ("The elite can be wicked.") We believe that if the best men among us, including the best educators, will devote themselves to these ideals, ways can be found to create an educational programme for all students of high-school age by which moral intelligence will be fostered and awakened. For this is precisely the atmosphere of genuine civilization. If this atmosphere is to exist, it must, of course, be present elsewhere than in the minds of a few teachers struggling against great odds. It is admitted that the creation of this atmosphere will be difficult. But if we assume that many of the young—perhaps a majority—are capable of absorbing only "vocational training," it will not be merely difficult—it will be impossible.

—Manas.

BEVAN SHOULD HAVE GONE TO RANGOON

By ANDREW ROTH

ANEURIN BEVAN should have been sent to Rangoon. Clement Attlee is undoubtedly widely respected by Asians for his key role in freeing India, Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon. But the more militant socialists of Asia do not talk Mr. Attlee's moderate language. They said that "while Asian socialists admired European socialism they themselves must be dynamic instead of gradual and, if necessary, unconstitutional."

It is striking that in the debate on "Socialism and the Colonies" Mr. Attlee thought it necessary to express sharply and emphatically his disappointment with the emotional antagonism displayed toward Western socialist parties. He sat down amid stony silence.

This gap between Asian socialists and the moderate leadership of Western socialist parties is nothing new. For some time Asian socialists have found European 'comrades' only among leftwing socialists. On the Continent it has meant usually groups to the left of the official socialist parties such as the anti-colonial and quasi-neutralist groups in France around *L'Observateur* and Jean Rous of *Franc-Tireur* and in Holland the "Derde Weg" (Third Way) movement. Only the British Labour Party has, in its leftwing, such persons as Fenner Brockway who are completely trusted by Asian and colonial socialists.

The Colonial Curtain

The Rangoon conference demonstrated that the colonial struggles which have convulsed Asia and Africa since the war have thrust Asian socialists—who represent almost 10% of the voting strength of non-Communist Asia—and the overwhelming bulk of European socialists into different camps.

The Rangoon conference opened with an attack on France's "counter-revolutionary" solution of the Indochina problem by its chairman, U Ba

Swe, the "tough guy" of Burmese socialism. Burmese socialists cannot be accused of being sympathetic to communism since they have been fighting a communist revolt for almost five years. But, like other Asian socialists—and, in fact, most Asians—they considered the communist-led Vietminh to be the authentic voice of Indochinese nationalism. The Burmese nationalist movement itself was led back from the brink of communism by timely British concessions. Consequently they feel the French policy of sponsoring a puppet nationalist like Baodai helped push Ho Chi Minh into the hands of Peking and Moscow. Whereas all the Asian socialists are anti-Baodai, Western socialists are officially pro-Baodai.

The sharpest clash at the conference came over Tunisia, which Asians consider the most clear-cut nationalist case in the present world, because there no communist smears are possible. Andre Bidet, the French delegate sent by the Socialist International, had to complain that French socialists in Tunisia are "caught between the Tunisians and the French as between a hammer and an anvil." The Conference replied by setting up an anti-Colonial Bureau.

Asian socialists acknowledge they have found more intelligence and some sympathy in the British Labour Party. But they are not enthusiastic. The British Labour Party policy in office conforms too closely to British economic interests to arouse enthusiasm.

Even the apparent love-feast between the British Labour Party and the Pan-Malayan Labour Party is more tactical than authentic. The Malayan Party's chairman, Mohammed Sopiee, would feel more warmly if he had not spent a substantial portion of his recent student period in Britain trying unsuccessfully to

pin down Labour leaders—and particularly former Colonial Secretary James Griffiths—to some promise of Malayan independence within a decade.

Malayan socialists also cannot forget that their political growth is shackled by an ordinance which prevents Malayan trade unions from contributing funds to a political party. Amazingly enough, this was enacted early in 1948 at the instigation of a British trade unionist, John Brazier, who has been Malaya's official trade union advisor. Mr. Brazier, of course, was trying to cripple the Malayan communists. But to do it he used the same measure British Tories used in 1927 to cripple British Labour. When the Labour Party repealed it in 1945 Parliament resounded to the triumphant singing of "Red Flag."

Keynes For Export

Asian socialists diverge from their European colleagues not only over colonialism. Their doctrines are as far apart as the economies they are trying to reform. Western socialists—and particularly the British Labour Party—have been able to reform their own societies by the administrative manipulation of financial controls, as advocated by Keynes. But this fails to make a dent on decentralized and uneven Asian societies, the bulk of which has to be raised from feudal squalor.

As M. S. Gokhale, the Indian socialist leader, told the Socialist International in Milan in October: "Our fight against injustice in India . . . requires far more drastic methods—by which I do not mean organized violence—than are adopted by European socialist parties."

Instead of the 'leftwing liberalism' of Western socialism, the Asian Socialist Conference has plumped for a 'democratized Marxism.' Even in inviting the other parties to Rangoon, and attacking "both capitalism and Cominform communism," the Indonesian, Burmese and Indian parties proclaimed their acceptance of "the methods of analysis used by Marx and Engels with regard to the development and organization of capitalist society."

Indicative is the close interest with

which Asian socialists have watched the Yugoslav efforts to work out a democratized Marxism suitable to an underdeveloped area. On the very eve of the conference, while a Yugoslav military mission was touring Burma, the Rangoon Government announced it would end its present defense agreement with Britain. Burmese military leaders told me last summer that they were envious of Yugoslavia which sustains an army of over 300,000 (eight times Burma's) although it has roughly the same population as Burma.

The Conference called for agrarian progress through cooperatives to a democratic form of collective farms. Asian socialists should promote mass peasant organizations to fight for economic and political emancipation. Indian socialist leader Jayaprakash Narayan proclaimed that in every sphere, "in elections and even in armed insurrections," the peasant must take the lead in the socialist revolution in Asia. Thus Jayaprakash advocated in words what the Chinese communists executed in fact. Only when the Chinese had consolidated their position did they start strenuously breathing life into the long-inert theory of the "dictatorship of the proletariat."

Gap At Vienna

The patent inability of most Western socialists to bridge the gap between themselves and their Asian colleagues was already apparent at Vienna in November 1951. There the Socialist International convened a conference of experts to evolve a "Socialist Policy for the Under-Developed Areas"—without the participation of Asian or African socialists.

The document which emerged—Fenner Brockway has described it as "appalling"—suggests the guilty conscience of Western socialists. It goes out of its way to play down not only past economic exploitation but current relations of an exploitative character. Although the conference met when the raw material boom was bringing heavy profits from South-east Asia to Holland and Britain, this went unmentioned. So did the piling up of sterling balances of underdeveloped British colonies. In fact

there was scarcely a word in the report which could not have been written by the Foreign Office spokesmen of Britain, France or Holland.

The experts suggested Western Europe could afford to invest one-third of its expected three per cent annual rise in annual income. Not immediately, mind you. Only after 1954, when the bulk of the rearmament demands of Western Europe will have been met. "But even if there were more resources available now," the experts excused themselves, "the under-developed countries could not absorb new capital at a vastly increased rate at once, nor is there anything to be gained by forcing on construction work at the expense of adequate forethought and planning"

At times these experts seemed motivated by the spirit of the late Ernest Bevin who openly stated that the living standards of the British working class depended on Britain's retaining its traditional relationship with backward areas. "The under-developed countries must not be regarded merely (my emphasis: AR) as a source of raw materials or as markets for the manufacturers of the industrial countries. They have their own needs and resources." After this bit of lofty condescension, the experts added: "In some countries such investment is in the interest of both the under-developed countries and its creditors."

Even the most moderate and pro-Western of Asian socialists showed their disappointment at this attitude at the Milan Congress in October 1952. Warned E. Sone, leader of Japan's rightwing Social Democratic Party: "If the aid programmes for the under-developed countries emphasize mainly the securing of raw materials for rearmament in the advanced countries, then the people of the former will regard them as yet another form of imperialist exploitation and offer resistance."

Said R. Barkatt, of the Mapai, Israel's rightwing socialists: "The poverty-stricken masses in these countries will judge us by our ability and readiness to offer a real solution

to their problems. Bread for the hungry, work for the idle masses, land for the landless, social emancipation for the workers—all these they expect. Only if they see a prospect of a better future for themselves and their children will they adopt and fight for the policy we offer."

Asian Neutralists

Asian socialists prefer forming a neutral bloc. This does not indicate illusions about communist intentions. In Burma, Indonesia, Malaya and India the communists have recently demonstrated insurrectionary tactics. Few Asians have any illusions about the military effectiveness of the Chinese communists.

The neutralism of Asian socialists derives from several sources. For all Asian nationalists the West is still the colonial West and NATO is an agglomeration of colonial powers financed by the U. S. Asian socialists do not think the West as ruthless as the communists. But the emotional anti-colonialism of Asia's recent past tends to make them feel: a plague on both your houses. Appeals like Mr. Attlee's to side with democracy carry little weight because few of the South Asian countries have enjoyed democracy in the European sense. Furthermore they cannot help but be impressed by the rapid build-up of Chinese economic and military power. For Asian socialists both democracy and economic-military power are yet unattained aspirations so they are midway between the two blocs, attracted and repulsed by both.

The campaign in Korea, which was intended by the United States as a demonstration that aggression does not pay, may have convinced the Kremlin. But it strengthens the neutralism of Asian Socialists, rather than a desire for collective security. They see the two Asian countries most involved in the 'cold war'—Korea and Indochina—being systematically devastated with everything short of atom bombs. Therefore they prefer fighting their own communists by their own means. Exposed areas like Burma prefer to risk aggression rather than risk becoming an international battleground.

THE DISCOVERER OF PENICILLIN

By R. RAMAMURTI

ON August 6, 1881, in a moorland farmhouse set in the hills of Loudoun, Ayrshire, Scotland, was born a babe who was destined to have a remarkable effect on the future well-being of mankind. Alexander Fleming, the youngest of eight children, 48 years later, in 1929, discovered penicillin from the mould, *Penicillium notatum* which has since been hailed as a miracle and a wonder-drug. Few scientific discoveries have stirred the public imagination to the same extent as that of penicillin and it is rightly so since penicillin has saved tens of thousands of lives in the few years that have elapsed since its discovery.

Fleming was educated first at a tiny moorland school near his house, then at Darvell school and finally at Kilmarnock Academy, "where he took almost all the available prizes and scholarships." At fourteen, he went to stay with his doctor-brother at London and two years later he entered a shipping office to take to a commercial career. The world would have lost one of the greatest savants of humanity in modern times had he continued in the shipping office but it was not to be. Four years later, he was left a legacy and on the advice of his brother to take to medicine, he went to St. Mary's Hospital Medical School in Paddington. He had a brilliant academic career and won honours in physiology, pharmacology, medicine, pathology, medical jurisprudence, and hygiene. Here he had the good fortune to come under the influence of Sir Almroth Wright (the originator of Vaccinotherapy) who had just been appointed bacteriologist in the hospital and lecturer in the medical school. Wright had a breadth of knowledge, a depth of culture, an ingenuity of experimental resource, a powerful imagination, and a wonderfully persuasive gift of tongue and this rare combination enabled him to found a school of research which soon influenced, as it is still influencing the medical world. During World War I Fleming served in the Royal Army Medical Corps and

saw action in France where he specialized in the study of wounds. At the end of the war, he returned to his laboratory work.

The romance of the discovery of penicillin is a dramatic one, "a triumph of accident and shrewd observation." While conducting some research on influenza, he had occasion to lift the lid of a culture plate of staphylococcus colonies for closer examination and lo! a mould spore fell into the dish. This kind of accident happens frequently in bacteriological laboratories as the air around us contains great numbers of bacteria, mould spores and other micro-organisms. The mould spore germinated and produced a small circular colony. Instead of throwing the culture away, Fleming studied it under the microscope. He made the acute observation that the small bacterial colonies close to the mould colony were being dissolved. "Nothing is more certain than that, when I saw the bacteria fading away, I had no suspicion that I had got a clue to the most powerful therapeutic substance yet used to defeat bacterial infection of the human body. But the appearance of that culture plate was such that I thought it should not be neglected." Fleming studied the properties of the "broth culture filtrate" but he was unable to extract the penicillin from it and it remained a laboratory curiosity for a long period of eleven years during which time scientists pursued the more profitable field of research on sulpha drugs discovered by Domagk in the year 1935. Even as late as 1940, the position was, in the words of Fleming, as follows: "We have been using it in the laboratory for over ten years as a method of differential culture. It was used in a few cases as a local antiseptic but although it gave reasonably good results the trouble of making it seemed not worthwhile."

In 1940, however, a group of workers in Oxford, under the leadership of Florey and Chain, discovered a method whereby penicillin could be obtained from the culture filtrate in

a highly concentrated form, as a dry, dark brown powder. In 1941, they managed to produce it in qualities sufficient for their experimental purposes and a few human cases were treated with dramatic effect. Thus as Fleming himself puts it: "The resuscitation of penicillin as a chemotherapeutic remedy is due to the brilliant work of Florey and his colleagues at Oxford." But large-scale manufacture had not yet been undertaken and war-battered Britain hardly seemed to be the right place for such a venture. Therefore Florey and Heatley visited the U. S. A., then not at war, and a number of American firms got themselves interested in the manufacture.

Several improvements were effected in the large-scale manufacture of penicillin, all of them by American workers. For example, it was found that an addition of corn-steep liquor, a by-product of the corn-refining industry, to the sugar-mineral salt culture medium greatly increased the yield of penicillin. A second improvement was the discovery of strains other than *Penicillium notatum* (Fleming's original mould) with a greater capacity for penicillin production. These two improvements, of the medium and of the mould, were followed by a third improvement in the way in which the mould was grown. Still-surface cultures in which the mould was grown on flat layers of medium in bottles, flasks or trays obviously limited the productive surface and were completely replaced by stirred deep cultures in which the mould is grown in huge vessels, holding thousands of gallons of culture medium, kept constantly stirred and supplied with sterile air. By this method, the saving in space and handling time is immense and the manufacture is now comparable with any other chemical production process. The modern manufacture of penicillin consists of four main stages, fermentation and growth of the mould, extraction, concentration and purification of the drug, testing for potency and purity and lastly packing. Sterility is the most important sine qua non which must be religiously enforced during the entire manufacture as some of the bacteria liberate an enzyme, penicillinase, which destroys penicillin.

Thus, as Florey and others record in their book, *Antibiotics*, "the glory connected with its discovery belongs to Britain and to Fleming, Florey, Chain, Heatley and their co-workers. Its large-scale production however is strictly "made in U. S. A." and is due to the collaborative efforts of American industrial laboratories and staffs, various governmental and University laboratories...." During the war years, penicillin was available mainly to the Armed Forces, but by June 1946, it was generally released in Britain.

Penicillin is effective against staphylococcal, streptococcal, pneumococcal, meningococcal and *Bacillus anthracis* infections and against the organisms of gas gangrene. Another important group of diseases against which it is effective is the venereal diseases, syphilis and gonorrhoea. Perhaps a day will come, sooner than later, when the dreaded venereal diseases can be eradicated completely from the face of the earth, thanks to penicillin. This will be possible if every case of venereal disease is detected, treated and cured before it is transmitted to another. Penicillin has revolutionized the treatment of wounds and rendered the practice of surgery safer. Penicillin is superior to sulpha drugs in that it is unaffected in its action by the presence of blood, pus or tissue breakdown products. Another heaven-sent property of this drug is its total absence of toxicity. Any amount of penicillin can be injected with impunity into a patient which, of course, cannot be said of any other drug, in the medical armamentarium. So varied are the benefits of the drug that Fleming has time and again emphasized that it is not a panacea, not a "cure-all." The lay public seem to be better informed in this respect than at least some doctors and the story is told of a country-doctor who, on diagnosing tuberculosis in a patient, said he will give him a few shots of penicillin. The patient turned round and politely informed the penicillin-enthusiast that it is not effective against T. B. Yes, there are diseases which stand out against penicillin—the gram-negative bacillary infections like the typhoid and paratyphoid fevers, cholera and the dysenteries, plague,

tularaemia and undulant fever. It is ineffective against virus infections like poliomyelitis and influenza, and also against yeasts and moulds. Penicillin is not an answer to such scourges as tuberculosis or cancer nor is it even an answer to the commonest of all maladies, the common cold. Indiscriminate and inadequate administration of penicillin tends to promote resistance of organisms against it.

Penicillin, on the research side, is having a remarkable effect on antibiotic research. After the advent of penicillin, streptomycin, chloromycetin, aureomycin and terramycin have all been discovered to name only a few of the hundreds of substances that have been experimented upon. The antibiotics of the future may come, from such varied sources as other moulds, bacteria, yeasts, actinomycetes, and perhaps from mushrooms, algae and green plants. These are being investigated day and night in many parts of the globe by brilliant teams of medical scientists who share the feeling of Fleming that it would be indeed very remarkable if the first useful antibiotic, namely penicillin, should be the last or even the best.

Fleming is a Fellow of the Royal

Society, Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons and Member of the Royal College of Physicians. He is an Emeritus Professor of Bacteriology, St. Mary's Hospital, London and Director of the Wright-Fleming Institute of Microbiology, University of London. In June, 1944, the discoverer and co-discoverer of penicillin, Fleming and Florey, were knighted. In 1945, Fleming shared with Florey and Chain the Nobel Prize for Medicine. Seventy-two year old Fleming is a modest man of quiet demeanour and is described as "studious, soft-spoken, rather careworn-looking, blue-eyed and grey-haired." His hobbies are swimming, shooting and painting. He is a painter of some eminence and his paintings have been shown by the London Exhibition of the Medical Arts Society. He uses for his painting certain germ cultures which "when grown in an incubator produce vivid colours."

Sir Alexander Fleming will be arriving in Madras on February 5 as a member of the W. H. O. visiting team of medical scientists and will be staying here for about a month during which time the team will visit various hospitals, deliver lectures and attend a conference on medical education.

UNIQUENESS OF SRI THYAGARAJA

UNVEILING a portrait of Sri Thyagaraja Swami at the Central College of Karnataka Music, Adyar, some two months ago Mr. P. V. Rajamannar, the Chief Justice of Madras made some observations which all sincere music lovers should ponder over. He referred to the uniqueness of Thyagaraja's kritis and to the irrelevance of bringing in language controversy in music.

There have been bhaktas before Thyagaraja and there will be many in this land of bhaktas, said Mr. Rajamannar. But the Saint of Tiruvayyar was unique. He spread the message of bhakti through mellifluous music. He occupied a place in the history of South Indian music similar to that of Shakespeare in English literature and of Kalidasa in Sanskrit literature. An interesting aspect of Thyagaraja's compositions was that they portrayed the imposing and prolific

varieties of mood, situation, bhava, attitude, etc. In these days of doubt and lack of faith in God, the speaker added, it would be profitable to study the highly Vedantic approach in his kritis. Thyagaraja had conceived God as *Archa Avatara* as well as the *Nirguna Brahman*. While it was good to understand the Saint's compositions the speaker stressed that their appeal would not in the least be diminished even when rendered on instruments—violin or the veena. They were unique because their bhava was reflected in the music.

It was unfortunate, the speaker continued, that an unnecessary controversy over language should have crept into the realm of music. Were they not trying to learn Hindi as a national language? They could similarly make an effort to learn a little Telugu and study the Saint's compositions. After all it was not so difficult to learn the language,

Mr. Rajamannar declared. He (a Telugu man) had himself learnt some Tamil to understand Tamil songs. He urged everyone to study Thyagaraja's compositions and profit by them. The Saint's unique place in their music could never be disturbed.

A special message had been sent for the occasion by H. H. the Sree Sankaracharya of Kamakoti Peetam. In the course of the message, which was in Telugu, His Holiness said:

Sri Thyagaraja Swami sang his kritis in an easy and flowing style so as to be appreciated and enjoyed by devotees, endowed with an aesthetic sense. In several compositions of his the teachings of the Upanishads have been incorporated in such a way that even the layman can understand them clearly.

Just as a bee gathers honey from different flowers, Sri Thyagaraja brought out in his kritis the essence of various theories like Gnana, Karma, Yoga, Upasana and Bhakti, blending them all into one.

In the kriti "Gnanamosagarada" he propounds Advaita philosophy by proclaiming that 'He indeed is the Paramatma, Jivatma, the fourteen worlds, Nara, Kinnara, Kimpurasha and sages like Narada, etc.'

Again in the kriti "Bhaktuni Charitramu", he proclaims the unreality and impermanence of the material world as well as the oneness of Siva and Vishnu.

In Sri Thyagayya's kirtanas music is not the only thing that is to be enjoyed. As he says in the well-known kriti "Endaro Mahanubhavulu" songs should be sung with a spiritual realisation of the Almighty God. In the other kriti "Adikadu" he stresses the importance of single-minded devotion and condemns all cant and hypocrisy.

Again in the kriti "Inthakanna Anandamemi" he stresses while singing the praise of Sri Hari, one should forget oneself and identify oneself completely with the Lord.

In the song "Kaddanuvuriki" he explains how devotees should sing. Foregoing their sleep, they will sing with all sincerity to the accompaniment of a thambura maintaining the purity of swaras. Finally, in the kriti "Sangithasastramu Bhakti Vina" he has categorically said that music devoid of bhakti is useless.

Earlier bhaktas like Jayadeva, Narayana Thirtha, Sarngadeva, Purandaradasa and Ramadasa have all said that the aim of music is to praise the

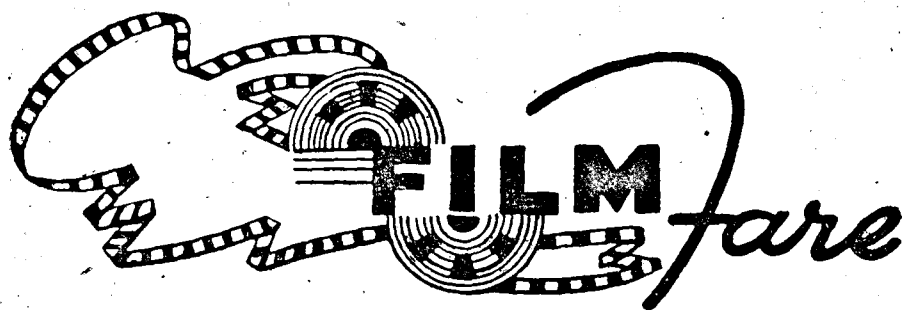
Lord and to serve as a vehicle for the spread of devotion and bhakti. Sri Thyagaraja followed their example.

Having been initiated into Taraka Mantra Sri Thyagaraja was able to churn the mighty ocean of bhakti with his great devotion. He not only enjoyed the nectar of Brahmananda to his own heart's content but also gave it to others who sought it. Those who sing his songs should know the meaning of the words, enter into the spirit of the songs and while enjoying the supreme bliss themselves should also make others share it. That is the only way in which we can show our gratitude to Sri Thyagaraja.

Mrs. and Mr. S. Parthasarathi rendered some rare kritis of Thyagaraja on the veena and violin. Their list included the following: "Samiki Sari" (Begada), "Nadatanum" (Chittaranjani), "Oorake Galguna" (Sahana), "Evaritho" (Manavathi), "Varalanduko" (Gurjari), "Paramatmudu" (Vagadeeswari), "Rama Rama" (Chenchurati) and "Poola Panpu" (Ahiri).

The portrait (copy on the cover page) which had been donated to the Students' Association of the College by Mr. Srirangam Sundaram Aiyar (Krishnaswami Aiyar of the Airport Sorting Office, Meenambakkam) had been specially drawn by Mr. S. Rajam of A. I. R. It significantly carries an inset of the Vimana of Sree Ranganatha Swami of Srirangam. Thyagaraja has devoted several kritis to the praise of this deity and makes references to Him in numerous other compositions too. Thyagaraja's *ishta daiva* was Sri Rama who, it is said, worshipped Sri Ranganatha. In his Arabhi kriti 'Joothamu Rare' he refers to Sri Ranganatha as 'Seethapathi Poojyutata'.

Let us all understand the full meaning and purpose of his kritis and sing them. That is the only homage we can offer to him. Even at the Samadhi at Tiruvayyar there is no point in singing *swaras* and *ragas* to show off one's erudition or cleverness. The annual function, as the late Bangalore Nagarathnammal had pointed out, is an "Aradhana" which must never be mixed up with a "concert". Musicians as well as music lovers go on a pilgrimage to this sacred place on the Bahula Panchami day to offer their homage. Let us not forget the purpose of the occasion.



By V. P. SATHE

THE censorship rules are being amended, in reality they are being made more rigid and strict. The demand for script is understandable; but the demand for copy would involve an additional cost of over 1,000 rupees. Similarly the five-year limit would mean that after every five years, the producers would have to pay the exorbitant censor fee. At least a provision should have been made that no fresh fee would be levied on pictures re-censored after the expiry of the five-year term. This clause would force all distributors to secure the rights only for five years.

There is apparently nothing wrong with empowering district magistrates to seize copies of pictures exhibited in any form other than certified; but a provision should be made to make an allowance for the cuts caused during the wear and tear of the print. Also, a provision should be made to allow the producer to delete any portion to curtail length or heighten the tempo of the picture. How often the producer realizes after the picture has been shown to the public that some song or some portion of the film is dragging; how often re-editing has helped the picture to become successful. Now under the new law, the producer cannot exhibit the re-edited copy unless it is shown to the censors and they approve of it. It is a long process and rather ruinous from the business point of view. I know the case of a picture which improved beyond recognition after re-editing; but the poor producer could not screen the re-edited copy in Bombay for the first two weeks, with the result that the business in Bombay was poor while it did very well at

other places. In such cases, the censors should be liberal or at least they must be ready to see the re-edited pictures immediately so that there is no delay due to them.

In other words, while the offenders should be punished, the rules of censorship should be adhered to more in spirit than letter. The other changes in the set-up of board and panel are a matter of convenience. But these changes do not suggest any improvement for the producers.

Picture Of The Week

Every province or nation has its most cherished heroes. The Maharashtra has two heroes—Shivaji and Tilak. Both these leaders are so revered that one dare not utter a single word of criticism against them.

Shivaji is almost considered to be an incarnation of God. Though several pictures on incidents from his life and times have been made in Marathi, the first attempt to produce a biography in both Hindi and Marathi is made by Bhal G. Pendharkar in his latest creation *Chattrapati Shivaji* now released all over India.

In fifteen thousand and odd feet, the picture which Bhalji at the outset describes as a humble offering of a devotee to his deity traces the life of Shivaji from his birth in 1627 (or is it 1630?) to the crowning ceremony as Chatrapati in 1674. It covers many well-known historical incidents like the killing of Afzal-khan, the martyrdom of Baji Prabhu who fought the enemy at the cost of his life in a narrow pass till Shivaji reached safely his destination, the release of Subedar's daughter-in-law, the running away of Shahistekhan, the invasion of South by Mirza Raja

Jaisingh, the meeting of Shivaji with Aurangzeb and his dramatic escape from Agra and finally his coronation. There is no dramatic link between all the episodes; but Shivaji and his mission of life to free Maharashtra from the rule of Adilshahi and, later, Moghuls provides that vital link.

In presenting these incidents, Pendharkar has taken care not to colour history with his imagination. He has observed remarkable restraint in avoiding controversial issues. Yet he has invoked the wrath of two opposite groups. One group calls his picture "communalist" and the other blames him for secularizing Shivaji and ruining the dramatic force of the narrative.

This is not the place to analyse the historic role of Shivaji. Did he fight the Muslim rulers because they were Muslims or because they were foreigners, tyrants who persecuted the people and their religion? Nationalism has often taken religious colour; the nationalism of Shivaji also was coloured with religious sentiments—hence he was called *Hindu-pad Padshah*. But it is on record that Shivaji had no quarrel with Muslims; he respected their religion as is evident from the fact that he did not destroy a single Masjid, he had Muslims in his army and he reprimanded his own people when the Muslim daughter-in-law of Kalyan's Subedar was brought before him and sent her back with honour. All these facts are stressed by Bhalji in the picture, and yet he has not been able to get rid of his religious complex completely. The rhetoric use of words like *Dharma*, *Maharashtra*, *Maratheshahi*, *Hindu Pad padshah* has a very jarring effect, especially in the Hindi version. It is because of some dialogues in which Shivaji or rather Ramdas is made to utter Bhalji's own political ideology that critics allege "communalism" in the picture.

This apart, the picture is comparatively free from prejudice. It has some points in its favour. Though not very spectacular, there is an air of authenticity which creates the correct historical atmosphere for the picture. Besides, the acting is generally good, especially that of Lalita

Pawar, who plays the role of Begum of Bijapur, of Jagirdar (Aurangzeb), Prithviraj (Mirza Raja Jaisingh) and Leela (Jeejabai). This however cannot be said about characterization. Bhalji has not tried to conceive each character as a human individual who develops according to changing circumstances. All his characters are static; that is specially true of Shivaji.

There is no effort at building up his character from childhood in any psychological manner. Therefore Shivaji does not emerge as a character. He is just a super-man who does no wrong, commits no mistake, knows no defeat. It is nowhere shown how and why he fought the Adilshahi and the Moghuls. True, it was his mother who inspired him to fight for freedom. But how did he gather the support of the people and form a guerilla army? The essentially human and interesting part of his character is brought out only in couple of situations; for the rest he is rather an impersonal entity riding on horse to his pre-destined goal. This defeat is mainly due to idolation of Shivaji. Had Bhalji not been a devotee but just a dispassionate historian, he would have been able to create a more human and lovable Shivaji. As it is, he is just a chronicler of great deeds of a great idol. Sometimes he does invest dramatic intensity in his narration which otherwise flows leisurely from one episode to another without leaving a deep impression behind. The fault also lies with the performance of Chandrakant. With a better artiste even this vague and impersonal Shivaji would have come to glowing life. But poor Chandrakant, he has failed to impart life to the greatest role of his career.

Technically also the picture is not upto the mark; especially its sound-recording is faulty. The music by C. Ramachandra is good, though it fails to be inspiring. He has not been able to exploit the *Pavada* and *Lavni* form fully. Lata makes a welcome appearance on the screen in the last song and wins applause. Baburao Pencharkar, Sureshnath, Vasantrao Pahlwan, Ranjana, Ratnamala, Vithal, Vanmala have all contributed their share to make *Shivaji* a star-studded fair.

Personality Of The Week

Some people, it is said, are born with a silver spoon in their mouths. Varying the adage, one must admit that Anil Biswas must have been born with music in his mouth.

Music comes to him most naturally. One look at him and you know that there is music in and around him. He is one of the most versatile music directors conversant with not only every *raga* and *shruti* but every symphony and composition of Western masters. His study of music is not only impressive, but astonishingly good—a qualification which very few of our music directors possess.

Anil is that rare person who has modern views and classical knowledge. Educated not only in music but in academical sense, Anil began his movie-career almost immediately after the introduction of talkie film. It was, however, as the music director of Mehboob's *Manmohan* that he first won fame. When I saw the picture and heard the then famous song *Tumhine Muzko Prem Sikhaya* I thought that Anil was just trying to imitate Raichand Boral.

But he was not just an imitator. He was a creator, and the first picture which struck me for his music was *Alibaba*. In this picture one could see his real genius in such compositions as *Hum, Tum Aur Ye Khushi*. In *Aurat* he reached his first pinnacle of glory; even now some of its tunes like *Kahe Karta Dar Barati* haunt the music lovers.

Anil for some time went into background only to emerge with greater glory in *Kismet*, the picture that was released ten years ago. Then followed *Pahli Nazar*, *Milan* and other pictures. Again with the Punjabi musical school dominating the films, Anil's sober and scintillating music went into background. His star began to wane and though he has been giving good music and has always a number of contracts to fulfil he is not rated as high as Naushad or Shanker or Jaikishen by the distributors.

That the pictures for which he gave music did not become jubilee hits is of course not his fault. But in every picture he has been giving at least a couple of memorable tunes, as in *Arzoo*, *Ladli*, *Aaram*, *Kamal-ke-*

phool, *Lajawab*, *Tarana*. No wonder, when Lata was asked to name her most favourite song she named *Tumhari Bulaneko Ji Chahata Hai* in *Ladli* and Anil as her most favourite music director.

Well-read, Anil has made a success of life; for that the credit is largely due to his charming and shrewd wife Asha. They have a house of their own in Bombay; their flat is decorated in artistic style and every Sunday people like Ramanand Sagar, Mahesh Kaul, Narendra Sharma gather for the recital of the *Ramayana*. Though Anil has never denied any material pleasures to himself, he is rather 'spiritual' in his outlook. One of his great ambitions is to compose a symphony on peace. Being busy with film-work, he has not been able to complete it.

Though Anil is known as a music director, it is not widely known that he sings—and sings beautifully. If you do not believe me, you can hear his voice and see him singing in *Mehmaan*. At the moment he is giving music for *Fareb*, *Akash*, *Jal-anwala Baag*, *Rahi* and a few other pictures. And he will continue to give music for many more pictures to come without becoming stale or out-of-date. For his music is always fresh and sweet drawing its inspiration from life and even. Dr. Keskar cannot find fault with it.

News Of The Week

—Nutan has replaced Nimmi in Sadiq's *Shabab* which stars Shammi Kapoor.

—On January 26 Talwar is launching two pictures. In one of them Madhubala and Shammi Kapoor will star in the lead; in another Dilip Kumar is the star. K. A. Abbas is launching *Munna* on the same day and Manmohan Sabir is performing the muhurat of *Sheeshe-ki-Deewar* starring Veena.

—Kashyap has announced *Vachan* and *Shirin Farhad* as his next pictures. He has added Begum Para to the cast of *Naya Ghar*.

—Andre Thomas, a French cameraman, has come to India and will work for Kishore Sahu who is making *Mayurpankh* in colour.

—Radha Karmakar, R. K. Films cameraman, returned last week. He will be in charge of photography of Raj Kapoor's *Ajanta*.

RATION AND RATIONALE

By V. SUBRAMANIAN

INTERVENING in the debate on food, Sir John Kotelawala, Leader of the House in the Ceylon Parliament, said: "The Indians can go back if they like." This sentence is quoted by the Ceylon Indian Congress in their statement on the Ceylon Government's new rationing policy. But Sir John made other interruptions as well which deserve equal notice. At one time he said: "Why should the Indians ask for rice when they were eating *chapaties* in India?" In the course of his reply to the debate, he talked about men from Madras who would not give a cup of tea to their own nationals but were interested in feeding illegal immigrants. When Mr. C. Suntheralingam, member for a constituency in Mannar area, took objection to this he replied cavalierly that he could wear the cap if it fitted him.

Sir John's outbursts, though they are often disowned by the party and sometimes by himself, indicate the working of the governing party's mind better than any statement by the Premier or the Ceylon High Commissioner in India. It will be worth while, therefore, to examine the statements and complaints to get at the basic facts.

By the middle of last year it became apparent that the food position of the island was not satisfactory though the Government would admit it only when the position became precarious. By that time it became clear that the foreign assets of the island were also declining and a lot of money was drained out of the island. The Government however continued to talk airily of continuing prosperity till the end of the budget session last year and came out all of a sudden with their story of no food and no foreign exchange. The situation could no more be camouflaged. But the Government had a scapegoat. There was the ever serviceable Indian illegal immigrant. Even the unsatisfactory position of the foreign assets due to fall in rubber prices and decline of foreign trade in general was blamed on the Indian

resident who sent money to India on his ration card. So the witch hunt began in all its fury. The fury was all the greater this time since the accumulated ineptitude of the new Government had to be vented on these imaginary or real scapegoats for the Government itself to escape criticism.

The new exchange regulations introduced from the beginning of December last year, capping the series of earlier regulations tightening up the sending of money to India, are only one side of the witch-hunt picture. At present only those who have got their passports can send a sum of Rs. 100 a month while a few months earlier any one having a ration card could send Rs. 250 a month to India. This system of course led to some abuses and the ration cards of all residents and nationals were freely used for this purpose. But even here the police later began to victimise a few estate labourers, letting off bigger gangs of Ceylonese as well as non-Ceylonese carelessly. But the new regulations, though they appear to be harmless, have led to quite a large amount of hardship. The new immigrants, who have their passports and residence permits, do not suffer much while the residents who came earlier than 1949 suffer heavily. Some of them can get a passport at the Indian High Commissioner's office but the postal authorities seem to have been instructed to recognize only those which have the residence permit superimposed on them. Residence permits at present are neither granted nor renewed except on impossible conditions. The fate, however, of the still earlier immigrants who have applied for citizenship is worse since legally they cannot get an Indian passport at all except at their own peril.

The ration muddle is another aspect of this hunt for scapegoats. The story in the chronological order of events would be on the following lines. By the end of last year the illegal immigrant scare had almost been overworked. Again there were complaints of wholesale disappea-

rance of ration books from the Food Controller's offices with consequent loss to the Government on food subsidies. (In Ceylon the subsidy on food is a main item of expenditure) This was followed by the revelation of the precarious food position of the island. Rice was available in foreign market but at such high prices that the Government could not pay them or payment was required in dollars which Ceylon did not have in sufficient quantities. The negotiations with China had just then started and the outcome could not be predicted. Hence a new effort was made first to completely check up all households in the island so that spurious ration books could be detected or nullified. But the secondary purpose of making a last effort to use the illegal immigrant scare was not lost sight of. Rumours were afloat that those who did not have ration books at all would be arrested as illegal immigrants put fright into the hearts of many genuine long-time Indian residents who either had not cared to get a ration book since rice was available in the free market or who could not get them because of lack of strict documentary evidence. In haste and fear these genuine residents also fled the country along with some real illegal immigrants.

The atmosphere seemed to be clear after the enumeration since the illegal immigrant scare had nearly died down and by that time the Government of Ceylon had wisely signed up the long term pact for the import of China rice. But the Government

sprung a surprise on the citizens and non-citizens alike when they announced that they were issuing the new series ration books only to citizens in the first instance and that the issue for long-term residents would be taken up later while for those who came after 1949 there would be no ration books at all. Let us examine this policy in the light of the statements of the Ceylon Government and the Ceylon Indian Congress leaders.

The Premier said that it was really unfortunate that ordinary administrative action to correct Ceylon's internal economic difficulties should be interpreted in India as an attempt to squeeze out as many people of Indian origin as possible. Ceylon had to cut down her expenditure on subsidies and as a first step it was said Ceylonese visiting Ceylon for temporary purposes and those who came to Ceylon after 1940, when the immigration laws came into operation, need not be given subsidized ration rice. From those who had come earlier proofs of residence were asked. These proofs need not be documentary.

According to the Premier's statement, non-citizens who wanted ration books had to produce proofs of residence before 1949. How impossible a task this was has been already proved in the case of the issue of residence permits to Indians and also in the disposal of citizenship applications. According to conservative estimates, 90 of the non-documentary proofs are rejected in the case of

applications for a residence permit and the documentary proofs asked for are well-nigh impossible for most of the poor Indian residents to produce. Hence the Premier's airy statement that all residents who came before 1949 would eventually get ration books on producing evidence of residence really hides a vista of official harassment that has been let loose so far in the field of granting residence permits and registered citizenship. There is little room for hope that the Food Controllers will be less drastic in demands of proof than the immigration authorities. Even granting that eventually all the genuine old time residents get their ration books the question remains when.

That indeed is a crucial question since one can exist without citizenship or residence permit for a time but not without food. The High Commissioner for Ceylon in India as well as the Ceylon Premier himself have once again said that non-rationed rice was available in the free market. Most Indians think that they could as well have been asked to eat cakes if there was no bread. Ever since the Government's ration policy was announced the price of rice in the free market has shot up from less than a rupee per measure to nearly one rupee and eight annas. As it is, if the unfortunate Indians who have not got their ration books are not quite rich (which they are not) they will have to starve partly or wholly in course of time. The Ceylon Indian Congress leaders, in a statement, have estimated that the number of people so affected is about three lakhs (fortunately the Indian labourers in the estates are for the present getting subsidized price through the estate grain shops) and that it will take at least six months for many of their claims to be scrutinised and ration books issued. Among these are also included many who have applied for citizenship and whose claims are awaiting disposal. Thus along with long term residents some would-be citizens, all to the

tune of three lakhs, will have to wait for an average of three months assuming that impossible proofs are not asked for to get rationed rice. Is it too much a stretching of language to call this as squeezing out?

The Ceylon High Commissioner in India has served his Government ill by his statement. He characterizes by implication all those who came after 1949 as illegal immigrants an appellation which will be resented by many who have come with residence permits after that date and for whom the Premier of Ceylon has promised ration books in his statement. If it is a genuine mistake it is a mistake which a Government which talks so much about establishing an information service in India can ill-afford to make. Secondly, he also tries to make out that the Government's policy is essentially to keep out illegal immigrants by starving them out. The facts are that long-time residents are denied ration rice for quite some time to come. In fact I understand that some registered citizens themselves, including a former M.P., are not in receipt of ration books. Lastly, making allegations that the Indian Press is full of misrepresentation in the first statement is not the best way of starting an information service in India.

It is true that as a result of official mismanagement many Ceylonese have also suffered. Funnily enough, the very enumerators who prepared the lists of householders and inpatients in hospitals on the enumeration day, are finding difficulty in getting ration. Many Ceylonese of Jaffna and Muslims are finding it difficult since their names are Indian. The Food Controller's office in Colombo is besieged by crowds of thousands every day. Many Ceylonese, including the leftist leader N. M. Perera, have criticised the Government policy. But the Ceylonese sufferers have some hope of redress soon. Over three lakhs of Indians however hangs a dangerous question mark.

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WALT DISNEY'S 'PETER PAN'

By L. JONES

FOR the first time, perhaps, in the 50-year history of Sir James Barrie's immortal play "Peter Pan," the title role is to be played by a boy. Or at least a boy's figure, which will speak with a boy's voice.

This is a revolutionary change in casting, despite the fact that the play deals with the story of "the boy who refused to grow up." Up to now, the role of Peter Pan has almost always been a feminine masquerade, from the earliest and unforgettable impersonations by Nina Boucicault and Maude Adams, down to the recent Broadway performance by Jean Arthur.

It is an odd but understandable fact that no producer attempts to cast a child in the leading role, for the very good reason that no child has ever been talented enough to interpret the role as Barrie wrote it. No man could do the part and still give the boyish illusion. Therefore, it had to become a feminine masquerade, but only for the greatest of actresses.

But now Peter Pan is to be portrayed by a boy's figure and a boy's voice, thanks to Walt Disney, who is bringing the great play to the screen as an animated, feature-length cartoon. Disney, who is not hampered by the physical stature or mental ability of players, has created the characters of "Peter Pan" as he believes children, as well as adults, have always envisaged them in their minds.

Disney, who built an entire industry out of a mouse, is certain that if Barrie were alive he would approve whole-heartedly of his interpretation.

"I believe," said Walt, "that if Barrie were alive today he would write his fantastic adventure in the Never Never Land directly for the screen. For this—particularly the animated cartoon—is the only me-

dium which can do real justice to the quality of his spirit and his talents."

No Tongue-in-Cheek

The famous cartoonist, who seems to understand the minds of children as well as Barrie did, claims the playwright frequently lamented the handicaps of the legitimate stage as far as "Peter Pan" was concerned. Throughout his life, he kept on devising new stage effects and tricks, adding and eliminating characters.

"But the play itself," said Disney, "always remained basically the same, bigger than the sum of all his effects. The basic idea was always larger than the props and stage tricks used by the playwright."

Disney, who is spending more than \$3,000,000 to produce "Peter Pan" as he thinks it should be done, admits

he has tremendous advantage over stage producers, and also over producers of live action movies.

"I can put my characters back into the ink bottle when I'm through with them," he laughed. "And tear them up and re-draw them when they fail to

please me. I have no temperament to deal with, and my actors have to do exactly what I say and can never argue back."

"Peter Pan" is no rush job. Walt and his staff have been working on the idea since 1940 and the picture itself has been in constant production for the last two years; the artists want to make sure that everything that goes into the cartoon is in keeping with Barrie's ideas, as well as with the changed conceptions of modern times.

Disney is very much aware that "Peter Pan" is a story and play that has captivated the hearts and memories of men, women and children in every country for 50 years. He knows he dare not take liberties with the basic idea. But he also felt

it was time it was produced as a children's fantasy. He knew, too, that he must not patronize children, "who still are able to see beyond earth-bound realities."

"There must be no tongue-in-cheek," he warned his artists, for he felt that any sign of pretence would destroy the flavour of the play for adults.

"In planning our cartoon feature," Disney explained, "we felt we must first get at the mind of the man who wrote it. We had to get at and understand Barrie's motivation for no-story-teller ever more closely identified himself with his works than this Scottish-born novelist and playwright."

Disney says he and his staff agreed that the keynote of "Peter Pan" was in Barrie's own conviction that "nothing of importance ever happens to us after we reach the age of 12." This was linked, thinks Disney, with Barrie's wistful lament, so often expressed by him: "Oh, that we might be boys and girls all our lives."

The cartoonist believes it is the linking of what people dream about in their youth and what they have to live with in maturity that gives this story of "the boy who refused to grow up" its power to stir the heart and imagination. In short, it is nostalgia, the memories of boyhood happiness that keep coming through the less imaginative years of adulthood and middle age, that helps mankind to carry on. For this reason, Disney hopes to recapture youth for all adults in his version of "Peter Pan", but still keep it a fantasy of children and their youthful joy.

Barrie's Own Notes Used

"Here was a story, it seemed to me," said Walt, "that had never been quite fulfilled, despite its fabulous success on the stage, and once before on the screen. This was a story that deserved, really demanded, the added dimension of the animated cartoon."

Disney's cartoon "Peter Pan" is all boy, but with the vigour and sturdiness to handle believably the villainies of the sinister Captain Hook, Smee, and their fellow-pirates.

For Peter Pan's voice, Disney is using Bobby Driscoll, while Kathryn Beaumont, young English child actress who did a similar job in "Alice in Wonderland," will provide Wendy's voice.

Disney has been able to give life to a character that heretofore has been nothing more than the flash of a spotlight on the stage. This is Tinker Bell.

"Our Tinker Bell," said Disney proudly, "will glow like firefly as she darts through space on her mischievous errands, and she will also speak with the sound of bells."

Walt says he needed no stage wires or other props to lift Peter and Wendy and their friends in flight across the rooftops to the Never Never Land. A stroke or two of the pencil and they were flying.

Things and characters that were never seen in the stage version will now come to life in gay colours and sprightly fashion in this cartoon version. In the Never Never Land lagoon, for instance, sleek little mermaids will splash and play as they never could on a dry-land stage. The Indians will whoop and dance far beyond the limits of stage footlights, while the crocodile with the ticking clock will come to life to delight everyone.

While the cartoon characters in "Peter Pan" are traditional Disney types, the cartoonist himself feels that Barrie left a lot of leeway in how they should be interpreted. He and his staff did a great deal of research on the story and play before they began work on the production itself. Disney was able to get hold of Barrie's own play notations and stage directions, which were pencilled in by the author during rehearsals for both the London and New York performances.

"These notes," he said, "gave us more insight into what he had in mind and what he wanted to achieve in his play than the actual dialogue and scene descriptions. After reading them, I felt we had plenty of leeway."

Making a cartoon feature like "Peter Pan" is more than simply animating a number of rough drawings. The production had to be

designed so that everything was in harmony from start to finish. After all the characters were drawn and approved—and Disney admits it took hundreds of attempts before he was completely satisfied—the background for each scene had to be designed and drawn to fit the plot and action.

When the first rough draft was approved, it then had to be cleaned up and drawn over again from start to finish. The final draft consisted of 107,000 separate drawings. These had to be linked in and then painted, before they were photographed.

Walt Is Nervous About It

Actually, according to Disney, there were more than 1,000,000 separate drawings made for this one feature. Following the camera work, music had to be composed to fit the mood of each sequence and then dubbed in, along with the voices of the various characters.

While this is the first animated cartoon, it is not the first movie version of "Peter Pan". Back, in 1925 Paramount produced the first motion picture based on the famed Barrie fantasy, with Betty Bronson playing the title role.

The play itself was first produced in London, at the Duke of York theatre, in 1904, and was an immediate hit, though Barrie was fearful that the "gallery gods" would howl derisively at such a deliberately blatant fairy tale, and kill it before it was even launched. Instead, to

Barrie's amazement, the tough gallery (gods) goers of London were the first to accept the play and its content and literally shout their belief in fairies. London's cynical drama critics were delighted with the fantasy, and so "Peter Pan" survived and has gone on to make theatrical history.

Children were not brought to see "Peter Pan" for several days after it had opened but the youngsters accepted it even more eagerly than had the adults. Barrie had somehow achieved the miraculous—a play that had appeal for both children and adults.

Disney is understandably nervous about his version of "Peter Pan" and the reaction of children of this age, with its greater sophistication, its television, radio and movies. But Walt has great faith in children. After all, his entire enterprise, his vast studio, his fame, to say nothing of his wealth, is built on his faith in children and his ability to understand their minds sufficiently to give them the kind of entertainment that seems to delight them, no matter what race or nationality they might be, or what language they speak. Mickey Mouse, Donald Duck and the rest of the weird and delightful Disney characters are universal in their appeal.

Disney is sure that every child believes in fairies, even in this atomic age. He's gambling \$3,000,000 that they do.

In the Soviet Union the national income belongs to the working people. It is distributed in the following manner:

One part (about a quarter) goes for the further expansion of production and for setting up material reserves. The remainder (approximately three-quarters) is used for the personal needs of the working people, for increasing their well-being.

In 1950, the national income was distributed as follows: 74 per cent to satisfy the personal material and cultural needs of the people; 26 per cent remained at the disposal of the socialist State for the further extension of production. The proportion was similar in 1951.

What made up the three-quarters of the national income which in 1950 went to satisfy the personal needs of the people?

This figure includes wages and salaries received by factory workers and other employees and the incomes (from workday units) of collective farmers. It includes the money spent by the Government on social maintenance, social insurance, on universal free education and medical services and on other cultural services and amenities.

Thus, in 1950, cash payments and various benefits received by the population from the State amounted to more than 120,000 million roubles, or three times the 1940 figure. In 1951 they amounted to 125,000 million roubles.—TASS.

TAMIL WRITERS

By S. RAJAGOPALAN

THE Tamil Writers Conference, which was convened in the City last week, was a very stimulating assemblage both for what it discussed and still more for what it promises to perform in the future towards rehabilitating Tamil and Tamil writing. If the deliberations lead eventually to the establishment of a regular Academy of Writers somewhat on the model of the Madras Music Academy then the conference would have done the greatest service both for the Tamil writers and Tamil literature. Twenty-five years ago music in South India was very much in the condition in which Tamil writers are at present. The musicians were disorganised, the audiences were helpless and the patrons too elusive and few, but thanks to the Music Academy vast progress has been achieved, order and discipline have been initiated and the art and its votaries have stood to gain enormously, scotching un-musical tendencies like the "Tamil songs" movement in Madras. Likewise one hopes that the harmful and fissiparous growths (one very gladly noticed no signs of them at the conference) which have so far impeded the development of Tamil, will vanish and that the language itself which by the way is the oldest amongst regional dialects will take its place side by side with English, Hindi and Telugu, in the richness of its content and achievement.

English language occupies today a commanding position in the world. No language in the annals of human achievement and speech has attained such distinction and celebrity. Its place as the only vehicle of communication amongst the various countries in the world, is assured at present and indeed for centuries to come. Now what is the secret of its success and popularity and to whom are the laurels due? Assuredly to the writers, the English writers and authors who down through the ages have made the language flexible and mellifluous and intelligible to the scholar as well as the man in the

street. A major portion of its literature is still classical literature, and although new books, new ideas and even new spelling, have been arriving by the million, respect for the classics has not dimmed. They are the best sellers and even in a recent world Gallop poll of 20 best books, they were assigned an honoured place. Indeed even in regard to the dry-as-dust-professional education for the lawyers, Sir Norman Birkett, lecturing in Canada recently, required young men qualifying for a career at the bar, to have a good grounding of both the Bible and Shakespeare. Classical literature is available at rock bottom prices and is well edited and published. What is more, the greatest care is exercised in the selection of books for young men and children. No professor or politician comes in the way and thrusts up his own productions. Egoism and prejudice are fatal to the growth of any literature; and an author who exhibits his own books, advertises his own essays and stories, and songs, is an enemy to progress. Writers in India, especially in Tamil Nad, have to steer clear of both these evils.

Tamil is the oldest language in India and that should suffice. Writers need not measure swords with Samskrit or demur to its antiquity and superiority. They should also remember the golden age of Tamil was when such antagonism to Samskrit was conspicuous by its absence. Even assuming that Tamil is a separate dialect unaffected by Samskrit, which however is extremely doubtful, having regard to the high preponderance of Samskrit words even in spoken Tamil, still Tamil writers cannot afford to denounce Samskrit and pay homage to English, and allow their compeers in Telugu, Canarese and Malayalam to steal a march over them.

Pure literature is of transcendent worth. The pen is really mightier than the sword or the sceptre. As a Tamil saying puts it, a king is honoured in his country but an

author everywhere and we may add in every age. A writer is an instrument of destiny; as the President of the conference said, writing is a *Yoga Sadana*, rather a *Karma Yoga Sadana*. A writer produces his own mental reactions to his surroundings and he little realises the implications of his products. Shakespeare, it is said, intended a few of his dramas for the delectation of his colleagues in the Inns of Court; but they have become immortal. When Tolstoy wrote his stories and Ruskin his "Unto the Last", little could they have dreamt that they would become the turning point in the life of the greatest man of the world. Nor could the author of Uncle Tom's Cabin have visualised that he would be paving the way for the abolition of slavery. It is no exaggeration to say that nearly all movements making for the happiness of human beings and the mitigation of suffering have had their origin in some forcible pleading in a writing. It was an article by Lord Shaw of Dumferlinne which moved Andrew Carnegie to release his millions for the uplift of humanity. Tamil writers must realise the value of these experiences.

It is a debatable point whether the style of modern Tamil writing should be classical or spoken. Tamil prose in the classics and even in certain modern writings which seek to avoid Samskrit terms is ornate and unintelligible to the common man. The move towards simplicity in prose and verse was initiated by Bharati and followed up by Mahamahopadhyaya Swaminatha Iyer in the latter phase of his career and in recent times by Rajaji, P. Sambanda Mudaliar, and Dr. T. S. S. Rajan. The writing should be free, elegant and pleasant; but yet should not violate grammar and syntax. As Valmiki put it so strikingly, it should subserve the rules of "samasa" and "sandhi"; at the same time it should be "mathuram" (pleasant).

Fiction writers are guided by no fixed rules as those of other arts and sciences; in fact the widest latitude is permitted in England and America in the choice of themes. Any fetters in that direction will kill initiative and imagination. At the same time when one has to advise Tamil writers who are comparatively late

entrants in the field, certain inhibitions are called for. In the past, Tamil fiction was largely if not solely translations of English, Bengali and Hindi novels, but since fillip was given to the writers by the phenomenal growth of short-story magazines, creative fiction in Tamil has come by its own, and like its auxiliary the cinema, is definitely forging ahead. It is however necessary to call attention to a few unwholesome tendencies. Tamil writers have now a very large audience of young men and old, women and even children. Care should be taken to see that this is not exploited for undesirable ends. Not infrequently does one come across sexy stories in Tamil, an evil which made even the Kamakoti Sankaracharya once to interdict the reading of stories in certain magazines. If anything is alien to the culture of Tamil Nad it is this type of fiction which is pornographic rather than portrayal of human emotions. Novels of Somerset Maugham and Graham Greene might interest European readers, but they are not models for Tamil writers. As a speaker at the conference put it so admirably, every writer of a story or a drama must realise that his wife, sister and daughter would be reading it.

Nothing is so galling as poverty, but it seems almost a concomitant of genius and learning. The Johnsons and the Goldsmiths abound in plenty in every country, and the Tennysons and the Wordsworths are rarities. Even in India poverty and neglect have been the writer's fate in recent times. A writer like Sarat Chandra Chatterjee had to suffer from both. In his life-time people with money would go in for English fiction, and people without it, it is said, did not buy his books. Authors like Shaw or Maugham, who can build up spiral fortunes, are very rare in India. In Madras, a venerable Pandit who brought out the only available verbatim translation of the Mahabharata had to eat out his heart in misery. The experiences of both Bharati and K. S. Venkataramani are too recent to be forgotten. A system must be devised which would enable the author and his children to reap the fruits of his labours. The Cooperative Publishing House scheme

which the President adumbrated, it a very good idea and may even come in handy to help the author or his family in distress, without loss of self-respect, which sending a hat round necessarily entails.

No good writing need suffer for want of a market but it is a patent fact that in South India sales are in inverse proportion to the quality of the material. Schools and colleges offer vast possibilities of circulation, but the entire machinery is under the control of powerful interests which cannot be easily displaced. A writers' academy must build up public opinion against impediments to the free flow of valuable literature.

Tamil speaking and writing have

now attained a high degree of efficiency and it is so pleasing to come across good writing, good stories and good ideals. Younger writers, both men and women, are contributing no mean share. There is no reason why they should not compare favourably with their prototypes in England and America. A few pitfalls are here and there and can be avoided. What is required is a happy synthesis of both the classical and the modern or progressive ideas. Let them not, as Kalidasa warned us, worship all things ancient simply because they are ancient: at the same time let them not discard our precious heritage, for literature without a classical background will be just like a rudderless ship in uncharted seas.

THREATENED EXTINCTION OF MAN

By S. P. MISRA

IN the Psychology and Educational Science Section of the Fortieth Indian Science Congress, Prof. Jamuna Prasad spoke on resolution of psychological conflicts between groups within nations which may resolve conflicts between nations. He referred to individual conflicts but emphasised group conflicts, group-involvements, including caste and provincial involvements.

Prof. Prasad subscribes to the idealist error of Freud and Jung in believing all individual and group conflicts to be unhealthy, disease processes. Of equal fundamental importance is the neglect of the menace of the existence of groups or classes to progressive human evolution—to the survival of man.

Healthy Conflicts

One of the leading American psychiatrists, Dr. Karl Bowman, Langley Porter Clinic, University of California School of Medicine, in an address to the American Psychiatrist Association, recommended the term "mental disorder" to cover all mental illnesses—"mild," "moderate" and "severe." He commended a committee which had eliminated the terms

"mental deficiency" and "psychopathic personality" from the standard of nomenclature of diseases. He said "neurosis," "psychosis" and "psycho-neurosis" had no scientific basis and psychiatrists did not agree as to what precisely they meant.

Bowman's recommendation is superficially correct. There is indeed no dividing line between neurosis and insanity. The distinction lies in the path taken to resolve the conflict involved. Neurotic conflict is between life and reality, between desire and environment. It is real and healthy. Followers of Freud and Jung are wrong in assuming that it is a pathological product of civilization and which can only be removed by destroying civilization itself.

The neurotic conflict constitutes life and produces everything we value—clothes, houses, sports, arts, sciences, philosophy, ethics, political forms.

Disease Processes

The healthy neurotic conflict changes man through art, and nature through science. It is the very basis of civilization, progress and freedom. It is healthy if in terms of the popu-

lar, social, impersonal, unhealthy, and diseased if in terms of the personal, individual.

Jung's distinction between extraversion, valuation of the object, and introversion, valuation of the subject, is generally correct. Healthy thought links introversion and extraversion, theory and practice. But society is the only means of realising individuality.

A person, suffering from a neurotic conflict between the sordid reality and desire for greatness, extols his people, country in verse, may be a poet by being popular, by voicing the desire of his people. He resolves the conflict impersonally in social terms. But if he resolved it personally by posing as Napoleon, King of America, Emperor of China, he is insane.

Similarly, due to a like conflict, a person altering reality for social benefit, is a scientist. But if, instead, he alters himself taking his own body as an external reality, he is a hysteric, cyclothymic insane, may grow tumours, fat tissues, develop total or partial paralysis.

Class Consciousness

As with individual subjective-objective conflicts, so with classes or groups in society. As with individual resolution of the conflict, one healthy, the other unhealthy, so with classes. One class resolves the conflict in a healthy, socially progressive manner, the other in a retrograde, socially destructive manner.

The struggle for existence, against Nature, necessitated specialisation of functions, the origin of classes, groups, castes. In the struggle for existence by each group developed a struggle between groups or classes. There were no classes in primitive communes. They originated in the development of agricultural civilizations. Specialist workers, leaders of fellow-tribesmen, became owners of slaves, and so landlords and serfs, capitalists and workers.

Prof. Prasad believes in R. Center's contention that "class consciousness is not a psychological reality in the functional sense, unless the members have common interests and outlook are aware of the hostility of its interest to those of other classes. It may therefore be designated as the feeling of group-relations."

In other words, "group-relations" are one thing and "class consciousness" another. "Group-relations", are a psychological reality, "class consciousness" is not, but may be if members have common interests and outlook opposed to that of other classes. We believe this is but a poor attempt to deny Marxist class consciousness and warfare.

Man His Own Enemy

Human consciousness is dynamic, creative perception of reality, the reality he alters with preconceived aims to suit himself. Animal perception is passive. Animal activity is instinctive, in behaviour patterns. The human is conscious activity. For instance, the earth, sun, water, stones, bones and sinews of animals eaten elicit passive responses from animals, but the prehistoric man could make pottery, weapons, then houses of sun-baked bricks, and a multitude of things from these and other materials.

Conscious, economically productive activity in a class society acquires class characters—class consciousness. To the slave-owner slaves are chattel as any material for production. So is workers' labour time to capitalists. There is a difference and hostility between the "consciousness" of exploiters and the exploited.

Like the individual insane's diseased course to privacy out of conflict, so the capitalist class asserts the righteousness of private enterprise—production for private profit, not for social consumption. Capitalist class "consciousness" is really unconsciousness—not exploitation and mastery of nature for social benefit.

Mass Frustration

The workers, on the other hand, are first conscious of the necessity to earn wages. But it does not resolve the conflict for the working class. It is realised eventually that for the working class as a whole resolution of the conflict lies in end to exploitation alone, not in its replacement or change of form. So soon as exploitation ends there is inevitably production for consumption in general—social production. Working class consciousness is factual, healthy course to resolution of conflict.

The individual insane suffers from suppression of personality. So do artists and scientists. But the diseased course out of frustration is privacy, the healthy course is the biologically possible, socially beneficial. Capitalist production suppresses both capitalist and workers' individuality and creates conflict ultimately destroying the capitalist class.

Capitalists' individuality suffers suppression from greater subjectivity, recourse to pleasures, introspection without realisation of theories into practice, apathy to and separation from social needs—the path to psychasthenic neurosis and schizophrenic insanity.

Working class individuality suffers suppression in denial of needs, loss of freedom (inadequate food—no freedom from hunger), condemnation to druggery, separation from thought, the diseased resource to hysteric neurosis and cyclothymic insanity.

Conflicts Resolved

Adler correctly saw the way capitalism eventually strangles individuality. "In a civilization," wrote Adler, "where one man is the enemy of the other—for this is what our whole industrial system means—demoralisation is ineradicable, for demoralisation and crime are the by-products of the struggle for existence as known to our industrialised civilization."

"Industrial civilization" produces an abundance of commodities and facilities, enough to satisfy most of a variety of needs of all individuals. Food, clothes, education, health, aesthetic satisfaction, are all produced and sold for profit, not for consumption, and so not available to the majority. There is suppression and denial of individuality.

Adler's analysis is correct, but his remedy is impractical and inadequate. "To limit and do away with

this demoralisation," thought Adler, "a chair of curative pedagogy be established!"

We have briefly indicated the conflict in the individual, the healthy and diseased courses in resolution: the conflict between classes, the healthy and diseased courses to resolve it. Social orientation is the only healthy course for individuals and social production (for consumption), a classless society, for people as a whole.

Biological Results

Of equal importance is the biological consequence of existence of classes. It promises extinction of human intelligence and return to barbarism.

Intelligence tests among school-children show the professionals (specialist workers) rate highest, the rich next, the poor last. The poor are at a disadvantage. In the rich, despite educational advantages, practice is divorced from theory. The professional class of necessity combines theory and practice, suffers less from the inhibiting disadvantages of the poor.

Now, the most intelligent professional class has the lowest birth rate in all countries as they limit families—the poor do not as it makes no appreciable difference to their poverty. In the deepening of insecurity, pauperisation of the professional class, with development of capitalism, the professional and poorer classes are compelled to further limit families or to have none. In India the exhortation to limit families applies only to the conscientious, most intelligent professional class with an incentive to do so.

It means that in every succeeding generation there are fewer and fewer intelligent persons left. If the process continues uninterrupted long enough, people in class societies will revert to barbarism.—Copyright.

The political parties that I would call great, are those which cling more to principles than to consequences; to general, and not to special cases; to ideas, and not to men. Such parties are usually distinguished by a nobler character, more generous passions, more genuine convictions, and a more bold and open conduct than others.

—DE TOCQUEVILLE.

ASIAN SOCIALIST CONFERENCE: A SURVEY

By A Special Correspondent

RANGOON: The measure of success achieved by the Asian Socialist Conference varies with the yardstick employed to assess its utility. If the agenda which the Steering Committee placed before the Conference is taken as a fair statement of the tasks awaiting the Asian Socialists, then the Conference is a total success, for it not only considered at length all the items on the agenda but also expressed itself on them with a large measure of unanimity.

If, on the other hand, a different assessment of the problems confronting the Conference is made and the Conference is depicted as having evaded them or failed to clarify its stand on them, then the judgment will differ.

When the Prime Minister of Burma, U Nu, told us at a press conference on the last day of the Conference (U Nu is not a member of the Burma Socialist Party but is only a member of the United Front in which the Socialists dominate) that it was a great success he was looking at it from the essentially political angle. This was the first Conference of Asian Socialists and, therefore, its primary task was to achieve co-ordination among the Asian Socialists and to try to evolve a common language for Socialists all over Asia.

These are not small tasks, for the different parties represented here are more heterogeneous in their outlook and approach to problems, national as well as international, than are any two rival parties in any of the Asian countries. There are liberals, radicals and crypto-Communists among them. Therefore, to find the greatest common measure of agreement among these parties and to evolve, on that basis, a common policy for Asian Socialists is not a small achievement.

Secondly, conferences of this kind generally give rise to a spasm of emotion which exhausts itself in be-

ing felt. Six years ago, Pandit Nehru convened the Asian Relations Conference at New Delhi, where resurgent Asia was said to have taken stock of its common problems. But the Asian co-ordination which was evidenced at the Conference could not be canalised into concrete forms through a permanent organisation. Here, at Rangoon, a forward step was taken in this direction by setting up a permanent machinery for Asian Socialist co-ordination. While the Delhi conference was held totally on the liberal plane, at Rangoon the liberals' natural aversion for action was overcome.

No doubt, there are several equally important problems which the Conference did not tackle. Some of them even figured during the discussions among the delegates but prudence compelled them to put off final decisions on them. The question of recognition of Israel was one of them. Though there was nothing wrong in Socialists recognising the State of Israel which is building itself up in the social democratic way, the Asian section of the Conference would not have tolerated such a decision. The representatives of Egypt and the Lebanon kept away from the later part of the Conference proceedings because the Israeli delegate was taking part in them. This ripple on the surface did not in any way mar the work of the Conference which went on as usual, but it brought to the fore a major tension eating at the vitals of Asian solidarity. It also exhibited a mentality, more Asian than Socialist, which would refuse to breathe the air which the adversary would take in.

Jayaprakash Narayan, in his personal capacity, tried in vain to ease this tension, if not on the larger Arab-Jew plane at least between the delegates attending the Conference. If the Credentials Committee of the Conference had not been so soft in dealing with parties like the

Egyptian Socialist Party (according to Ahmed Hussain, the General Secretary of the Egyptian Socialist Party, the party's activities have been now suspended because Gen. Neguib is doing what the Socialist Party wanted to do) the unpleasant incident could have been avoided. Similarly, informal efforts to bridge the left-right gulf inside the Japanese Social Democratic Party did not meet with success.

One of the most significant achievements of the Conference, as the Burmese Prime Minister explained, is in laying down a set of common Objectives and Principles of Socialism. Hitherto, the Burmese and the Indonesian Socialists have been fond of talking the Marxian jargon; the Burmese party is also patterned on the Leninist principle of Democratic centralism, which Socialists generally agree, is a negation of party democracy. Though fighting the Communists in their respective countries, both the Indonesian and Burmese Socialists have been professing friendship for Soviet Russia and China. They have been so naive as to believe that the Cominform is not responsible for the activities of the Communists in their countries. In Japan, the left-wingers have been adopting a political line which is identical to that of Communist fellow-travellers all over the world.

The rest of the parties—the Indian Praja Socialist Party, the Israeli Mapai Party, the Pan Malayan Labour Party and the right-wing Social Democratic Party of Japan, follow an almost identical policy towards Cominform communism which they consider to be the inspirer of the activities of the Communists in their respective countries.

Out of this disparity of outlook was evolved a unity of approach on this important issue. The Declaration of Objectives and Principles of Socialism was unequivocal in rejecting not only capitalism and Cominform (or totalitarian) Communism but also Communist methods of achieving a Socialist form of society. This is a bold declaration of faith and will in course of time bring about uniformity of approach and outlook among the Asian Socialists.

Borrowing Marx's direct and vigorous style, the draftsmen of the Declaration of Objectives and Principles of Socialism, who include Jayaprakash Narayan, Seetan Sjahrir and U Kyaw Nyien (pronounced Chou Nin), the strong man of the Burmese Socialist Party, prepared an exhaustive and thorough statement, which was unanimously adopted by the Conference at the plenary session on January 15. The declaration traced the growth of capitalism in the west and the simultaneous development of the socialist and labour movements. It then described how the progressive intervention of the State in economic life made political democracy more meaningful to the people in some of the capitalist countries and how capitalist democracy degenerated into fascism in some other countries. Referring to the reaction against capitalism and capitalist society, the Declaration added unequivocally: "The reaction against capitalism and capitalist society assumed different forms. The Socialist movement split into two: Communism and Democratic Socialism.....The essence of Democratic Socialism is the striving to attain greater happiness, justice and dignity, and the fullest chance of self-expression for the human being. In seeking to end exploitation of class by class and of man by man, socialism recognises man both as an integral part of a class or group and as a human individual. It therefore avoids totalitarian forms of government and methods of mass coercion.....Under the Soviet system, State power imposes absolute domination and exacts blind obedience; obliterating himself as an abstract part of an all-powerful State in which only one will prevails. Communism, therefore, stands for the negation of all concepts of freedom, individual self-expression and genuine mass responsibility which are the very breath of Democratic Socialism."

On the economic plane, security of livelihood for all, elimination of unemployment, increase in national wealth and expansion of production with a view to bringing about an equitable distribution of national wealth and national income were laid down as the aims of Democratic

Socialism. For the achievement of these aims, planned production was insisted upon, the purpose of planning being to raise productivity, to abolish obsolete, irrational and unsuitable methods of production, to improve the technique of production in all fields, and to secure a rational utilisation of natural resources.

All these are common aims of Socialists all over the world, and there is nothing Asian about them. It is only in the paragraphs concerning the peasantry that the Asian approach manifests itself in a distinct form. This is the crux of Asian Socialist thought which is at pains to disown Marxist conception of proletarian hegemony. Again and again, this idea repeated itself during the Conference.

The Declaration says: "Socialism in Asia and in other under-developed countries must concentrate its special attention on the lot and the future of the peasant, whose urge towards improvement and progress is just as powerful as that of the worker, if not more so. The fact that most Asian countries are predominantly agricultural and that the peasant class forms an overwhelming proportion of their population must affect the entire character and trend of Asian Socialism. It is the fundamental principle of Socialism that land should be distributed among those who till it. Socialism considers the peasant entitled to public and State support. The improvement of the methods and tools of production and the general raising of the level of village life call for active attention and have a special bearing on the development of the technology of the small enterprise....."

According to the resolution on Economic Development of Asia, also adopted by the Conference, poverty of the Asian people limits the rate of development which, the situation demands, should be rapid. Therefore, it was suggested that the State must play a decisive role in accumulating savings, through revenue surpluses, and direct them in appropriate channels of investments. The emphasis on small-scale industries which do not require much capital is also in this context of Asian poverty

and the tardiness of capital formation.

The idea of a Third Force was projected in the resolution on Asia and World Peace! Though the categorical assertions contained in the earlier drafts on the subject submitted by the Indonesian and the Indian parties were ultimately watered down, the idea of non-involvement in the rivalries of the two power blocs found repeated expression at the Conference. Without mentioning the phrase 'Third Force', the resolution advocated that States, internationally independent, should "co-ordinate and unify their policies and lines of action both within and outside the United Nations, and to endeavour jointly to strengthen their position against the danger of aggression. In this way, it will be possible for the Asian countries to ensure sufficient room for political freedom of movement necessary for them to play their part in the maintenance of peace in Asia and throughout the world."

These are no doubt mere resolutions. But if the Socialist parties of all these Asian countries—in some of the countries they are in Government also—think and act along these lines, there is no doubt that what Attlee termed as Third Weakness will soon be a Third Force.

With so many observers from the African countries, it is but natural that the colonial question should figure so prominently in the Conference deliberations. In fact, every seminar at which the fraternal delegates from the Socialist International tried to explain away the colonial policies of some of the European Socialist parties, there were "incidents" resulting from frank speaking by the Asian delegates. The decision of the Conference, therefore, to set up a colonial bureau to assist the freedom movement in the colonies is a significant step.

Summing up, Asian Socialism is anti-feudal, anti-colonial, anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist, anti-Cominformist and pro-peasant. It can be called peasant socialism, to distinguish it from the Socialist movement in the West, which grew round the working class movement.



The U. S. Senate has approved President Eisenhower's Cabinet except for Mr. Charles E. Wilson (Secretary for Defence).

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.

"Printer's Devil"

I hope that Mr. R. Srinivasa Iyengar will rescind his caveat against, and give his imprimatur to, the phrase **printer's devil** "in the sense of a mistake made by the compositor" if he would kindly recall tropes like synecdoche and metonymy. The fact that some dictionaries are sticking on to the otiose sense of the phrase and are not yet awake to its current and only sense just goes to prove that they are as out-dated as the pedagogues who may be using them. If some books on grammar object to the present usage of the phrase it is high time that they are buried along with their authors!

R. RAMACHANDRAN.

ii.

The errand-boy at the "Swatantra Printers" had truly played the devil when in the issue of *Swatantra* of January 17 he had inserted a question mark at the end of the first para in a letter of mine in which I had stated, "all that will be needed at the inauguration of a new State (Andhra) is peace

and goodwill all round." By putting this mark he had perhaps actually stated the prevailing conditions which are contrary to what is desired, to enlighten me! Verily this particular printer's devil had a "quaint and quixotic correctness of judgment," as stated by Mr. D. Anjaneyalu in an article of his published elsewhere in the same number of the magazine. Or did the devil attempt an improvement over my poor diction? (I hope the printer's devil will not be repeated again by omitting to put the interrogation mark now).

Again in the very same letter cited by me there was another printer's devil—the omission of the first initial 'C' in my name. The devil of a boy was unwittingly too kind to me, for I do not know whether he imagined that I was Mr. V. Narahari Rao, the Auditor-General of India. I might feel flattered, but I cannot predict the probable reaction on my distinguished namesake. How "quaint," again, Mr. Editor? Coimbatore.

C. V. NARAHARI RAO.

THREE MAIN MALADIES

THE achievements of the Republic were blazoned from many platforms this week, and the Press devoted space in a generous measure to emphasise the importance of Republic Day, but the fact remains that popular enthusiasm was at a discount in the celebrations. There was a cold feeling of aloofness in the air, and it was as if people felt the goings-on of the Day did not concern them primarily. The reason for this is given in an able analysis of the Indian situation contributed to *The Times* by the Delhi Correspondent of that paper. "It is clear," he says, "even from official reports that little has yet been done, except on paper, to justify the shining hopes of social equality held out in the Indian Constitution to the untouchables and other backward classes." We would like Congress Ministers, especially those who have a very high conceit of themselves, to read *The Times* article and profit by it. According to its writer, India as a Republic has suffered from three main maladies. The first of these, to which all the others are in a way traceable, has been the one-man character of the nation's leadership. Pandit Nehru's Cabinet this year is more homogeneous than last year's, but that is scarcely a matter for gratification, since "it is the homogeneity of acquiescence in Mr. Nehru's decisions, rather than of mutually agreed policies." From this stems another defect—the total lack of any figure near the person of the Prime Minister trained for sharing his burdens and groomed for succession to the leadership when the time

comes. In the States, among provincial politicians, talent, says the *Times* critic, "is even more thinly distributed, and the evils of patronage, ministerial inexperience and personal ambition more widespread." He quotes with evident approval this comment of *The Times of India*: "In too many States the Government finds itself isolated from the people. For that, the power-drunk State Ministers, unused to authority and apt to equate their petty aims with the popular will, are largely to blame."

Another defect noticed by the Correspondent is the fall in the general standards of efficiency and honesty of Government servants in the past few years. They have grown enormously in numbers, but their out-turn of work has diminished ruinously. For example, "One official records that in his district there are 56 gazetted officers, compared with 6 during British days, and that none has more than two hours' work a day." Again, a Secretariat officer declares: "Nobody now takes responsibility for any decision at any level, so files keep on moving. Ministers do not trust us, and we do not have the courage to do what we think we should."

Now that a new State is to be formed, there is an opportunity for the leaders at the Centre to avoid the defects noted by outside observers as destructive of efficiency and progress in the existing pattern of government. The Andhra State should not be burdened with supernumerary personnel, condemned by

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the Chief Minister of Madras himself sometime ago, as too bulky, merely in order that the excess of unwanted staff may be got rid off either entirely or in a set proportion. If the Andhra experiment is to be stabilised, the State must be saved from gazetted officers having no more than two hours' work a day. The needs of the new State should be the criterion, and not the volume of superfluities to be eliminated by the residuary State. The old momentum of goodwill that carried the Congress Party to power and office has become depleted, and nowhere brought so dangerously near exhaus-

tion as in Andhra. Some fresh motive power must be generated if the attacks of Opposition parties on the Congress are to be warded off in the next five years. It is on the fateful soil of Andhra that the future of the Congress throughout the country will be determined, as also the prospect of a Communist spearhead of power piercing southward and northward to join India with China. It is to the interest of every State in India to strengthen Andhra to demonstrate how to combat Communism with good government and well distributed wealth and prosperity.

Sotto Voce

SANCTUARY



ONE of the most interesting speeches at the recent seminar on Gandhian ideas was made by Prof. Massignon of France. He suggested the establishment of centres of sanctuary. Curiously enough this was criticised on the ground that "too much emphasis on the creation of sanctuaries might divert the attention of people and thus weaken the effort to avert a third world war." President Roosevelt, it may be remembered, wanted that the world itself should become a vast sanctuary: he proclaimed Freedom from Fear as one of the Four Freedoms. But that has not prevented the nations ranging themselves again in two armed camps.

No doubt each side has worked itself up into the dogmatic belief that the other is to blame. And the race

for atom bombs and hydrogen bombs is sought to be justified on the ground that only overwhelming force on the side of the righteous can prevent the world-wreckers from breaking loose. This kind of sophistry conveniently overlooks the truth that in every country there are war-mongers as well as peaceable folk. Between these a precarious balance is maintained in normal times. But the latter section is only too ready to don khaki the moment the war drums start sounding, on the portentous plea that that is the only way to save the values it cherishes.

Those who care for true values are everywhere in a minority. And those who are prepared to stake their lives on them are fewer still. The vast mass, which has no particular convictions, lends its ear more readily to

the war-mongers when excitement runs high. And with childish glee it turns the hose, at the bidding of the aggressive elements, on those who have a precarious faith in peace. Ridicule is a far more potent weapon than lathi or castor oil in inducing men of no particular resoluteness to take refuge in evasions. The totalitarian pressure on minorities is no less strong in so-called peacetime. Look at the current wave of anti-Semitism in the Iron Curtain countries.

Prof. Massignon suggested that every country should have zones of security where minorities could retain their cultural freedom and would not have to conform to the pattern of the majority. To this his critics smugly replied that when Gandhism was firmly established there would be no minority problem at all; on which it is sufficient to note that Gandhiji's *chelas* in the Government are doing their best to destroy the culture of the Brahman minority which is repugnant to their rootless cosmopolitanism. For the discipline of the individual Prof. Massignon envisaged his centres of sanctuary; he would have these give "unconditional asylum to the wounded, to all refugees and to all achievements of the human spirit." That was just what the *rishis* of Naimisa did when, seeing the spirit of Kali abroad, they held themselves in the discipline of the *deerghasatra*. The *asramas* were the sanctuaries of their age. To them came all who were buffeted by fate or their own passions. And in their mellow air the sick were made whole.

Hanva's disciples called out to Dushyanta, who was pursuing the deer, "It is an *asrama mriga* and must not be touched." And the sage Vasishtha, who offered no resistance

to Viswamitra when he took away Sabala, the sacred cow, by brute force, was moved to his depths when his *asrama*, which had so long afforded asylum to man, bird and beast, was laid waste by the vandal's pride. "Fear not," he told the fleeing *rishis*. And his Brahma Danda, which was Abhaya materialised, was the rock upon which petty pique exhausted itself. Brahma Tejas was more than bow and arrow.

Kautilya's polity provided for *abhaya vanas*, sanctuaries for bird and beast. And "those birds, fishes, deer and other animals that do not prey upon life had absolute protection." The Indian tradition, in thus emphasising the inviolability of every living thing which would not lay violent hands on another living thing, showed its appreciation of the importance of shoring up evolutionary gains. The Islamic law of asylum, on the other hand, did not outmode the blood-feud: it merely suspended it.

That distinction would seem to indicate a way out of humanity's present impasse. Aversion to the shedding of blood cannot be expected to be so positive a factor in the behaviour of the masses as to inhibit wars so long as killing for food, killing for sport, killing for the sake of enabling man to enjoy the fruits of the earth without having to share them with other living things, are not merely regarded as legitimate but are preached as positive duties. That aversion, whether instinctive or acquired by aeons of spiritual endeavour must be constantly strengthened against the disintegrating influences of materialism. *Abhayam sarvabhootebhyoh* is the key to the just society which alone will banish war.

VIGHNESWARA.

The same enthusiasm that dignifies a butterfly or a medal to the virtuoso and the antiquary, may convert controversy into quixotism, and present to the deluded imagination of the theological knight-errant, a barber's basin as Mambrino's helmet. The real value of any doctrine can only be determined by its influence on the conduct of man, with respect to himself, to his fellow-creatures, or to God.

—PERCIVAL.

SIDELIGHTS :

THE Committee appointed by the Madras Government to enquire into the working of the scheme of separation of the Judiciary from the Executive, refer in the course of their report to the tours of Ministers, and say: "Ministers' tours take up a fair amount of the revenue officers' time in the districts.... In actual practice, all the revenue officers of the division and taluk have to be in attendance during such tours.To tie up a whole set of officers over such tours must necessarily affect the routine administration and even attention to urgent problems."

The disturbance caused to revenue officers in the districts, and the waste of their time, do not exhaust the whole of the undesirable effects of Ministers' tours. They cover but a part of the evil. Much worse still is the effect of the tours on the character of the Ministers' rule. They do not apply themselves with steadiness to their tasks, or study, or evolve original plans and programmes to make their regimes memorable with enhanced public good. In the Ministers' tours, a lot of talking is indulged in. It is reported in the papers lavishly and serves to keep the names of the Ministers prominent in the public eye. The luxury of the self-importance drawn from over-publicised speeches of no particular practical value is one of the delights to which Ministers constantly thrill, and it leaves them no desire for any other kind of achievements. They have sunk into routine, with no energy left over for concentration on more significant purposes, after their prodigious peripatetic exertions, mostly in the boosting of trivialities.

To some extent, of course, the Ministers are not to blame. They are often selected, not for their ability, but for their tameness and docility.

In the present Madras Ministry, there are only some three Ministers capable of independent judgment and volition. The others are so overwhelmed with the miracle of their having been called upon to, grace the Cabinet, that they seem to be content for the rest of their lives to burn grateful incense before the pedestal of the God of their good fortune. For all practical purposes they are rubber stamps of the Chief Minister which he can affix at pleasure to any order or decision, and the play of mind on mind, in freedom and in a spirit of collective responsibility, is an illusion and a myth.

Some friends have expressed strong dissent over late comments of mine on the Chief Minister. They find them wholly different from previous opinions. Inconsistency of this kind, they regard as evidence of unreliable journalism. To me, it is being chained to an earlier dictum, afraid to swerve from it in the light of altered circumstances, lest consistency be imperilled thereby, that is the height of cowardice, and stamps the journalism actuated by it as unreliable. Ministers are not born with power in a silver spoon. They exercise it in your name and mine. We have the right to hold them to account for it, provided personal motives are not mixed up with public issues, and favours given or denied do not colour the opinions expressed. All have this right, and the language that one speaks does not affect it in any way.

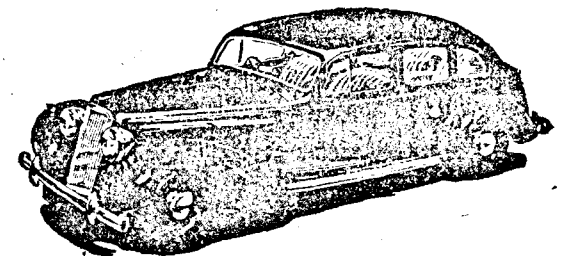
In multi-lingual States, power should not be used to the detriment of the minority elements. Had this principle been observed, passions would not have been roused so high as they have been, in favour of linguistic division. We find now that the Andhras have no electricity, no big irrigation schemes, no roads, not one town to serve as capital, no engineers, no financial

experts, that they are nowhere in the picture before the manifest superiorities of the Tamils in all these respects. Had things been different, with a more equal distribution of benefits, there might have been no momentum at all to the urge for partition. To one who for years has swum against the current and stuck for multi-lingual States, it is not unnatural to wish that the Chief Minister of a multi-lingual State had risen above sectional loyalties. The way to hold the country together is to be more than considerate to its weaker elements, and not to apply power to the advantage of sections already over-strong.

Competence of the Ministers apart, the whole question of the concessions due to their importance, requires to be critically examined and revalued. They need not make so many tours. Many of the tours are plainly in party interests, and repre-

sent an abuse of the power of the administrator for advancement of the strength of the party. It is for the party organisation to take up this work and relieve the Ministers of it. In Lakshmipuram the other day, Sri H. D. Rajah spoke of the plight of the Australian Prime Minister in one of the cities of that country visited by him last year. Mr. Menzies, it would appear, was left without accommodation in a hotel, and his sister who had rooms booked for her, came to his rescue. In England, the Prime Minister moves from place to place like an ordinary citizen, and lives in a house much less lavishly appointed than the residences of most of our Ministers. Far too many chaprasis, elaborate police escorts, unnecessary tours, and too many and too long and too frequent speeches, vitiate the efficiency of Ministers in India, and there is urgent need for greater simplicity for the sake of the decencies of democracy if nothing else.—SAKA.

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THE WAKE

ALMIGHTY Joe! Potent master of men and things,
Thou that with thine deep avuncular wisdom vast,
Guidest, dost quicken to thought or action,
Half a huge continent, and by inspired jerks
At proximate ends of dialectical strings,
Movest the masters of many nations more,
I have presently begun to wonder,
Mighty One! if thou sleepest well of nights.

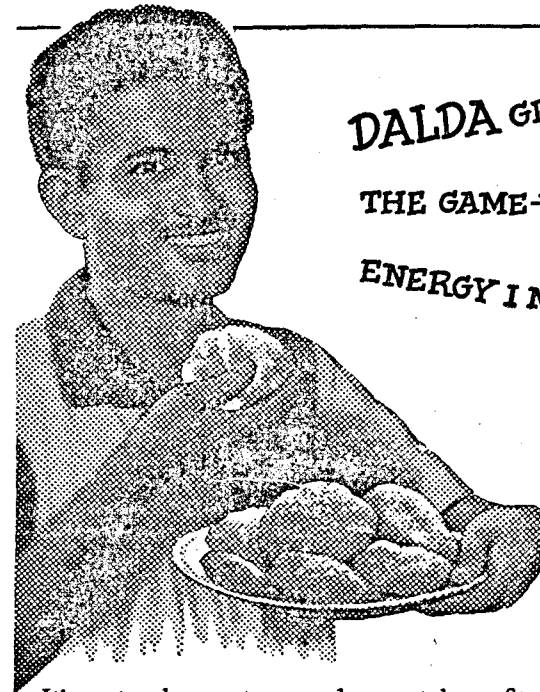
Me, contemptible me, that have no power,
No dominion, and none to command
Or lord o'er, not even a wife to beat,
E'en I keep unwilling vigil some nights,
Vexed chiefly by wind, and loud night noises
From the peopled street.
And if it is thus with me, Potent One!
How is it with thee?

Do the unstilled voices of murdered men
Babble nightly in thy protesting ear?
Do the slaughtered ones that death has rid of fear,
Thrust their noseless unfleshed faces to thy cheeks?
Does the muffled scream, from some bloodied cell,
Disquiet the hate-stilled, pacific night?
Man of Steel! There is scarce enough mettle
In one man's frame to thwart such varied hates,
And to recollect in tranquillity
A huge nation's people dedicatedly led,
From serfdom to more indecent serfdom,
Each martyred heretic from thy Church's
Orthodoxy, or the godless despair
Of some small secular inquisitor,
Maddened at his own inhumanity,
Or the unlaid ghost of social justice,
The creed our Father preached, More and Plato pictured,
Man's one hope of evolution, from brute to god,
That in thy strong, capable hands,
Was soon strangled to quench a meaner vanity.

My questions cease. For, having had surcease,
This one night, from the sounding pain within,
And the loud night noises from peopled street
Having quite died down now,
I shall presently turn and sleep.
But, Potent One! Wilt thou?

-R

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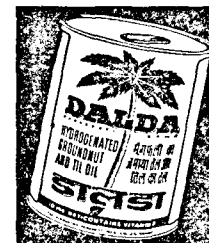
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HVM. 186-50

THE PLAN AND THE THEORY OF DEFICIT FINANCE

By P. N. SAMPATH

THE Five Year Plan of the Government of India has its enthusiasts as well as its denounciators. Thus, its greatest enthusiast, no less a person than Pandit Nehru himself, characterised the Plan as "the first attempt at bringing the whole picture of India under one framework of thinking. It is a dynamic plan for a dynamic nation determined to go ahead and stand on its own feet and to bring about a new social order free from exploitation and poverty and unemployment and social injustice. Properly appreciated and acted upon, it will be a great liberating force for the energies of the nation." Similarly, the detractors and denounciators have been expressing their disapproval and disappointment in various and varying ways which in a nutshell amount to saying that the Five Year Plan is built on flimsy foundations and on forlorn hope and is, like the tennis net, more holes than rope.

The Planning Commission appointed by the Government of India started deliberation in solemn conclave in March 1950, and the Draft Outline of their monumental report was released in July 1951. The Plan has been in operation since April 1951 and a few items of work recommended therein have already been taken on hand and completed, involving an expenditure of some crores of rupees.

The revised Five Year Plan or the Final Plan maintains the basic structure of the draft outline in tact but it provides for an outlay of Rs. 2,069 crores i.e. Rs. 500 crores over and above the figure estimated in the Draft Outline. Of this amount, a sum of Rs. 738 crores is expected to be contributed by the Central and State Governments from their respective budgetary surpluses, Rs. 520 crores from the people's savings. The International Bank is expected to finance the Plan to an extent of Rs. 156 crores. This leaves a balance

of Rs. 655 crores yet to be made up, of which about Rs. 290 crores are sought to be raised through deficit financing, foreign loans, borrowing and by churning out paper money through the security press. The amount of deficit financing, we are afraid, will have to be at least double the amount regarded as safe by the Planning Commission.

Deficit Financing

The theory of deficit financing is that in one or more years, the government may spend more than its revenues in the hope that later on, in the coming years, the surplus of the government budgets would wipe out the deficit. There is nothing wrong with the theory itself. But, how far this theory will fit into conditions obtaining in this country, where State budgets in a majority of cases do not leave surpluses at all over a continuous period of time, is a moot point which the planners will ignore at their peril. Unless the country as a whole is peremptorily and fortuitously transformed into an economic paradise of plenty, in the course of the next few years it will be sheer illusion to harbour any hope that the deficits of today would be wiped out by the surpluses of tomorrow. Deficit financing will spell doom to the country if not handled on a realistic plane. Also, as Sir George Schuster, a former Finance Member of the Government of India, has cautioned us, "deficit financing could never be a substitute of hard work—genuine production work."

If deficit financing is to be resorted to on a large scale, it is essential that it should be accompanied by economic controls. While controls are the sine quo non of deficit financing, they should, as far as possible, be exercised efficiently at vital points affecting the day to day life of the people, rather than be spread all over the line and worked inefficiently, as has been the case

hitherto. "Such controls as the Government have been operating in recent years have shown deep fissures in their working and have created nearly as many new evils as the ones they were meant to remove," says Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao, Director of the Delhi School of Economics.

Agriculture is the bulwark of Indian economy and it has rightly been allotted a pre-eminent place in the Plan. The Planning Commission suggests rough targets of production in relation to food, vegetables, fish, milk and dairy products. Stress has been laid on co-operative farming, improved methods of agricultural cultivation, and the Commission has made specific recommendations on other allied spheres of agriculture—soil conservation, agricultural marketing, provision of finance for agriculture, horticulture, programme for agricultural workers, resettlement of landless workers. As the information at present available concerning the ownership and cultivation of land is extremely incomplete and defective, it is proposed to undertake a special census of land-holding and cultivation during this year. The Commission has suggested that there should be an upper limit to the amount of land that an individual may hold, and to eliminate drones among the land owners, it requires that each State should enact suitable land management legislation laying down standards of cultivation and management and imposing special obligations on the owners of land. It is also proposed to form a Central Land Reform Organisation.

Food Policy

While the aim of food policy for the period of the Plan is stated to be to increase domestic production and to eliminate by stages the need to import foodgrains the Commission has decided that the basic structure of food controls must be kept in tact during the period of the Plan, as an all India policy. Adverting to the economic crisis through which Britain has successfully passed, Sir George Schuster spoke of the revolutionary change wrought in English agriculture. "In 1939 we had 78 million acres of grassland and 13 millions of arable, now the figures are exactly reversed with 78 millions

of arable and 13 millions grassland."

The Five Year Plan aims mainly at the completion of the irrigation and multi-purpose projects already under construction. To plan, execute and supervise irrigation projects and minor irrigation works, an Irrigation Development (Ways and Means) Fund is recommended for each State.

The Plan has recognised the importance of industrial development for the prosperity of the country. Certain industries like arms and ammunition, the production and control of atomic energy, railways, etcetera, are reserved exclusively for the Central Government. In the case of certain others, such as ship-building, aircraft manufacture, iron and steel, telephone, telegraph and wireless apparatus, mineral oil, and coal, further development has to be the responsibility of the State except to the extent that cooperation of private enterprise is felt to be necessary. Village industries are to be fostered under the care of village cooperatives, to be started in every village. All the other avenues of industry are left to private enterprise, State aid being contemplated only in special cases.

Capital-Labour Relations

In the full realisation that economic progress is bound up with industrial peace, the Commission has laid great emphasis on the importance of capital-labour relations for the achievement of the production targets envisaged in the Plan. It has recommended the constitution of permanent wage boards on a tripartite basis, control of profits and wages during the period of the Plan to check inflation and the improvement of service conditions in factories and plantations. Appeals from decisions of an industrial court or tribunal will be prohibited, except in the exceptional case of a decision which may be found to be perverse or against the principles of justice. But, it is not made clear as to who will decide the exceptional quality of such individual cases of dispute.

Transport, railways and port development have been allotted decent provisions in the Plan budget, commensurate with available resources. Civil aviation is a new line of development and the Govern-

ment intend taking over the existing air companies, paying sufficient compensation.

Seven per cent of the total expenditure on the Plan is allocated to education. Technical education and research will occupy special places in the programme. But, it is rather disappointing to find that the question of extending free compulsory education to children has not yet been taken up for implementation. Unless illiteracy is eliminated at a progressive pace, the country cannot achieve real democracy. Democracy is an institution calculated to secure general consent for whatever is done and to interest a great many people in the transactions of human affairs, and this can be possible only when the people receive adequate education and are equipped to play the role expected of them. While more schools are proposed to be started for imparting education to an increased number of children, the Plan is not quite sure about the Government's capacity to find employment for those already holding educational qualifications but who are unemployed. The Plan washes its hands of them by stating that "the scope for increased employment among the educated unemployed is somewhat limited."

Health Programme

The health programme in the Five Year Plan includes provision of sanitation, water-supply, malaria control, preventive care of the rural population through health units and mobile units, health education, self-sufficiency in drugs and equipment, family planning and population control. As it is, except in the urban centres, medical facilities are practically non-existent. And, even in cities and towns, medical attention and equipment are far inadequate. The problem of public health is a perennial one and a difficult one too, and therefore, considering the widespread inequalities and the basic fact of the poverty of the great majority of our people, if the Five Year Plan is able to bring some benefit to the suffering humanity, to that extent it will have served the health needs of the people.

An attempt is made to effect a gradual amelioration of social condi-

tions by a gradual assertion of social control over unearned income. Social benefits cannot mean anything unless economic inequality is done away with. To quote Sir George Schuster again, "Attempts to build a structure of social benefits before the economic foundations are soundly laid can bring nothing but disaster."

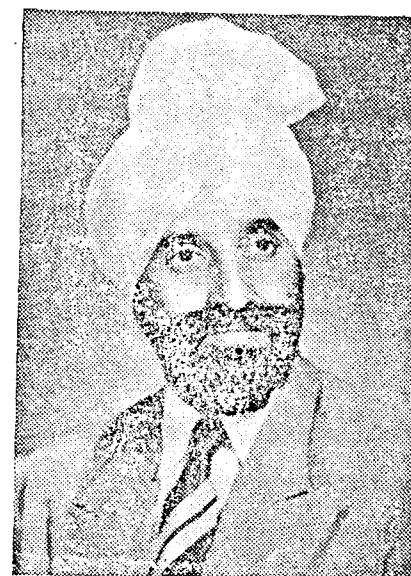
Public Support

Although foundations of a plan of action can be said to have now been laid, after an infinitude of deliberation, the construction of the edifice to be reared thereon will not proceed at the rate it should unless the builders receive a larger degree of public support than has been the case hitherto. It was a bit of plain speaking on the part of Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao when he said: "Planning is essentially a process for speeding up the tempo of economic development and it inevitably calls for austerity, sacrifice and hard work from the people. Without public cooperation, public understanding, public enthusiasm and public readiness to undergo hardships and sacrifices involved, planning cannot succeed in this country. I am convinced that the necessary understanding and cooperation from the public will not be forthcoming unless corruption is eradicated, salaries and other emoluments of public officials are lowered, and conspicuous austerity begins to characterise the living standards of ministers, civil servants and other public workers." The Planning Commission seem to be fully aware of these facts as can be inferred from the following observation of the planners: "Public cooperation and public opinion constitute the principal force and sanction behind planning. The pace of development will depend largely upon the quality of the public administration, the efficiency with which it works and the public cooperation it evokes. The principal objectives to be achieved in public administration are integrity, efficiency, economy and public co-operation."

Thus, to conclude, while one can find fault with the Plan that the remedies it advocates for solving the economic ills of the country are sometimes not radical enough or

that some special problems have not been viewed in the proper perspective, no one can deny that the members of the Planning Commission have sat at their job in right earnest and have evolved a comprehensive plan, however imperfect, touching all the pertinent aspects of public administration. The Government should endeavour to create conditions in which all the leaders of public opinion, irrespective of their individual political predilections, could cooperate to work the recom-

mendations contained in the Plan in the spirit in which they should be worked. If on the other hand the Government do not take pains to take the opposition into their confidence, and to interest and energise the great mass of the people with the zeal born of genuine enthusiasm, the Congress administration would be making a mess of the Plan and will be leading the country into an inextricable labyrinth of economic and political chaos.



Sardar Sucha Singh Anand



Mr. K. V. P. Rao

To provide better service to Firestone users and dealers, the Firestone Tyre & Rubber Co. of India, Ltd., have established two new posts in their sales organization; manager, Southern Division, and manager, Northern Division.

Mr. K. V. P. Rao, formerly Madras District manager, has been appointed manager, Southern Division, and Sardar Sucha Singh Anand, formerly Delhi District manager, has been appointed manager, Northern Division.

In line with this promotion, both men will be shortly leaving for the United States for advanced training in Firestone's Home Office, Akron, Ohio. They will also visit several of the subsidiary Firestone factories in Pottstown, Pennsylvania and Fall River, Massachusetts. The training programme will cover all phases of the latest administrative and merchandising methods, technical service problems and, in addition, will include a study of the latest developments in tyre design and construction. They will also observe and study manufacture and merchandising of Firestone accessories to be produced in the near future in India.

NO ROOM ON THE RAFT

By ANDREW ROTH

IT is customary in civilized communities to respond quickly and with compassion to despairing cries for help. The field of competitive international trade is clearly not civilized: one ignores cries for help from a competitor even when it means he may go under. When several threaten to be submerged by the international trade crisis, the primitive law: "every man for himself" prevails.

This is illustrated by the deaf ear turned to the open appeal of Japanese Prime Minister, Shigeru Yoshida, in November. In an interview with the *Sunday Times* correspondent he confronted frankly the basic commercial contradiction between "those two old friends, Japan and Britain, sharing a common plight and confronted with largely unavoidable rivalry for the same markets." He advocated an early Anglo-Japanese conference "at the highest level" to work out "a realistic agreement on world trade" covering "the whole field of tariffs and trade relations, including possible agreement on the division of world markets and the allocation of special exports for special markets."

Premier Yoshida emitted this unashamed cry for help after three waves of ill tidings had drenched his newly-formed Government. Japan's markets overseas were contracting and Japanese Government economists had just disclosed that cotton textile exports in September were the lowest in four years. In Washington the U. S. Government had refused to liberalize the list of products Japan is allowed to export to Communist China. And, at Geneva, Japan's plea to be given most-favoured-nation treatment within the G. A. T. T. had been received with a chilliness which made clear Japan would not be finally accepted until 1954 at least. The British delegation, in particular, made it evident that it would use every technicality to prevent Japan's entry on equal terms with Britain—particularly to Britain's African possessions.

Mr. Yoshida was, of course, right in emphasizing that Britain and Japan have "a common plight." Both are island kingdoms whose traditional economy is based on importing raw materials from less-developed countries, manufacturing them and selling them back to those countries. Both Britain and Japan can produce only a small portion of the total food and raw materials they need.

But Japan's plight is considerably more serious than Britain's. In the process of industrialization it retained a more feudal agriculture. Consequently low living standards gave Japan the advantage of lower wages but also a proportionately smaller internal market and higher pressure for overseas markets. Coming later on the colonial scene it had to battle more violently for its spheres of economic influence against the already entrenched Western powers.

Loss Of Markets

Both Britain and Japan emerged greatly weakened by World War II, but again Japan lost more because she was on the losing side. While Britain has lost the political control of the bulk of the people in its colonial empire through the emergence of India, Pakistan, Ceylon and Burma, it has retained the bulk of its economic stake there. It does more business with India than before independence. Britain also still retains valuable colonies, including such "dollar arsenals" as Malaya and West Africa. But Japan lost not only the whole of the territories taken over during a half-century of colonial aggrandizement, but also the totality of its investments there. Furthermore, Japan is expected by the countries of Southeast Asia to pay reparations for war damages, something never expected from victors.

The passing of China and the East European countries from the orbit of capitalism has also hit Japan more heavily. For Britain the raw materials and agricultural exports of Eastern Europe and China were important but always marginal. For

Japan access to the markets and raw materials of China and Korea were fundamental. In the typical period 1935-37 Japan exported 18.2% of its goods to China, which supplied 10.2% of Japan's imports—including the bulk of its coal. Even today Chinese coal is less than half the cost of coal imported from the U. S.

U. S. Capital Penetration

Japan's military defeat, its consequent economic weakness and its occupation and administration for six years by the U. S. had made it more vulnerable than Britain to the penetration of American capital and more subordinate to American political plans. Thus Japan accepted the injunction of John Foster Dulles, when he was still a diplomatic representative of the Truman administration, that they should find their main markets and sources of raw materials in Southeast and South Asia, although the main pressure from the Japanese economy itself would have meant concentration on reestablishing links with the new regime in China.

While pretending to and in some ways executing a considerable acquiescence, Japan's current leaders have used their weakness as a weapon, much as in *judo*, the Japanese art of self-defence. While Britain and Western European countries have secured some assistance for their rearmament, Japan has flatly stated that the whole burden of Japanese rearmament should be borne by the United States.

Although Japanese leaders use their weakness for blackmailing purposes, there is no doubt that the economic weakness is there, despite a very energetic population with the highest proportion of technicians in Asia and the most cunning and thorough planning of overseas trade expansion. The plea of Prime Minister Yoshida for a high-level conference with the British shows that the long-planned Japanese "invasion" of South Asia—Britain's traditional economic sphere—has failed, although certain important beach-heads have been established.

Premier Yoshida admitted, in his interview with the representative of the *Sunday Times* (November 9, 1952) that Southeast Asia could never become an adequate substitute

for the lost China market. "I do not know," said Yoshida, "where Japan, in this period of intense and growing trade competition, can expect to secure the necessary additional markets to compensate for the loss of the China market. I can only hope that the trade barriers erected by many countries will be removed, giving more room for the expansion of trade."

Japan's difficulty is that it requires not only Southeast Asia but the whole of South Asia (as well as Britain's African colonies) to keep it afloat economically. But this same support, for which Mr. Yoshida has been encouraged to clutch by Mr. Dulles, is needed to keep Britain afloat. A quarter of Britain's exports go to South Asia. Since British economists, unlike Mr. Dulles, do not expect any significant expansion of South Asian trade, any Japanese gains will be largely at Britain's expense.

Little wonder that the Foreign Office has refused to respond to Mr. Yoshida's appeal for help. The technical excuse is that the Prime Minister did not put this appeal forward in a formal manner. But no one thinks that if he did he would get any warmer reply. Britain has not spent the last year stepping on Japan's fingers to keep her from going under at the last minute just because Mr. Yoshida shouts "Help!"

The fact of the matter is that the whole round of Commonwealth conferences during 1952 were largely directed at reducing Japanese inroads into traditional British markets. The weapons used—such as each dominion having to balance its trade budget—were sometimes crude and Britain itself was hurt by the consequent measures, particularly in Australia. But the overall result was that Japan's exports shrank, particularly in textiles which account for over a quarter of Japan's exports. Thus, after its key cotton textile exports rose to 1,100,000,000 square yards in 1951, they were cut back to 700,000,000 in 1952.

British exporters hope to cut these exports still further in areas of British influence. Thus the annual report of the Far East section of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce (*Financial Times* January 9, 1953)

said that while Japanese competition is for the moment limited by financial controls imposed as a result of recent Commonwealth conferences, it is still seriously undermining the hard-hit British textile trade. During the first nine months of 1952, for example, Japanese exports of cotton goods to Malaya increased over the previous year from 47,000,000 square yards to 50 million square yards while British sales fell from 41,000,000 to 19,000,000 square yards.

Worried, the Manchester correspondent of the *Financial Times* wrote: "The value of Japanese textiles allowed to be imported into Malaya during 1953 is being cut to \$80 m. (Malayan), but this reduction is likely to be nullified by the big fall in the prices of Japanese textiles." (January 9, 1953).

Indicative of the seriousness with which Britain intends to combat Japanese trade expansion is the calibre of the man Britain is sending as Ambassador to Indonesia, a country hitherto little noticed diplomatically by Britain. The new Ambassador, Oscar C. Morland, has been Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, attached to the Cabinet Office. The reason for his appointment can perhaps be guessed from the fact that his professional experience is chiefly in the field of Japanese economics—he was economic counsellor at the British Embassy in Tokyo before the war—and Indonesia is one of the world's greatest textile importers.

Britain feels compelled to continue in its course although it makes Japan increasingly a hostage to war. Commented the Tokyo correspondent of *The Economist*:

It is not too much to say that, if the Korean war ended tomorrow and some improbable understanding with the Soviet Union resulted in an easing of world rearmament, Japan's superficially resurgent but precarious economy would collapse. The candid headline, 'Threat of Peace in Korea,' which appeared once in a Tokyo daily newspaper during a deceptive Panmunjon session, still best expresses the attitude of Japanese industry and finance towards the hot fighting and the cold war. In a crystal-gazing prediction for 1953, one frank economist, Mr. Teiji Katsuta, chief of the influential Katsuta Economic Research Institute, has blandly antici-

pated 'stronger developments in United States international policy, which will spread trouble not only in Korea but also in Manchuria and on the China mainland and which will improve Japan's position. (January 17, 1953).

Japan's hope to profit further by American wars arises, quite naturally, from its experience of the Korean conflict which has helped keep Japan solvent during the period since the United States relinquished direct financial responsibility for Japan. Indicative is the fact that in the first half of 1952 Japan earned \$415,000,000 by servicing American armed forces in Japan and Korea. In 1953 Japan expects not only these servicing orders but also American orders for armaments to the tune of \$300 millions. Little wonder that the *Zaibatsu* (Big Business) cartels that once again openly dominate Japan, fear that peace will 'break out.'

Britain's apparent ignoring of this danger shows the compulsive character of its own economic crisis. The British Government openly fears the 'provocative' character of the policies of the new U. S. Secretary of State. But to save its own shrinking export markets it feels compelled to act in such a way as to push Japan towards Mr. Dulles or Peking. Little attention was paid to the warning of *Observer's* Tokyo correspondent Patrick O'Donovan:

For sound, selfish and strategic reasons it is clearly desirable that Japan should be prosperous internally and wedded by trade and interest to the Western Powers. She is now an essential part of western defence and she would not remain so if her population were embittered by want and her leaders frustrated and angry. (OFNS: October 21, 1952).

It seems clear that only one path will avoid handing Japan to Mr. Dulles or confirming the prediction of Stalin that Japan cannot be absorbed into the non-Communist trading community and must inevitably be drawn closer to the Communist orbit. This is to give highest priority to some high-powered plan to raise quickly the living standards and trade of South Asia. In an expanding South Asian trade both Britain and Japan can find room. The Colombo Plan is only a flea-bite into a problem that requires hordes of excavators.

CALIBAN'S GUIDE TO MADRAS CRICKET LEAGUE

By N. S. RAMASWAMI

THE Madras Cricket League is a unique institution, which demands of its participants the optimism of Mr. Micawber, the patience of Job, and the craft of Machiavelli. Skill at the game is, it is needless to say, desirable, but only the ill-regulated intellect will insist that this is essential.

It must be distinctly premised that this guide, the product of many years of experience of the institution which is at once the pride and despair of Madras cricket, has reference to the lower orders only, the second and third divisions.

It is obvious that the eager aspirant should be able to field his own team in the competition, for this infallibly enables him to include himself. The wise man will be well advised to follow a systematic plan. The truth is that many teams are bought. The merchants are mostly to be found in the proprietors (this term is perfectly valid and no more than just) of those teams which, at the end of the previous season, found themselves regrettably languishing at the bottom of the league tables. It is understood that they conceive a violent disgust no less for the game than for the competition. However this may be, the intending purchaser will approach these disgruntled elements and in the true spirit of commerce or the stock exchange agree upon the terms of transfer. Records of past transactions show that a price of Rs. 250 for a second division team and Rs. 200 for a third division one is equitable. Strong efforts must be made to resist the former proprietor's desire to be included in the newly-formed team. The folly of yielding to such a course is manifest.

As soon as the purchase has been completed the captain (for, into this person of authority the proprietor transforms himself by inalienable right) basks in a glow of self-gratulation. He is aware, nobody more strongly, that he is no incon-

siderable unit in an institution, which, he is invariably assured at annual general body meetings, is the nursery and cradle of Madras cricket. A remarkable glory is his; but no less splendid is his responsibility.

The captain will be well advised to include in his team as many members of his family who have at one remote period or other set their eyes on a cricket bat and ball. It will be foolish to insist upon too high a standard. It is well known that the family is the unit, prime and indispensable, of life. Should it excite any wonder that its claims should be recognised before those of a mere cricket team? It naturally follows that those who may have served the team faithfully for many long years should give way to such relatives. Further, these latter will not and cannot raise objections when the captain opens the bowling and is still to be observed bowling when the last batsmen of the opposing team are at the wicket.

This, however, is a consideration of little importance. The captain is naturally to be observed in all his glory on the day of the match. The tactics and the strategy proper to this momentous occasion require for their elucidation the analytical skill of a Clausewitz or a Liddell Hart. But, in so far as it is possible, the task shall be attempted here.

He is an arrant simpleton who arrives at the ground in time with all his players. Custom imperatively demands that one or two players be sent to the ground on a reconnoitring mission as it were at as late a hour after the scheduled time as is consistent with safety, while the rest of the team will refresh its soul and its loins at a neighbouring hotel. The object of this proceeding is to ascertain how many, if at all, of the opposing players have arrived. Imagination boggles at the thought of an encounter between Greek and Greek, but this is unprofitable speculation.

Only when it is obvious that the commencement of the match can no longer be delayed it is advisable for the remaining players, with however great reluctance, to tear themselves from the coffee cups in the hotel.

The stage is now set for the exposition of the captain's skill. He will stand or fall by his success here. Stated in brief terms, his endeavour should be to secure the appointment of both umpires who should, to say the least, be partial to his cause. Immemorial custom has sanctioned the apportionment of one to each side. But the captain who secures both is a genius and is entitled to the gratitude of his players; especially he who rubs his thigh in anguish when the ball has manifestly struck him on the pads in front of the wicket, not to mention the hero who insists that every catch he offers has been grounded. Success in this branch of strategy is more than half the battle.

There is a further refinement of which the captain should take note. The present guide advises strongly that he secure, by what means it matters little, the appointment as a scorer for the opposing side of a

small boy, easily susceptible to menaces and suggestions. Control of the score-book is an integral part of success.

These aims accomplished, the match can be suffered to commence. But, if unfortunately they do not suffice for victory, the captain has other resources to fall back upon. Scope will offer itself at lunch-time. If his side is facing defeat, it should be the endeavour of the captain to prolong this interval.

Finally, even if this should not serve, it remains for the captain to "withdraw" from the ground. A mettlesome man can certainly not tolerate defeat. Whatever philosophers may pretend to the contrary, ends do justify means.

It remains for the captain to secure the publication of a report of the match in the Press. It is an insipid course to rely wholly upon truth. Departures from it in various degrees, such as that his team had won when it had, by an unfortunate chain of circumstances, lost, are always permissible. When this is secured the captain may rest assured that he has been a benefactor to Madras cricket.

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THE LANGUAGE OF THE DRAVIDIANS

By P. G. RAMALINGAM

RESARCHES in the field of Dravidian origin, culture and language would be of extreme interest to many of the South Indians in view of the persistent theory put forward often for the consolidation of South India and the attainment of Dravidastan. Until recently, research has been carried on the Dravidian origin and culture to the advantage of maintaining the unity of India and the promotion of Hindu culture as a whole, with the result a general theory has been established that the Dravidian civilisation of the South is merely the civilisation of the Aryan and Aryanised immigrants of the North. Drawing his facts from this belief, Mr. S. Swaminatha Iyer has said: "The Dravidian languages are also a creation of Aryan and Aryanised immigrants." Another historian is of the view that the demonstrative, relative, interrogative and the reflective pronouns of the Dravidian languages are of Aryan origin, that their personal pronouns have some Aryan affinities and that most of the gender and number signs in these pronouns are of Aryan origin.

The theories about the Dravidians advanced on these lines have been given due publicity and authority in many of the text books of Indian history. There is the other side of the picture and it has been the result of a careful endeavour to discover facts by scientific study of the subject and critical investigation. This side shows that the Dravidian race possessed a genius and an individuality of its own, that the Dravidian genius was conspicuous not merely in the sphere of language but also in that of literature. This side has not been given enough publicity.

The ancient Dravidians were the direct ancestors of the Tamils, Malayalees, Telugus, Canarese and other tribes now occupying the greater part of Southern India. Naturally, Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam and Cana-

rese were the languages spoken by them.

The Dravidian languages are all fundamentally different from Sanskrit, the language of the Aryans. These languages, while they have a common origin and a close affinity to each other, are different from Sanskrit and its derivatives. The Northern pandits classify the vernacular dialects of India into two sets of five, the five Gauras and the five Dravidas, consisting of Maratha, Gujaratha, Telugu, Karnataka and Dravida. Of the latter, the first two belong to the Northern group. The last three are not, as the Northern pandits suppose, derived from Sanskrit like the Northern dialects. The difference between the Northern and Southern dialects lies in this. Though the Northern ones contain a small proportion of non-Sanskrit words, they are mainly composed of words derived from Sanskrit; while the Tamil, Telugu and other Southern languages, though they contain a certain proportion of Sanskrit words, are, as regards the great bulk of their vocabulary, genius and spirit, distinct from Sanskrit, the classical speech of the Aryans (Muir's Sanskrit Texts: Caldwell's Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages, page 42.) No person who is well versed in comparative philology and who has compared the primitive and essential words and the grammatical structure of the Dravidian languages with those of Sanskrit can imagine for a moment that the former has been derived from the latter by any process of development or corruption (A Grammar of the Telugu Language by A. D. Campbell, page 2).

The base of Tamil, the most highly cultivated of all the Dravidian languages, has an independent origin. Tamil is not dependent on Sanskrit for the full expression of thought. The ancient of classical dialects of this language, Sen Tamil, is almost entirely free from Sanskrit

words and idioms. The finest works in Tamil, such as the *Kural*, are original in design and execution and almost free from Sanskrit works. According to Dr. Burnell, the science of grammar was cultivated in the South from a very early period, not as derived from Sanskrit, but as communicated from a divine source, in other words, as being of indigenous origin. Prof. Julien Vinson says: "Tamil and Sanskrit, in spite of some analogies of words, have no connection whatever. Their grammatical systems so widely differ that they certainly proceed from quite different origins. They are only to one another what a cocoa tree would be to a carrot plant."

The Tamil language has an originality and a singularity of its own. The distinction between "Vadamoli" and "Tennoli" could have arisen only when there were two languages standing side by side, one in the North and the other in the South. In Tamil, grammar, gender and number are treated under one head and this is peculiar to the Tamil language. The Tamil prosody, especially *Venba*, possesses rules which are peculiarly its own and such rules are not found in the prosody of any other language. Thus Tamil is an independent language and does not belong to the Aryan group of languages. Its grammar was crystallised long anterior to the Christian Era. The Tamils had their own music which was systematised very early. According to Dr. Slater, "the characteristics of Tamil language are its subtlety, its sense of logic and its richness in honorifics." These and other peculiarities will go to show

that Tamil is an original and independent language.

Tamil has contributed much to the development of other languages, especially Sanskrit. Sanskrit is indebted to Tamil to a very large extent for its development. Prof. Rapson bears testimony to the fact that the aboriginal languages in the South of India were associated with a high degree of culture and it was not surprising to note the presence of Dravidian element in Sanskrit. It can easily be maintained that much that is not found in Latin and Greek but which is peculiar to Sanskrit alone is due to the contact of the Aryans with the Dravidians. The cerebral sounds that now abound throughout the Sanskrit vocabulary are characteristic only of Dravidian. Mr. Anavaradanayakam Pillai is of the view that the cerebral stops so characteristic of Dravidian are found in the earliest Sanskrit (Dravidic Studies No. III, page 56). Prof. Rhys Davids maintains that the Vedic language was largely subject to Vedic influence both in phonetics and vocabulary. The Dravidian dialects affected profoundly the sounds, structure, idiom and the vocabulary of Sanskrit.

It is thus seen that Dravidian speaking races were different from the Aryan, that they were sufficiently advanced to develop languages of their own and civilised and numerous enough to absorb completely the numerically inferior Aryan foreigners and enrich their speech with words relating to their professions which were in a high state of perfection among themselves.

JANUARY THIRTIETH

By P. C. GANESAN

JANUARY Thirtieth is an important date in Indian history, not for the ghastly assassination but for the supreme sacrifice. It was on that day that the flame which gave India not only political light but moral illumination was put out by a fanatical hand. History recorded another black act showing that mankind had not become more refined that it was when Jesus was executed by his contemporaries as a 'dangerous anarchist and blasphemous mad man.' India lost a spiritual leader and the world, a master.

When Gandhiji appeared on the Indian political arena with his short dhoti and a Kathiawadi *angarkha* and *sapha*, aristocracy was shocked beyond words and the educated looked upon him as a *tamasha*. When he died, people all over the world saluted him with awe and reverence and had he been a Christian, the Church would have canonized him. When he headed the national struggle making experiments with his new political philosophy he was considered a pure visionary and impractical. When he died everyone wondered how this wizard with his magic wand of ahimsa wrought what military divisions and machine-guns could not have achieved. He was called by a spokesman of the bureaucracy a 'seditious half naked fakir'. He died only after wresting from the very same bureaucracy power which it so greedily held for more than a century and a half. Mr. Montagu, mystified at this political prodigy, described him as one 'who dresses like a cooly, forswears all personal advancement, lives practically on air and is a pure visionary.' After visiting India and making a first-hand study of the change that this great little man had brought about, he said in his down-right manner: "I wish I could make the damn bureaucracy realize that we are sitting on a volcano." Everyone, Indian or foreign, began by mocking at him and ended with absolute submission. This metamorphosis of thought cannot be more

aptly described than in the words of Oliver Goldsmith:

Truth from his lips prevail'd with double sway,

And fools, who came to scoff, remained to pray.

The tremendous influence which Gandhi wielded over his friends and acquaintances irrespective of caste, creed or colour is due to the fact that he laid emphasis on fundamental values of life. To him, Tom was not an Englishman, Ram was not a Hindu and Rahim was not a Muslim; they were all men. That was the reason why he found in an Englishman shooting at a multitude of innocent Indians, not an act of tyranny but an act of duty done in obedience to instructions from a system that was at fault. The same view he held when he condemned Hindus for taking retaliatory measures against Muslims to avenge the injustice done to their kith and kin in some other part of the country. He knew hatred begot hatred and it did not matter to him whether a Muslim assaulted a Hindu or a Hindu assaulted a Muslim. He only saw in it one individual behaving savagely towards another individual and that was bad and not in conformity with the canons of civilized living. Maybe, an average Indian, or for that matter any ordinary man, did not understand the fundamental principle underlying such an elevated outlook. He was too great for the time in which he lived. The philosopher-politician, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, in his address to the students of Banarès Hindu University on November 17, 1942, while alluding to Gandhi observed:

Now and again there arises among the common level a rare spirit who having looked upon God face to face reflects more clearly the divine purpose and puts into practice more courageously the divine guidance. The light of such a one shines like a strong beacon on a dark and disordered world. Such a spirit will be much in advance of his time and so will be misunderstood by his generation.

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True, Gandhi lived ahead of his time as Socrates or Jesus did. The price he paid was his life, as they did.

It was possible for Gandhi to take an unbiased view of things since he looked at every problem from the fundamental and human aspect of it; and so much so he understood the problem not in its part but in its entirety. Therefore the solutions he suggested for them were not temporary and remedial, but permanent and preventive. He not only discovered truths that lay hidden in worldly imperfections but was prepared, if necessary, to give up his life to establish them. As many had done before him, he understood the unity of human soul and was convinced that, given favourable conditions, human behaviour would always tend towards right and good. This led him to have implicit faith in human conduct and endowed him with courage to make supreme sacrifice. Commenting on Hindu-Muslim unity in *Young India* of June 16, 1927, he wrote:

If Hindu-Muslim unity could be achieved by giving my life, I have the will to give it and I hope I have the strength for it.

Twenty-one years later, he did what he said.

Gandhi was great because he was a freedom fighter. He was greater than many other politicians because he introduced a moral code of behaviour into politics. He is one of the greatest of men because he did not belong to the many who preached, but to the few who practised what they preached. He had the acumen of a politician but not his intrigues. In politics he was no Machiavelli, Svengali or Rasputin. His frail frame, and emaciated face adorned with heavenly smile, carried with it the heart and spirit of India. His practical politics coupled with honesty baffled many a shrewd British diplomat. The English Padre, Rev. Holmes said:

When Gandhi speaks it is India that speaks. When Gandhi acts it is India that acts. When Gandhi is arrested it is India that is outraged and humiliated.

No doubt, Gandhi epitomised in himself the resurgent spirit and aspirations of his country.

His moral maxim that if the end is good, the means should necessarily be good and his implicit adherence to it, though it involved a high degree of patience and long endurance, put him on a par with great religious teachers and his application of that principle on a mass scale in modern politics above them. It was a novel experiment carried on a people who by tradition and temperament were suited for it and the results borne by the experiment were more than satisfactory. During his life-time he was not a mere leader of the Indian people but acted as a 'conscience keeper' of them. Such was the moral influence he had with his countrymen. He is no longer the architect of Indian freedom. People no more look upon him as an "exploded myth" or "saintly visionary," but look back at him as one born out of his time, one who had seen light in a dark and savage world. He was not an "enigma" either, as Mr. Jinnah made it convenient to call him, but a phenomenon in human evolution. Sometimes we feel he was wrong in a particular act of his; it maybe that we are not able to rise up above our environment and 'view things objectively from an absolute standpoint,' as he did. He put every 'fact' in the crucible of his conscience and raised the moral temperature until everything else was burnt and truth alone remained. He always tried to maintain the veracity of the soul. He saw truth in God and God in truth. He lived with us and yet above us. His undimmed vision was quick to perceive goodness in everything.

Gandhi is too great a theme. Many have attempted to study him objectively and most of them should have felt they were endeavouring to grasp a globe so large that the hand obtained no hold. He was born a man; he lived a saint and died a martyr. He deserves something greater and nobler than stupas, plaster models and adoration in verses. The faith in his doctrines should not be reduced to mere worship. We read his life; we feel how great he is. We again read his life; we feel how small we are. We once again read his life; we are awestricken at the mysterious ways by which God fulfils Himself.

THE HYDERABAD CONGRESS SESSION

By K. S. S.

THE expression by the Congress President-cum-Prime Minister of the country's concern over the reported readiness of Pakistan to join the Middle East Defence Organisation and the Congress High Command's new strategy with regard to the demand for linguistic states are the only two developments worth mentioning in any review of the 58th plenary session of the Indian National Congress held at Hyderabad. The rest of it is trumpet and trash. To many the session appeared to be a "spectacle of futile grandeur." There was no evidence of young blood or fresh thinking. The discussions were limited to a few pet topics of the Prime Minister's choice.

The Steering Committee steam-rollered all unofficial attempts to raise new topics and to recommend some drastic and revolutionary changes in the administration as well as in the economic structure of society. The Congress President was more anxious to reduce the Congress to the position of a rubber stamp—to secure endorsement of his Government's policies—than to take a new and original lead from the Congress after a free and unfettered discussion. It is no doubt true that the Party cannot dictate to its Government as regards details of its policies or mandate, but it is generally understood that it is the inherent right of the Party to judge the pace and manner of the implementation of its policies by the Government and to suggest improved methods of implementation to the Government. The Party will have some control over its Government, which is but its reflection. But it was the other way about at the Congress session. Mr. Nehru virtually denied the Party this inherent right. His mind was too much steeped in Government decisions, policies and its supposed prerogatives, and could not bring himself up to appreciate dissident voices, which

called upon the Government to take more vigorous and concrete steps to put an end to such widespread evils like corruption and red-tape. A delegate moved an amendment to the resolution on communalism, calling upon the Government to take action against communalists in the services. Mr. Nehru reacted very unfavourably to it. He began by saying that the amendment, though not out of order, was clearly "out of sense." Developing the idea that it was fantastic for the Congress to dictate to the Government in a matter of detail, Mr. Nehru lost his temper, as he is wont to, and declared, throwing out the amendment, "No, it is out of order"! Mr. Nehru at times appears to be an unpredictable pendulum between democracy and autocracy.

Even with regard to the official resolutions, the distribution of time among them was inequitable. Mr. Nehru's resolutions on foreign policy, communalism and the Five Year Plan and supporters of official attitude enjoyed the lion's share, and the controversial resolution on linguistic states and opponents received the crumbs and rags of the presiding deity's sense of parliamentary generosity. The foreign policy of the Government of India was the least opposed and would have been approved without any loss of time, but yet the Congress President extended invitations to many guests to eulogise it, and there was considerable needless soap-box oration. Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, who moved the resolution both at the Subjects Committee and the open session, thought the best and the only way to commend the foreign policy was to break into an orgy of unrestrained adulation over Mr. Nehru's achievements.

In view of the well-known secular attitude of an average Congressman and in view of the reiteration of this attitude on many pre-

vious occasions by the A.-I.C.C., the resolution deprecating communalism and the lengthy speeches allowed to be made on it can be justified only on the ground that denunciation of communalism is one of the absorbing pastimes of the Prime Minister.

The resolution on the Five Year Plan would have proved very useful had the High Command kept an open mind. But they did not. All amendments were opposed and thrown out. To the critics of the Government failures on many fronts the reply was that foreign observers had expressed astonishment at India's achievements during the last five years, as if diplomatic courtesy is a tribute; at any rate, it did not justify self-complacency.

Mr. Nehru was more feared than loved and respected by the delegates on account of his tremendous hold on the affections of the masses. This fact had an oppressing influence on the debates, especially at the open session. The speeches of the delegates were timid and insipid. But the speech of the Mysore Chief Minister, Mr. Hanumanthayya, which was a bitter attack on the High Command's attitude towards the demand for linguistic states, was in refreshing contrast to the general run of panegyrical speeches. Mr. Hanumanthayya accused the High Command of "static thinking", which, he felt, was the outcome of holding of the two posts of Prime Minister and the Congress President by the same person and the practice of having

the Working Committee nominated. It was not a personal allegation against Mr. Nehru, but the system had the inherent weakness of making the organisation degenerate into a one-man's show. Consequently, the dynamic character of the Congress would suffer.

The resolution under the title, "Reorganisation of States," appeared to be the outcome of confused and irrational thinking. One would have very much appreciated if the High Command had the courage to declare openly their inherent disinclination to create linguistic states or their antipathy towards this question instead of covering it up with a jugglery of words, to which Mr. Rajagopalachari is believed to have made a valuable contribution. Many would perhaps have agreed with Maulana Azad, who was specially briefed to outwit the opposition with his personality and speech, that the heavens would not fall nor the earth split if the creation of linguistic states other than Andhra was postponed for five years, but it was also true that neither of the two contingencies would arise if linguistic states were created here and now, if each demand for a linguistic state fulfilled the conditions or factors laid down. The last sentence in the resolution, "Further steps in this direction will naturally depend on the stabilisation of Andhra," touched off a heated controversy. It is a mischievous tail-piece that did not agree with or follow from the logic of the preced-

ing portions, and made the resolution a "contradiction in terms," as Mr. Hanumanthayya put it.

What has stabilisation of Andhra got to do with other demands for linguistic states having intrinsic merits or fulfilling the conditions laid down? It is on the face of it absurd to tie up fresh demands with the stabilisation of Andhra. Moreover, it is an inauspicious insinuation that there is good reason to believe that Andhra will not be stable, and it will really be no surprise if it proves to be so, what with a big slice of the Andhra country lying in Hyderabad State shut out of it and the tactics of the Tamil sectional leaders in trying to place the new State in as miserable a position as possible. From one point of view, the last sentence is a boomerang on the Government of India and the High Command. Andhra can be unstable only if the conditions laid down in the resolution are not fulfilled.

The session showed that while Mr. Nehru retains his personal popularity, the Congress does not share it to any appreciable degree; it has yet to regain its lost popularity. This was evident from the poor gatherings at the session over which even top-ranking Congressmen have expressed disappointment. The receipts of the Road Transport Department, which put 150 brand new buses on the route to Golconda, venue of the session, go to show that, notwithstanding the charity rates charged (i.e. four annas from anywhere to Nanalnagar and four annas from Nanalnagar to anywhere in the city) as against seven annas charged for half of the distance on the ordinary routes, only 2½ lakhs of people used the buses in four days. Even so a vast majority of them came to see the "fairyland."

The propriety of holding expensive sessions when there is all-round gloom and distress caused by famines has been questioned. Before

independence Congress sessions helped to mobilise popular enthusiasm against the British rule, but after the achievement of freedom, the Congress has become one of the political parties in the country, and, therefore, its sessions should be businesslike. The bustle and tumult of the arrangements make examination of intricate problems almost impossible, and the session resolves itself into a grand airy nothing.

According to a conservative estimate, the present session has cost at least 40 lakhs of rupees. The Reception Committee itself budgeted for an expenditure of about Rs. 10 lakhs. The assistance given by the State Government in money and services must have meant some 10 lakhs of rupees, and the people must have spent another 20 lakhs of rupees. This huge unproductive expenditure has been aptly described as "mid-winter madness." The Hyderabad Government, which pleaded paucity of funds to start relief works in the famine-affected districts of the State, is guilty of the callousness of Nero who fiddled while Rome was burning. It granted a loan of four lakhs of rupees overnight to enable the Hyderabad Municipality to lay roads to Nanalnagar and to make other arrangements consistent with the central idea of a "fairyland". The energies of the entire Government machinery had been directed for about a month towards making the Nanalnagar a paradise on earth. This is an unabashed abuse of power for party purposes. Besides, the police and the C. I. D. who descended in their full force, made a nuisance of themselves everywhere in the Nanalnagar. Their presence in large numbers changed the entire face of the session, and robbed it of its grace. It was particularly damaging to the popular character of the Congress. People were treated no better than sheep, and the C.I.D. acted far in excess of the needs of security of the person of the Prime Minister and of other Ministers.

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SCIENCE AND SWABHASHA

By V. SUBRAMANIAN

"WE have already won the fight and no purpose is served now by writing letters to the Press," said the manager of a number of schools in Ceylon. He was talking about the change to be introduced in the medium of instruction from English to the mother tongue in all Ceylon schools, starting with the first form this year. Many had raised the cry rather too late in the Press that the pace of this change-over was bad for the future students and for the island as well if it threw English overboard in such unseemly haste. The present controversy in Ceylon must be of interest to India just as India's linguistic policies are to Ceylon.

Unfortunately at the very beginning of this controversy two allied but different issues were confused and politicians have allowed the confusion to continue since it serves their purpose. Years ago even during the colonial rule a resolution was adopted that progressively the Government should be conducted in the national languages. But the resolution was allowed to go into cold storage for quite some time till it was revived year before last by some members of the opposition. One of them moved a dramatic resolution demanding that Sinhalese and Tamil be made the languages of official business in a day's time. The Government, however, preferred to go slow and appointed a committee. During the elections the Sri Lanka Freedom Party promised to make the national languages official languages also. It failed to carry the day though it was popular over fairly large areas. The Government is proceeding cautiously in the matter.

But all the political rancour and polemics of this controversy now seem to have been transplanted to a definitely different problem, namely, the slow change-over of the medium of instruction in science and arts subjects from English to Tamil and Sinhalese. The former problem, in spite of controversies, is far simpler

than the latter. After all, there is not much difficulty in carrying on administration in native languages and official orders can, with a little training, be passed in Tamil and Sinhalese, provided all Government servants are compelled to be conversant with both languages if they are to serve all over Ceylon. The problem of familiarizing all people with a common national language does not exist in Ceylon. It is all a question of time and smoothness in transition.

All are agreed on principle that there should be a change-over to the national languages as media of instruction in science, but when and how are a matter over which there are very serious differences of opinion. The Government had issued a directive that from 1953 onwards, the medium of instruction would be the national language. The present scheme is to change the medium of instruction up to third form in the course of three years. This is not revolutionary since in most of the states of India the medium of instruction is the mother tongue up to the sixth form. But in Ceylon there are some peculiar difficulties.

Those who are alarmed by the present trends include principals and eminent educationists, native as well as foreign. There are educationists and principals on the other side as well. The people who want to switch over to *swabhasha* at the proposed pace say that the present system of education wastes the child's time and interest by making him learn English and then the science subjects in the English language. The number of people who have some proficiency in English in Ceylon is but three percent. It will thus waste the nation's best asset, its youth. The Japanese learn science subjects in their language and are very advanced in technology. Any subject is best learnt in the mother tongue. The reform must begin somehow and the earlier the better. Ceylon cannot be tied down to her colonial psychology.

The people who want to proceed cautiously contend that these arguments are valid in an abstract sense but they have to be applied to the context of Ceylon at present. They say that now there are neither enough teachers nor textbooks in science in the national languages to make a start even at the first form stage. But it will not do to make a start only. As it is, if the process is continued, in seven years' time all the students entering the university will have done their science subjects in their mother tongue and the logical corollary will be for them to study them in the mother tongue in the university also. Most university deans have categorically said that it is impossible to do so in the near future. Also, the teachers and textbooks are absolutely inadequate for even the present change-over. Teachers will have to be first trained in Tamil and no facilities exist in the university. Apart from the general run of arguments there is an emotional penumbra round the problem which cannot be ignored. English was the language of the British rulers and the language of a ruling minority and has, therefore, to be banished as early as possible. In Ceylon the feeling against the British was never intense and English knowledge is widespread. There was no fight for freedom and little development of modern writing. But after the advent of freedom it is not only safe but paying to be chauvinistic and political and educational busybodies are not missing the chance either. Hence it comes about that the acrimony of the controversy over official languages has been imported into this field as well. It is doubly unfortunate since in education it takes an awkward form not widely prevalent in India.

In Ceylon, once education was a monopoly of the missionaries who abused their position. But long ago they reconciled to the changing times. The chauvinists however point out that opposition to the change comes mainly from them, for purely selfish reasons. The missionaries have to blame it on themselves

if they are made scapegoats but even to spite them the island cannot be made to suffer. Among the very sane arguments put forward by the moderates is that as a result of the mistaken language patriotism the Sinhalese will suffer much more than the Tamils, and the island as a whole will pay the price of bad education by lack of technical development. There is much in this. Sinhalese have very little literature even by eastern standard. The Tamils can get textbooks from Tamilnad.

There can be no doubt that there is a dearth of literature in the national languages.

The main weakness of the moderates' position is that, besides asking for a slow policy, they are not offering any alternative. There was however one fruitful suggestion from a University dean. He said that there were so many periodicals in English on each subject that to merely translate them they would require a big staff. At the higher levels therefore it was impossible for a very long time to teach in *Swabhasha*. Instead, the students may do their science in *Swabhasha* till their S. S. C. but thereafter they will have to learn it in English at the University.

In Ceylon even the moderate reform proposed is fraught with danger since the cry is based only on chauvinism without any corresponding achievement in any field of literature. Also, the two languages are unequally developed and this will lead to communal passions in future. Even the Ceylon Tamil will suffer in spite of relying on the achievements in Tamil Nad. For it will be only a borrowing without any active creation, and teachers will take a long time to get into their stride in an atmosphere where those educated with English as their medium of instruction neglect Tamil and the rest are steeped in an obscurantist chauvinism. Ceylon cannot afford to go ahead rashly in this matter.

KENYA'S MAU MAU TERROR

By MATTHEW HALTON

FOR over 200 years the Europeans have been exploring, ruling, developing and exploiting the continent of Africa. Except for Egypt, Ethiopia and Liberia, the whole vast area from the Mediterranean to the Cape is still ruled by the white man. But now Africa is in ferment. Troubled by injustice, conscious of recent events in Asia and the rising tide of colour, and agitated by the ideas of freedom and economic equality taught by the white man himself, the black man is now flexing his muscles and dreaming of taking his own lands for his own use. The latest manifestation of unrest is in Britain's Kenya Colony of East Africa, where a Negro secret society called Mau Mau has run amok in a reign of terror.

Mau Mau is an evil thing, with beastly and barbarous rites, but for some years little attention was paid to it because it was thought to be only religious or ritualistic rather than economic or political. More than once groups of natives, resenting Christianity, had formed weird societies to worship the ancient tribal gods dwelling high on the slopes of Mounts Kenya or Kilimanjaro. They hankered after Mumbo-Jumbo and the old order of things.

But Mau Mau, it is now feared, is something different. What it hankers after is Karl Marx and the new order. And Kenya is now in crisis. Something like war has broken out between the largest tribe, the Kikuyu, and the Kenya Government. British troops have been sent in. The Mau Mau terrorists have committed 40 savage murders. And the unhappy tribesmen, even those who hate the assassins, go in terror of their lives, and fear to aid the police.

The Negro in Kenya has been treated better than in some parts of Africa. He is not an outlaw or a slave, and in fact there has been a great fund of good-will between blacks and whites. Yet it is a fact that the handful of white men have millions of acres of the best lands

while the far greater number of natives is restricted to a little land. It is a fact that the black men are treated as inferiors, behind a rigid colour bar, and the white men are the master race. And it seems to be a fact that these conditions cannot last.

Vows To Oust White Men

Mau Mau is sinister and barbaric, a throwback to the darkest days of "darkest Africa"—but it is also a yearning for a better life. As a terror, it must be exterminated; but its ideas will not die until the Africans have won a greater degree of economic justice and of partnership in the land which is, after all, their own.

Mau Mau's bestiality cannot be denied. The terrorists gather in the night to induct new members. If a man or woman refuses to join, the person is tortured. Naturally he consents, therefore, to enter the society; and he then faces the ritual of taking the oath. This is ghastly enough, with its drinking of blood, its mutilation of a sheep and its dark ritual of terror.

The ritual and the oath vary, but the following is characteristic: A ram is tortured and killed and its blood drawn off into wooden bowls. The initiate kneels and mutters prayers to the blood, to another bowl holding earth, and to the spears and knives. He passes under a mystic archway of brushwood. A banana stem is hollowed and filled with blood, and a sheep's eye is impaled on its end. The initiate sips the blood. Then he pricks the sheep's eye with a nail and the nail is driven into the arch. Then there is the swearing of the oath.

Primitive and ignorant, you will say. But there is nothing very primitive about the oath that is sworn. The terms of the oath vary, but here are some of the vows that are sworn:

To drive the white men out of Kenya;

Not to sell any land to white men;

To attack Christianity, and never to attend or let their children attend

churches or missions or government schools;

To steal firearms from white men, and to kill white men whenever called upon to do so, and to help to hide people who steal from or kill white men;

And to free their imprisoned leader, Jomo Kenyatta.

Plainly, these are not the vows of a black magic society concerned simply with religious reaction. It began that way; but it has become a political and nationalist movement.

Jomo Kenyatta, the leader now in prison, is a clever demagogue, idolized by the nationalists. The Mau Mau oath proclaims him as the man sent by the native gods to liberate the African people. In the parodies of Christian hymns which the zealots sing, Jomo's name is substituted for that of Jesus.

After taking the oath, the initiate receives the sign and badge of the society. He is marked by three deep cuts on the right shoulder. He asks for ruin and death for himself and his family in the event that he breaks his vows. And he is then a member of Mau Mau.

Redress, Not Repress

So well kept are Mau Mau's secrets that the Kenya police do not know how many members it has, or whether there is outside Communist influence behind it. Some of the society's methods seem similar, though more primitive, to those of the Communist guerrillas in Malaya. As in Malaya, the revolt started as a secret murder society. As in Malaya, the villagers are terrorized into withholding information from the police. In Malaya the guerillas have slashed and ruined rubber trees; in Kenya the Mau Mau attack the herds of cattle.

Forty loyal natives and white men have been brutally murdered; hundreds have been beaten and many tortured. Cruelty and savagery have even taken the form of torturing cattle.

The Kikuyu tribe, in which Mau Mau has its stronghold, is the largest in Kenya. It numbers over 1,000,000 people. Some say that as many as 90 per cent of the tribe are

members of Mau Mau; some say it is 50 per cent; others put the number as low as 15,000. In some districts it is certain that 80 per cent of the people have been sworn in. Most of the members, it must be remembered, are inducted against their will. Beatings and torture are the lot of those who refuse to join; and those who reveal the society's secrets are tortured and murdered. The threat of torture hangs over not only the apostate himself but his wife and family as well.

Mau Mau was first organized, it is thought, 10 or 12 years ago. None of the leaders is known except Jomo Kenyatta himself. Most of the real zealots are the young discontented—land-hungry men in the country, unemployed men in Nairobi. The society includes also a number of older men, careless and even ignorant of the real aims of Mau Mau, interested only in a revolt against Christianity and a return to the tribal gods and the old rites.

The Kenya authorities and the more sane and solid tribal leaders are trying to persuade their people that if they have taken the Mau Mau oath they can be cleansed from it by ceremonies in which they take an even stronger oath, and many such cleansing ceremonies have been held. This in itself is crude enough, another mixture of blood and hocus-pocus. A ram or a goat is killed with elaborate ritual. Parts of the animal's body are mixed with blood and herbs and sacred water. Into this mixture the witch doctor dips a hoof, and each man being "cleansed" sucks it seven times. Sticks from the sacred wild fig tree are dipped in the mixture and presented seven times to each man. Incantations are muttered. Then the cleansing oath is sworn. The witch doctor marks the man's nose with the white paint of purification. And so at last his oath is abjured and he is free from Mau Mau.

So far there have been few Kikuyu brave enough to try to escape, or brave enough to give the police the information that will lead to the arrest of the terrorist chiefs.

This has led the Kenya Government and police into the harsh and

dangerous roads of collective punishment. When people refuse to reveal the secrets of Mau Mau they are arrested, their cattle are impounded. In some cases whole villages have been destroyed and the people forcibly moved to new areas. At times they have been rounded up like cattle. "Punishment," says the white man, "is the only thing the native understands." Those words and much stronger ones have been used in the Kenya legislature—in blind, arrogant defiance of all the lessons of history. The punishment of innocent people will much more likely inflame the African peoples, not only in Kenya but far beyond.

Mau Mau will not be wiped out by repression, but by redressing poverty and the sense of grievance now swiftly growing in the frustrated and bewildered minds of the Kenya Negroes. The grievances are very real. They arise chiefly from poor wages and the hunger for land. Except for these, Mau Mau would lose its sting and wither away.

Here is the basic fact that tells the story: the Kikuyu tribe, with over 1,000,000 people, living in their three reserves and on the slopes of Kilimanjaro, have 2,000 square miles of land. The 15,000 white men, with their black servants and labourers, have 20,000 square miles of land.

Africa For The Africans

On the Kikuyu reserves are 400 to 1,000 natives per square mile trying to live on the land. In the famous and lovely country of the White Highlands, so called because the Africans may not own land there, there are 300 white farmers owning 16,000 square miles. The white man in Kenya has not been a villain. He has introduced schools and missions and hospitals and better health—

but this very fact, improving health and so increasing the population, has aggravated the problems of poverty.

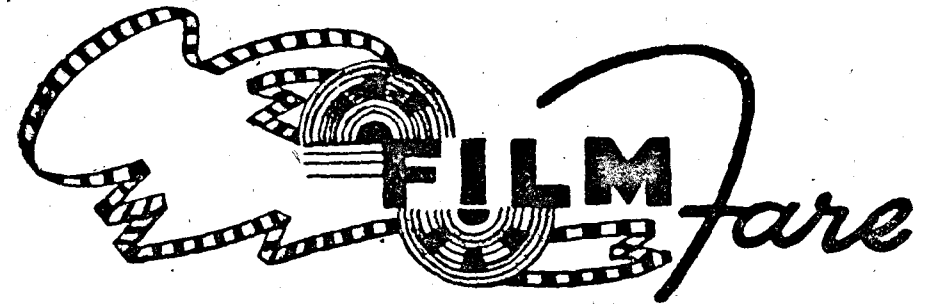
In the Kikuyu tribe the land is held by family groups. When a man dies the land is divided among his sons, so the holdings get smaller with each generation. Today many holdings are no bigger than half an acre, and five acres is regarded as a good holding. As a result of all this the natives are driven from the land and into the towns, to work for wages—and the wages of at least 25,000 of these men are only \$70 a year. In Nairobi, the capital, there are many thousands of homeless and jobless natives.

On top of economic distress there is the colour bar. The Negroes are restricted to special areas in the towns and to their reserves in the country. And they are beginning to revolt.

Whether we like it or not, and whether the white men of Kenya like it or not, these conditions cannot and will not last. Whether we like it or not—and we might as well face it even if we don't like it—the climate of the world has changed. The manifestation of the secret society called Mau Mau are savage and evil. But behind it all there is the rising tide of African nationalism. Behind it all there is the awakening feeling among the Negroes of Africa that Africa is theirs and that the existence of the "White Highlands" is monstrously unjust. The policy of the British in Africa has been comparatively enlightened. But not enlightened enough. And as James Griffiths said recently in the British House of Commons, we are seeing now in Kenya the last chance to prevent, by genuine statesmanship, a real war between black man and white.

If Britain is to survive, it needs another economic revolution; it needs new industries and techniques; above all, it needs to place a majority of its working population in productive occupations. That cannot be done without a vast increase in technological education; but such a change must have a social dynamic. The form that Socialism now takes in this country is the struggle for national survival. If that challenge is squarely faced, the coming generation will not want for aims to spur its efforts, nor for opportunities to satisfy its idealism.

—THE NEW STATESMAN AND NATION.



By V. P. SATHE

THE Film Festival, held a year ago, accomplished one thing. It opened the doors of Indian cinemas to Continental and Japanese pictures—pictures which were never shown before. During the last year at least four or five foreign pictures were released all over India—*Bicycle Thief*, *On the Circus Arena*, *Fall of Berlin*, *Yukiwarisoo* and *Stalingrad*. I have not included *Rasho-man* in the list since it was distributed by a Hollywood agency and got all the advantages of an American picture.

This year the number is bound to go up. Already De Sica's *Miracle in Milan* has been secured for all India release by Mr. Tarachand Barjatya while Borker Brothers are distributing De Sica's *Shoe Shine*. The prints of both these pictures have arrived in Bombay. For *Miracle in Milan* a commentary in English and Hindi is being prepared. Another Italian picture *Hello, Elephant* starring De Sica and Sabu has been imported. The Czech films have been secured by an Indian distributor; both of them are puppet films. Moreover, there is a regular agency for distribution of Soviet pictures in this country. So one can expect at least a score of foreign pictures not produced by Hollywood or Britain to be shown in India this year.

These pictures will provide a welcome relief from the stereotyped stuff doled out by Hollywood. But will they bring huge profits to the distributors who are running after these pictures in the hope of making a fortune?

Those in the know of things are not optimistic. K. K. Kapur who released *Bicycle Thief* and *Yukiwarisoo* expressed the opinion that both

these films, especially *Bicycle Thief* would hardly bring any profit. The reason is the appeal of these pictures is restricted to big cities. And even amongst big cities, but for Bombay, business has not been very encouraging. If this is how *Bicycle Thief* which has many advantages over other foreign pictures has fared those who want to exploit foreign films in the country cannot be in a happy mood.

The margin of profit was less because of the expenses involved in dubbing, taking out fresh prints, and publicity. The dubbing cost was cut down to some extent by introducing commentary; and yet the additional cost is reported to be about a lakh of rupees, while the price paid for the first copy imported from abroad varied from Rs. 40,000 to Rs. 75,000. When I suggested that only the English sub-titled version should have been shown, Mr. Kapur told me that in that case the returns would have been still worse and he cited the example of *Rasho-man*.

Hence efforts should be made on the one hand to reduce the expense and on the other to popularize these pictures in the correct manner.

Picture Of The Week

Due to enhancement of rates, I had decided not to see *Quo Vadis* till it was shown at popular prices. Yet in its tenth week, I could not resist the temptation of seeing this colossal film. I went to the picture with many misgivings and I liked it.

More spectacular than any of the De Mille pictures and unlike them, I found *Quo Vadis* a sensible and intelligent picture, though, perhaps, not as exciting, barbaric and brutal as it would have been with the De

Mille touch. It also lacked the dramatic intensity as well as the histrionic art of Charles Laughton as Nero, Claudette Colbert as Pompea, Fredric March as the Roman Soldier and Elissa Landi as the Christian girl which made De Mille's *Sign of the Cross* a memorable film.

While agreeing fully with a critic who said that the zealous spirit of a crusader is lacking in *Quo Vadis* and that there is an air of theatricality verging on the side of comic opera in acting one must admit that the theme of *Quo Vadis* is very appealing and the picture itself very absorbing. I, for one, could sit through the fifteen thousand and odd feet without feeling bored.

The theme of peace and war has a topical appeal. The picture is a strong plea for peace and not just propaganda for Christianity. Hence, instead of emphasising the suffering of Christians, it lays stress on the gospel of peace, through the speeches of the apostles of Christ.

It seems as if Marvyn Le Roy has deliberately avoided sentimentality or melodrama. He has exposed the decadent Roman Society by resorting to sophisticated wit rather than disgusting the audience with their inhuman barbaric deeds. The irony underlying Nero's words as the Christians led to the arena to be devoured by lions singing the hymns "They sing. They are not human" appears to be more poignant than the actual killing of innocent Christians who are framed up for burning Rome in a manner which reminds one of Hitler's famous Reichstag fire trial.

Nero, the emperor and god, is not shown as a mighty over-bearing person but a little mean man, pathetically comic. Superbly played by Peter Ustinov, the treatment of this character appears to be novel and hence, perhaps, not acceptable to orthodox critics. The character of Petronius, superbly portrayed by Leo Genn, is brilliant. His last letter to Nero, in which he beseeches him "butcher the people if you like, but don't butcher music", is classical and exemplifies the typical decadent intellectual's snobbish attitude to art and human life.

The love story of Roman commander and Christian girl runs through

the picture in typical Hollywood fashion with both Robert Taylor and Deborah Kerr acting in typical Hollywood style. Taylor even talks and walks like a Hollywood American hero; there is nothing Roman about him. Deborah Kerr, though pleasant and dignified, acts like a Hollywood heroine. This romance gives an air of unreality to the whole picture; and yet all the engrossing drama arises out of this romance and is sustained by it till the end.

For sheer spectacular crowd scenes, there is no picture to compare with "Quo Vadis". The burning of Rome is vivid without being awe-inspiring. The same can be said about all the scenes; that is perhaps the greatest weakness of "Quo Vadis" which ridicules all wars and propagates the gospel of peace in true Christian spirit. It is this topical theme that distinguishes it and saves it from being just a colossal film spectacle.

Personality Of The Week

The formation of Pakistan dealt a severe blow to the film industry six years ago. Not only did business go down but many stars crossed the borders—stars who were then at the top of the film world—stars like Noorjehan, Veena, Swarnalata, Neena, Shamim, Shah Nawaz, Nazir and the one and only Charlie.

Viewed in retrospect, these stars must be regretting their decision to migrate to Pakistan. For had they stayed in Bombay, they would have amassed fortune and, talented as they are, they would have still retained their fame. By remaining in Pakistan, they have achieved neither fame nor fortune. They have not had even opportunities to show their talent.

Some of them, like Veena and Al Nazir, have returned to India and are trying to regain their old position. But with the passing of years they are finding it difficult. The one star who was in demand even after migrating to Pakistan was Charlie. I know for a fact that several producers tried to persuade him to come back and one producer was prepared to offer him any price he liked. Charlie did not budge.

Now the same Charlie has come back to Bombay, not to seek a job in films but for some private work. In

Bombay, he has been attending many film functions, some of them held in his honour. Charlie has changed; he has changed almost beyond recognition. About two decades ago, when Charlie left Sagar and joined Ranjit, he was a gay, boisterous youth. He was not a star then and used to travel by tram and play practical jokes on some of his fellow passengers. The very sight of him those days was enough to provoke laughter. Charlie was always lively and up to some mischief. And now he looks a changed man. Age has not only mellowed him down but seems to have made him serious, and almost tragic. What has transformed Jovial Charlie into a glum person, only Charlie himself can tell.

Charlie has made people laugh for two decades. Charlie, whose real name is Noor Mohammed was called Charlie after Charlie Chaplin, though unlike the original, the Indian is merely a slapstick comedian. A comedian, Charlie, in the beginning, had to be content with side roles, though occasionally he got a leading character. He appeared in Sagar's *Zarina* and other pictures; and he was the hero of *Madcap* directed by Ezra Mir. One could almost say that Ezra Mir discovered his talent and Jayant Desai groomed him into a star.

He left Sagar and joined Ranjit and became the favourite star of Jayant Desai. In the tremendous success of *Toofan Mail* and *Nadira* Charlie had a big hand. Charlie played all kinds of roles; sometimes, as in *Thokar*, he played the villain, in others he played just a buffoon or even a hero; and as in *Takdeer*, he played the father. As he grew old, he became more and more popular and was given the male-lead in many pictures. The one picture in which he played a simpleton hero and became very popular was Ranjit's *Mussafr*. He directed a picture *Dhandhora*, which unfortunately failed at box-office.

Charlie was a real trouser. He knew how to steal the scenes from others and often he added gestures and dialogues on the spot. As Jayant Desai once told me, Charlie had to be just told to put certain dialogue-piece in a picture and he would manage the rest. He has

been a resourceful, talented and versatile artiste. When he left Ranjit and became a free-lancer, he appeared in picture after picture, some of which like *Manorama*, proved a great success. Incidentally, he is the only comedian who can sing songs and sing them well in true comic style. His famous song *Ek Do Tin Char* in *Dhandora* and his parody of Noorjehan's *Gazal* in *Manorama* are examples of his ability to amuse the audience with singing.

Apart from Saigal, he was perhaps the only male artiste who drew crowds by his name to the theatre. Such a talented and popular star went almost into oblivion with his migration to Pakistan. Recently a picture starring him came from Pakistan; but the old Charlie was missing.

Will he stage a come-back? As it is, during his stay in Bombay he must have received several offers, in fact he did. Will he manage to come down and act in Bombay? If he does, he will again bring laughter and cheer to the picturegoers who are tired of seeing the sob-stuff.

News Of The Week

—Heman Gupta's *Ferry* starring Geeta Bali, Pradip Kumar and a five-year old boy around whom the story revolves, was launched on January 20 at Modern Studios. Mehboob performed the muhurat which was attended by many screen luminaries.

—Ram L. Gogtay, erstwhile Secretary of IMPPA and IMPDA, film critic and a producer of short films died suddenly on Thursday after an heart-attack. Gogtay was mainly responsible for building up the organisation of Motion Picture Producers' Association and had up-to-date facts and figures of the industry at his finger tips.

—Madhubala is reported to have been signed by Mehboob for his next picture, in addition to Dilip Kumar and Nimmi.

—Datta Dharmadhikari is making a picture in Marathi, Hindi, and English entitled *Mahatma* starring Gajanan Jagirdar and David in the principal roles. He performed the muhurat on Monday January 19, 1953.

LEADERS AND LINGUISTIC STATES

By D. V. RAMA RAO

THE recent Congress Subjects Committee discussion on the linguistic issue reveals a poor level of thought and understanding especially on the part of the opponents of linguistic states. The attempt to describe a rational re-distribution as tantamount to division of the country, bringing even the analogy of Pakistan, is not only incorrect but absolutely misleading as is only too apparent. Politically, linguistic units will be on the same footing as are the present state units. If the mere existence of provincial units amounts to division, our country is already divided. One can understand arguments in favour of a single unified government, but one fails to understand the opposition to rational re-drawing of boundaries of the existing units when the concerned people desire it.

It may be noted that language groups in India are neither separate nationalities nor races and linguistic re-distribution aims at nothing more than making units more homogeneous and uniform in size and resources and help harmonious regional development, besides satisfying the natural sentiments of people who happen to be divided in various units. It would also prevent controversies such as Nandikonda vs. Krishna-Pennar project between Andhra and Tamilnad in Madras and Keyna vs. Karpada project between Maharashtra and Gujerat in Bombay.

As regards the contention that linguistic re-distribution would lead to isolationism, it may be pointed out that the large majority of the present units, in fact all except Madras, Bombay, Madhya Pradesh and Hyderabad, are already of a linguistic pattern and if they have not led to isolationism neither will the completion of the process already in force and applied to in the merger of ex-rulers' states on the basis of linguistic affinity, as admitted by Mr. V. P. Menon, the then Political Adviser to the States Ministry.

As for Rajaji's charge that linguistic re-distribution is a tribal idea, one wonders whether talk about Tamil culture and interests and insistence on certain territories as part and parcel of Tamilnad and threats that Andhras will not be allowed to burn or bury their dead in Madras City do not indicate a tribal mentality and worse. It is strange that while Rajaji raised no objection to the Congress constitution of Pradesh committees on linguistic basis, he finds it a tribal idea now although Gandhiji himself favoured the idea. No wonder Nehru told Rajaji that all of us were clannish whether opponents or advocates of linguistic states.

Nehru's fear that the linguistic principle might lead to multiplication of states is entirely unfounded and it can easily be shown that it will lessen the number of states, besides making them more uniform than the present set-up which varies from absurdly tiny units like Coorg, Ajmeer and Himachal Pradesh to fifty times bigger units like U. P., and Madras. Linguistic re-distribution, which is practically confined to the present eight units of Madras, Bombay, Madhya Pradesh, Hyderabad, Mysore, Travancore-Cochin, Sourashtra and Coorg, would reduce the number to six units of a uniform and homogeneous nature—Andhra, Karnataka, Kerala, Tamilnad, Maharashtra and Gujerat. And since the northern units are already of a linguistic pattern, they require a few minor boundary adjustments such as between Bihar and Bengal, which can be safely entrusted to impartial committees whose decision will be final and to which no reasonable person can object. Of course, the Hindi area comprising U. P., Bihar, Madhya Bharat, Vindhya Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh and Mahakosal portion of Madhya Pradesh being too large may be constituted into three or four units—U. P., Bihar and one or two central Indian Hindi units,

with a few adjustments. Thus, instead of so many utterly disproportionate units as at present, Indian units could be reduced to just about fifteen uniform units—Andhra, Karnataka, Kerala, Tamilnad, Gujerat, Maharashtra, Orissa, West Bengal, Assam, U. P., Bihar, plus one or two central Indian Hindi units, East Punjab and Rajasthan, besides Kashmir. This, in fact, is the simple rational picture and there need be no fear of multiplication of states because language groups relate to the basic regional languages mentioned in the Constitution and not to every local dialect.

The agitation for a Sikh state has little to do, in reality, with the linguistic issue. Even after the constitution of linguistic units no unit need or should be deemed as the exclusive homeland of any particular language group since constitutionally any Indian can reside and carry on his pursuits in any part enjoying equal status and citizenship rights.

It may be noted that fissiparous tendencies are largely the result of the failure on the part of the Central authorities to appoint a commission prior to the appointment of the Dhar Committee to demarcate the bi-lingual areas. The Centre also did not enunciate and implement a sound and uniform bi-lingual policy irrespective of state boundaries which would have lessened boundary controversies. This aspect has been repeatedly pointed out by the present writer, but it is strange that leaders who indulge in platitudes about the danger of fissiparous tendencies pay so little attention to the problem of linguistic minorities of bi-lingual areas which is the root cause of much of the friction.

One can, however, appreciate the practical difficulties involved. As Nehru pointed out, wide administrative and financial adjustments have to be made in undertaking linguistic re-distribution in one stroke and this may impede the execution of the Five Year Plan. But one is frankly puzzled at Nehru's contention that the disintegration of Hyderabad would upset the equilibrium of the

South; and he did not indicate, even faintly, as to how or why it would be so. Indeed, had Hyderabad been disintegrated and the Andhra, Kanarese and Maharashtra areas added to Madras, Mysore and Bombay respectively the agitation for linguistic states would have largely subsided. Most would agree with Ramanand Tirth that dismemberment of the superficial set-up of Hyderabad would restore equilibrium and solve many a knotty problem. Tamil speakers who opposed linguistic states should have remembered that they are at least in the advantageous position of having practically all the Tamil area in the Madras State and should have appreciated the natural aspirations of language groups scattered in different units.

The clause in the Congress resolution making Andhra a test case is unconvincing, for, to make it a test case with a truncated area leaving large slices in Hyderabad and other places, containing ten million Andhras, is really a mockery of the linguistic principle. Secondly, there is no need to make Andhra a test case because, as already pointed out, most of the present states are generally of a linguistic pattern and the experience of any one of these can as well be taken as a test. Whether a state will be viable and stable or not depends on its resources and potentialities and not on the linguistic issue. Just as some states are better administered than others now, so also some linguistic units may prove better than others. Everyone would agree, however, with Nehru that while linguistic homogeneity should be the main criterion, other factors may also have to be taken into consideration in recarving linguistic states.

Lastly, it is refreshing to note the sober and clear approach made by speakers like Sanjiva Reddy, Hanumanthiah and Gadgil and with a little exercise of patience on the part of linguistic enthusiasts and a little more understanding and clear thinking on the part of the opponents the linguistic states issue may not baffle an early and satisfactory solution.

AUTOMOBILE INDUSTRY IN INDIA-II

By H. RANGACHAR

THE view is often advanced that in the present stage of our economic development it is premature to start an automobile industry and that many obstacles have to be overcome and many problems solved before conditions favourable for the successful establishment and growth of the industry can be created. This question requires a very careful consideration.

It has been urged that a major factor retarding the establishment of the industry is the low volume of demand for motor vehicles in our country. The Chairman of the Tariff Commission recently drew attention to this in his speech in Bombay inaugurating the enquiry into the automobile industry. He pointed out that the low demand was due to the low standard of living in the country, the undeveloped road system and the high prices of motor vehicles at present.

On the basis of imports and sales of motor vehicles in the country, it has been estimated that the annual demand for motor vehicles will not exceed 20,000. Of this, half may be passenger cars and the other half, commercial vehicles. It may reasonably be expected that this demand will increase progressively in coming years. Even as matters stand at present, motor transport in our country is not fully developed and is not adequate to meet the demands of the traffic. Under the Five Year Plan, there is a provision of Rs. 108.87 crores for road development and of Rs. 8.96 crores for road transport development. The execution of the Plan and the resultant economic development will be factors leading to an increased demand for motor vehicles. Account should also be taken of the demand by the military for army vehicles. All these may be expected to result in increased demand for motor vehicles by the time a factory for automobiles starts working. Neverthe-

less, the demand for the products of such a factory may be assessed on the basis of the present volume of demand alone.

The question that arises is whether with the annual demand for all classes of motor vehicles being so low as 20,000 it is feasible to start an automobile factory with any prospect of its being a paying concern. It is well known that modern mass production technique has been fully developed in the field of automobile manufacture and that giant factories turn out motor vehicles by hundreds of thousands per annum. There are some of the biggest factories in the U. S. A. the output capacity of which is three to four cars per minute. In view of all this, it is argued that a factory turning out a few thousand vehicles a year cannot be an economic unit which can survive in competition with such giant factories.

Economic Unit

The question for consideration for our present purpose is not how big a factory could be or is in other countries but the limited one of what the minimum capacity is for an economic unit. In other words, what is the minimum optimum capacity for an economic motor plant? It was estimated under conditions obtaining in the pre-war period that no factory which manufactured less than about 5,000 vehicles per annum could be an economic unit paying its way. Allowing for changes and developments in the technique of production that have occurred since, it may be estimated that under favourable conditions a plant with a capacity of 7 to 8 thousand vehicles may be a paying unit at present.

The limitations of a small factory like this are obvious. It may not be able to turn out vehicles at prices which will enable it to dispose them of in world markets in competition with big modern factories. It can-

not also produce vehicles of different varieties suited to meet the varying and diverse conditions of even the home market, leave alone the export markets.

Need For Protection

It can only cater to the home market in limited categories of vehicles. In these classes, it will be able to manufacture vehicles which it can market at approximately the same prices as those imported from abroad. The industry will have to be protected from undue competition by suitable tariffs. Another condition for the successful working of such a factory is that it should, in the initial stages, concentrate on the production largely of suitable standardized types of commercial vehicles. It should be assured of a home market and the Government will have to help the industry by using standard types of vehicles in State road transport services and in the Military Department. This matter will be considered in some detail later on. Subject to the conditions specified above, it would be possible to establish a medium sized factory which will meet a fairly large part of the existing demand for vehicles.

It was precisely a plant of this kind that was contemplated in Sir M. Visvesvaraya's project of 1936. The proposal was to manufacture two types of vehicles which had the largest sale in the country then. The types selected were a medium power passenger car and commercial trucks of the capacity of a ton and a half. The engines, common to both the varieties, were to be of six cylinders of about 24 to 28 H.P. It was also intended to take up, soon after, manufacture of low horse power passenger cars.

The full capacity of the plant was to be about 15,000 units a year, the average production being estimated to be of the order of about 11 to 12 thousand. A carefully prepared estimate showed that at prices then obtaining a good return could be obtained on the estimated capital of 1.5 crores of rupees, after making due allowance for depreciation, the high cost of labour, material, and overhead charges that may be incurred on account of inexperience and other unforeseen difficulties.

Due to the changed conditions that now obtain, alterations will have to be made in regard to the types of vehicles that have to be manufactured. The conditions are now much more favourable as there is a National Government who should be greatly interested in establishing this essential key industry.

The question for consideration now is whether the objective of establishing the automobile industry cannot be better and more satisfactorily achieved by a different approach to the problem. Several suggestions have been put forward in this connection. Some advocate the continuance of the present method of assembling C. K. D. (completely knocked down) vehicles imported from abroad in local assembly plants till the demand for vehicles rises sufficiently to make it possible to establish a big factory. There are others who are in favour of utilising the existing automobile plants for the manufacture of major components of motor vehicles and for the development of ancillary industries till conditions favourable for the establishment of a full-fledged factory are created. These and other connected questions will be examined in the next article.

The keen interest of Hindus, and particularly of Hindu women, in the proposed Hindu Code Bill, which touches so closely their personal affairs, is paralleled by the close attention which outside observers are devoting to this experiment in codification. Students of jurisprudence have seen resemblances to the famous codification of French law in the early nineteenth century, and to Egypt's recent codification of Islamic law. It is fairly certain that India's new code, if and when it is finally passed, will be a modern interpretation of classical Indian religious law and local custom, with strong traces of English common law.—John A. Bannigan in *The Eastern Survey*.

VALUE OF ART FOR GOOD LIVING

By DEVI PRASAD ROY CHOWDHURY

THERE is a dangerous aspect of the pursuit of the artist, and that is its contagious character which victimises innocent persons and lures them for sensuous pleasure. The graphic or plastic patterns which bore records of the tense emotions of the artists were considered to be unsuited to any utilitarian purpose, let alone their susceptibility to immoral trends. Therefore such a vocation did not deserve encouragement. The result was that believers in this school of thought kept their eyes shut from seeing a thing of beauty either in nature or created by an artist, turned a deaf ear to the beautiful sounds that music could produce, remained absolutely callous to the beauty of rhythm in the movements of dancing and so on. Hence to protect the souls of the goody-goody type from being contaminated by any aesthetic appeal they had to build an impenetrable wall in front of the eager receptive agents which conveyed the message of the beautiful to the mind.

I have said eager because aesthetic appeal is an inherent quality of man. Even in the primitive age the caveman could not resist the inner urge to create. It was natural for him to combine life with the joy that a thing of beauty could give. But today we have created an artificial barrier to suppress our feelings. We have been dragged to be slaves of *dont's* instead of cultivating confidence to search and reveal the truth that underlies a form of beauty.

What has been the outcome of this queer conception supported by uncompromising *dont's*? We made ourselves deaf, dumb and blind. The assets of the so-called simple life led us more to linger than to live. We starved the very soul while healthy food for the mind was available in abundance from the source of our own heritage. Thus we courted an additional poverty while we were engulfed by so many difficult problems that confront life. The result

however gave satisfaction to the puritans in that it successfully crushed the very element which could give stimulus to one to grow to a fuller life.

Strangely it was taken for granted that pure literature is immune from this alarming contagion. The privilege must have been drawn from ignorance, which disallowed investigation as to how limitations were imposed on each branch of art in their respective spheres.

Talking about limitations, I feel inclined to cite instances to substantiate my contention that no one form of art is endowed with scope enough to represent all aspects of human emotions or abstract thoughts. This is due to subjects disagreeing with the medium. Let us take a portrait executed from life by a master artist. The portraitist, be he a sculptor, or a painter, can represent the features of the person without giving any chance of a misleading identification since the means of executing the portrait either in a flat canvas or in bronze in the round, is composed of concrete and vivid forms in sharp silhouettes. Such well defined structure does not permit imagination to grow unless it is based on the facts of the surface. Literature in this respect would be a grand failure since, however good the description of the features might be, the substance of the description has to be focussed to an imaginary form, visualised in the mind. The silhouettes of the form described by words cannot be identical with the original seen by optical vision. Here are the examples: an aquiline nose, a broad forehead or such other characteristic feature could be found in any number of heads. The point under issue is almost identical when applied to the question of music or dancing. No description, even if we take the aid of musical notation, can help one to estimate the actual quality of sound which has a value of its own.

I have stressed upon this comparison with the view to claiming an

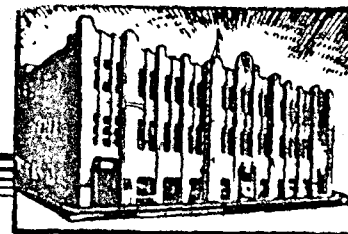
equal attention to the graphic or plastic expressions since they have no less cultural value in the field of art than is claimed by literature.

Why was this indifference allowed to flourish? The important cause that strikes me first is the total absence of aesthetic inclination in our modes of living. The cultivated starvation I have described before, has developed into a constrained habit, if not a chronic disease; with the result that aesthetic hunger has been left alone to take care of itself in a barren environment, I mean the home where the mind and body are fed. The missing element in the atmosphere has become almost permanently a missing element because we do not bother how things are arranged or what objects should be kept in a place where we live. This attitude is something like the neglect of a long-standing chronic wound. The pain is not felt acutely because one gets used to it. But all the same the wound is there and it has to be healed. The only healer of the disease of the mind is a constant touch with things of beauty

that bestow joy in the struggle of existence and the home only can provide this life-giving element.

We buy ornaments and silver cups and feel mightily pleased to keep them in safe custody. Such treasures are not used except on ceremonial occasions when they are released from the chamber where they had been hidden. So the real satisfaction is centred in just possessing and occasional display. But the value of the ornaments thus treasured fluctuates whereas the value of a thing of beauty grows the more one understands its intrinsic worth and it pleases not only the owner but also every person who can enjoy its beauty. A stranger when he enters the room is not only received by the person he has come to meet, but also the accessories that decorate the room. To make a home beautiful, it is not necessary to be rich. What is wanted is good taste. Good taste has to be cultivated for a better living. (Condensed from an address to the Andhra Chitra Kala Parishad, Madras, on 24th January 1953)

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THE PHENOMENON OF 'NEW YUGOSLAVIA'

I had the opportunity the other day of an extended chat in New Delhi with M. Milovan Djilas, one of the principal architects of the 'new,'



M. Milovan Djilas.

Communist but non-Stalinist, Yugoslavia. He was on his way back from the Asian Socialist Conference at Rangoon, attendance at which was in itself a remarkable performance for the Vice-President of a one-party State. That a Communist should desire to attend a conference of Socialists pledged to democracy was curious enough. No less so was the consent enthusiastically given by the sponsors of the conference. What explains the paradox?

The answer is of course to be sought not in the limited context of the Asian Socialist Conference but from the whole course of history since the second world war. Present-day Yugoslavia does not fit into any of the known patterns of political and economic organisation. It is not a tightly regimented Soviet satellite like the other countries of Eastern Europe. Yugoslavia permits to its citizens relatively free access to the outside world, through travel

and free flow of newspapers and books, and receives military and economic aid from the West as the victim of open Soviet hostility. It is not, at the same time, a total or subservient ally of the Western bloc: Yugoslavia has refused to enter the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, and criticises specific aspects of Western policy freely in the U. N. It is not either, like India, a country which hopes to keep out of the next shooting war by refraining from giving offence to either side in the present cold war and adhering to a foreign policy variously described as neutral, independent and middle-of-the-road. Yugoslavia, unlike Mr. Nehru, has named the Soviet Union as an imperialist Power, and does not seek to absolve Red China from blame for intervening in Korea even while supporting the demand for recognition of the Peking Government and its admission to the U. N. More than 'New China' and the 'new democracies' of Eastern Europe, which are faithfully copying the methods and policies of the Kremlin, Yugoslavia merits the appellation 'new.' It is a unique phenomenon.

I sought explanations from M. Djilas on the many elements of paradox detailed above. His answers seemed to me to add up to a challenging conception of a new form of State organisation. The reader can judge for himself.

M. Djilas began by saying that there are many differences among the prevailing forms of Socialism other than the Yugoslav. Thus the nascent Socialism of Burma was different from that of the British Labour Party, the outlook of Indian Socialists was again different from that of British Socialists, and there were differences even among the leaders of British Labour. Yugoslav Socialism was different from all these in being a one-party system, and M. Djilas affirmed explicitly, "We

shall not become a multi-party system."

For this, according to him, there were special reasons arising from Yugoslav history and practical necessity. First among these was the fact that at the end of the war of liberation the only all-Yugoslav party was the Communist Party. All other parties were confined to one or other of the many nationalities inhabiting Yugoslavia, chiefly the Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Montenegrins and Macedonians. Moreover, according to M. Djilas, all these sub-national parties (with the exception of individuals and small groups) had collaborated with the Nazis during the Occupation and thus "separated themselves from the masses." The masses wanted national unification, and could not concede to the regional and collaborationist parties "the moral right to ask for participation" in the country's political life.

It was now proposed to rename the "People's Front," which has been governing Yugoslavia as the only permitted party, as the Socialist Association of the Working People of Yugoslavia. M. Djilas anticipated that in the proposed Association the Communist League will have no special privileges and will be on the same level as every other group. The People's Front, it was explained, grew out of the liberation movement and comprised every group which believed in the fundamental aims of "national independence, Socialism and internal democracy."

On the question of how all this cohered with the idea of democracy, M. Djilas said: "We understand that the main feature of democracy is the right of the working masses to dispose of the produce of their labour. In this respect there is no other nation in the world which is more democratic than ourselves. I do not say the same for political democracy. But I am quite sure that political democracy, too, will grow out of our economic democracy. There are clear signs of this process." He envisaged the ultimate role of Socialism as the withering away of every party, and thus of the State. Direct self-government by

the people would take the place of the State.

The Yugoslav leader, however, emphasised that "we do not think it is impossible to move towards Socialism with a multi-party system. We do not say it is impossible. On the other hand we are convinced that the multi-party system is not applicable to Yugoslavia."

I tried another approach. Was M. Djilas aware of the theory propounded by thinkers such as Prof. Martin Buber, to the effect that Karl Marx was divided in his own mind between the centralist, authoritarian principle of State organisation and the libertarian principle of free and voluntary co-operation between members of communities with minimum reliance on the State, and that Lenin and Stalin developed the authoritarian principle to the hurt of the original idea of Communism? M. Djilas was, of course, aware. He held that Lenin's centralisation was a necessity in the given circumstances, but agreed that it was wrong to absolutise the centralised State. "Stalin pushed forward this centralisation instead of breaking it at a certain point." As a general proposition M. Djilas held that during war, or revolution, centralisation was right and necessary. "But what is good for a certain time has to stop at another time. We agree in principle with Marx that the community has to be the basis of the organisation of public administration. History has shown that democracy has gone when self-government has degenerated."

I must confess that the Yugoslav leader's hopes for the future appealed to me more than his explanations of how the present Yugoslav Government established itself in power. The wholesale condemnation of all parties other than the Communist as disruptive and collaborationist seemed unconvincing, even granting that one knows little of Yugoslav history. But while maintaining one-party rule, the Yugoslav Communist leaders seem to be genuinely aware of the threat of bureaucracy, and anxious to promote the maximum of popular initiative and self-government within the framework of their Socialist ideals. Can it be done? Can a one-party dictatorship gradually

convert itself into a community of self-governing communities, which is what the State's withering away means? The Soviet example does not inspire hope. Communist China, beginning even later than Yugoslavia and inheriting a sprawling land of vast millions, is still engaged with the inevitable process of centralisation but has given no indication

that its ultimate domestic aims or foreign policy will be any different from those of the masters of the Kremlin. Alone among the Communist countries, Yugoslavia is ruled by men whose conscious aim is a self-liquidating dictatorship. The present century has seen that imperialism can be self-liquidating. Perhaps so can dictatorship.—S. R.

AMERICAN TRANSFORMATION FROM 1933 TO 1953

By P. G. KRISHNAYYA

TO many an observer of the electoral landslide that places D. D. Eisenhower in the White House, it seemed that the result could be summed up this way: There were more people who believed "it's time for a change" than there were people who subscribed to the warning of "don't let them take it away."

There will be changes under the Eisenhower administration, yet only the passage of another 20 years can show whether the American transformation of 1933 to 1953 can be approached or equalled in the next two decades. Similarly, no national administration (nor anyone else) can "take away" or obliterate that transformation; historians, unswayed by partisanship, today agree that the forces which produced the transformation were only in a minor degree political. The simple fact is that, between the date of F. D. Roosevelt's first inaugural in 1933 (the President who was to break so many other precedents was the last one to be inaugurated on the traditional March 4, changed to January 20 by the 20th Amendment to the Constitution) and the Eisenhower inauguration, we have become a new and different people.

Statistically, we are more numerous by some 32 million persons. Physically, we are taller, heavier, healthier. Though our birth rate is much higher, we are, on the average older, we live longer. And for the first time in our history, we have more women than we have men.

Economically, we are richer, in that more of us possess much more of the product of science and invention and industry. Many more of us are employed at wages much higher than then. We pay prices that are higher, even in proportion to our earnings. We are burdened with an astronomical national debt and taxes, direct and hidden, take a proportion of our income undreamed of in 1933.

We have, in these 20 years, fought out of a great depression; fought and won the greatest of wars; achieved at a colossal cost, a measure of peace that is relative only. We have seen the whole human concept of the world, even of nature, changed by the release of the energy within the atom. We have become, reluctantly, leaders of the world.

Having survived this transformation, we can scarcely be blamed if we seem to tend toward what some of our leaders feel is an obsession with security at the price of initiative. (One industrialist said recently that, of 36 picked graduate students in engineering who were offered well paid jobs with marked opportunities in his organization all but four put as their first question: "What are your guarantees of job security and of pensions?")

Today, the debut of the New York daughter of Mayflower lineage and inherited wealth is almost indistinguishable from that of the coming out of the Miss Keokuk of 1953, chosen by the local Chamber of Commerce (of which her father, a prosperous hardware merchant, may be

president). Of more importance is the fact that their interests—and those of their associates, even of their elders—are likely to be identical. Their wardrobes are at least comparable, as are the homes in which they live, their educational backgrounds, their accomplishments and acquaintance with the arts, even their taste in cocktails, and men.

There is no secret about how this has been accomplished. Taxes have eliminated the elaborate homes of other times; coupled with higher wages, have almost entirely wiped out what was once called "the servant class." Mass production and national advertising have done the rest. The "colonel's lady is Judy O'Grady."

And a very brief glance at the developing fact is enough to demonstrate that Mrs. Col. O'Grady rules the American scene.

The hand that rocks the cradle has, in 20 years, put the clutch on the great American bankroll. No other change, during the great transformation, has had greater significance, economically or socially, than the gradual shift in control

of the nation's financial structure into the hands of women. Today, the American people are similarly reacting to the threat implicit in the atom bomb. Their optimism is not blind, but tinged with a realistic fatalism. So, if the atom bombs start to fall, we will do what we can. Meanwhile, let's get on with the day's work and play and plans for tomorrow. Actually, we are inclined to look ahead to the peaceful uses of fissionable materials which promise hundreds of humanitarian, industrial and conservation benefits from the radio-active atom. The scientific scene, in the past 20 years, has heralded far more than the atomic age. In 1933, the country spent approximately \$175,000,000 on scientific research; this year the Government and industry will spend more than two billion dollars on such probings. In the 1933-53 span such wonders as plastics, synthetic fabrics, antibiotics like penicillin, streptomycin and aureomycin (to say nothing of the sulfa drugs) have all been discovered. Five million deaths and 100,000,000 serious illnesses are estimated to have been prevented by



Nambiar and Nageswara Rao in KANNATHALI

DDT alone since it came into common use ten years ago.

In the field of genetics, during this period, discoveries have led to the breeding of agricultural products of greater yield, food value and resistance to disease, all for the betterment of mankind. The jet airplane, hardly dreamed of in 1933, is today commonplace. Talk of travel to outer space by rocketship is no longer laughed at. Electronics holds promise of many wonders yet to come. Tomorrow, radar will help to eliminate our growing highway death toll by making auto collisions impossible by radar controlled brakes and warning signals. Short waves will be used to heat homes and cook food. The synthetics industry is looking toward the not-too-distant day when we will all be clothed in fabrics which will not fade, shrink or wrinkle.

Ahead, too, as peaceful development of the atom continues, is freedom from the fear of the exhaustion of coal and oil resources. The same atomic motors, now being built to drive our military machines, will be used to propel merchant ships, commercial planes and railway locomotives. Science, wedded to American industry, will produce the future.

On the day Franklin Roosevelt took office, 12 million of our national working force of 54 million were out of jobs. We were then a country of 124,000,000 people. Our industry was geared to mass production—five million radio sets, 38 million tons of steel, about 4-1/2 million cars, trucks, and tractors, to take outstanding examples. A sad few in our potentially great market had the dough to buy. Enter Roosevelt with an excuse, a "mandate" and the necessity to take some action—any action.

In his first hectic hundred days, F. D. R. jammed through a hodgepodge of hurriedly improvised legislation, some practical, some impractical. The story of the New Deal and its Brain Trust is so familiar that one need only brief its acts to stir a host of confused and conflicting memories, arguments and opinions.

The men in Washington tinkered with the price of gold, ran up huge

deficits—in the words ascribed to and later denied by Harry Hopkins, "Tax and tax, spend and spend, elect and elect"—propped ailing (and friendly) corporations through Herbert Hoover's RFC, made up new rules as they refereed the securities game, jacked up and maintained farm prices, underwrote housing projects, and directly competed with private enterprise through Federal corporations, agencies and authorities, such as TVA. It was John Maynard Keynes, the British economist whose spending theories inspired the Brain Trusters, who wrote that Roosevelt had "repealed the old law of supply and demand."

When it finally stepped in and tried to steer the entire national economy, the greatest shortcoming of Roosevelt's New Deal, according to historian F. Lewis Allen, author of "The Big Change" was the failure, indeed, the refusal to recognize the economic facts of life inherent in the old law of supply and demand.

"It is necessary," he writes, "only to note the hard fact that the New Deal did not at any time bring a full return of prosperity; that was not to come until defence spending went into high gear in 1940-41."

Certainly the war marked another turning point in our national industrial life. Called upon for prodigious feats—under colossal handicaps of governmental regulations, political interference and bureaucratic ineptitude—American mass production rose to its greatest heights.

It is essential to keep in mind that we have grown, in the 20 years from Roosevelt to Eisenhower, from a nation of 124 million to one of 156 million people. The market for mass produced goods is, then, 25 per cent greater; yet the value of the dollar in terms of what it will buy is 49 per cent less—a conservative estimate.

Comparative prices of commodities necessary to daily existence are revealing. In 1932, prices of meat animals, per hundred pounds, were as follows: Hogs, \$5.14. Beef, \$5.17. Veal, \$5.92. Lambs, \$6.77. Today: \$20, \$27, \$30.80 and \$30, respectively—up 400 to 500 per cent. Wool, which sold for under 18 cents a pound, is now more than a dollar.

But what of mass production in those 20 years? In spite of tax gouges, bureaucrats and regulation, new inventions, improved production techniques and increased efficiency have put American industry in an even more advantageous position to make more goods cheaper than it enjoyed in 1932.

Start with the automotive industry. In 1932, it could produce four and a half million cars; actually turned out fewer than one and a half million. Last year it produced and sold more than six and a half million units. There are more than 50,000,000 cars registered, twice as many as 20 years ago.

With 59,300,000 licensed drivers in the country, that's more than there are people employed today!

Radio manufacture, with a capacity of five million in 1932, hit a high of 17 million sets in 1947, slumped to ten million last year. But in only six years, production of television receivers has rocketed from 210,000 to 6,500,000 annually to take up the slack.

Despite the forces that have been

arrayed against private enterprise in the past 20 years, industry and management look forward to new opportunity in 1954. Not since the crash of 1929 have business hopes been so high. Says H. E. Humphreys, Jr., president of U. S. Rubber: "If we will carry out these two responsibilities—our responsibility as producers of goods and our responsibility as citizens—we need not fear for the future."

C. R. Sligh, Jr., president of the National Association of Manufacturers: "The tremendous confidence which people feel toward the new Administration should assure a high level of business activity and create conditions under which our present tenuous prosperity can be put on a sound basis."

In general and in brief, industry looks for new opportunities to supply more goods cheaper to more people than ever before—if only the weight of excessive taxation, out-of-balance budgeting, continued deficit spending and government regulation are lifted from the back of the nation's economy.



Varalakshmi and Vasantha in KANNATHALI

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Assistant Secretary.

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.

C. R. And Andhra State

These seven years of the existence of *Swatantra*, I have been an ardent admirer of its Editor and used to read the journal with much avidity from cover to cover. My appreciation of the journal has been unwavering throughout despite disagreements with the views expressed therein many a time. I was so happy and proud to have come across at last a journal which discussed the pros and cons of all the principles in a balanced manner in refreshing contrast to a vast majority of other journals which are unable to divorce personalities from principles. But alas, today, to my utter disappointment, the veil of impartiality having been pierced, thanks to the Andhra State question, the Editor stands exposed in all naked reality to be no better than his brother journalists whose preoccupation in life is to carry on a shameful tirade against venerable figures in public life. In this connection I am reminded of Samuel Johnson's famous letter to Lord Chesterfield where-in he wrote, 'The shepherd in the Virgil grew at last and acquainted with Love and found him to be a Native of the Rocks.'

An N. G. Ranga who at one time in Saka's view was one of the worst sub-communalists becomes a noble figure worthy of emulation overnight. Poor Mr. Sanjiya Reddi alternately seems to display a balanced judgment and a woe-ful lack of it according as he echoes the sentiments of the Editor or has the temerity to differ from him. In a word, none but the famous Editor of *Swatantra* is capable of displaying a balanced judgment at all times!

The reasons for your continued outbursts are not far to seek. The fond hopes of that senile Andhra leader who has been frantically entering into opportunist alliances ever since 1946 only to break them when they were not to his advantage have been dashed to the ground once for all, thanks to the good fortune of the people in the South who have at last secured the services of that philosopher-statesman C. R. to guide their destinies. The most ungraceful utterances and acts of Sri Prakasam and his lieutenants did hardly have any effect on C. R. who had all his life pursued his policies with a confident abandon born out of his characteristic serenity. He has weathered many a storm in his long and chequered career unmindful of the black flag demonstrations

of a few blind and bigoted Bengalis in the far away North or the violent ranting of some audacious and arrogant Andhras nearer home. The invaluable services of Gandhiji to the Muslim community were recognised only after his death. Even so, the Andhras must eternally be grateful to C. R. who has successfully kept in check the possible repercussions that would have ensued even in the docile Tamilian camp consequent on the most avaricious demands of the Andhras reminiscent of the fanatic Razakar leader, Razvi, who dreamt of the day when Bay of Bengal would lick the feet of His Exalted Highness. Under such circumstances, it looks too incredible even on paper if you had expected C. R. to be frightened into submission by the volume of meaningless noise and to have handed over to the Andhras all that they had demanded on a silver plate only to ensure for himself the questionable and elastic gratitude of the Andhras!

Sitarams and Sri Ramulus, not to speak of the Tennesis and the Tanguturis are mainly and exclusively responsible for the embittered relationship between the Andhras and Tamils. More than that, you, the Editor, prostituting for a wholly ignoble purpose the potency of your pen have done the utmost havoc which a single individual could ever accomplish. With your permission, if I could adopt your words with suitable verbal modifications, if there could be a Tamil Saka dealing with Prakasam as you have done with C. R., he would have been done to pieces by this time. You must thank your stars that it is given to you to live amidst the most tolerant Tamil community while still carrying on an unseemly attack on their most revered leader. The shameful manner in which the "whiskered" Andhras forced the innocent passengers to shout pro-Andhra slogans is proof enough to falsify your boast that the Andhras are never so ready to hurt others as to hurt themselves!

An Editor who waxes eloquent on the unfitness of a Chief Minister who identifies himself with a section of the people while presiding over a composite State, who ruthlessly condemns a Mayor for espousing a partisan cause when he is supposed to represent all in the multi-lingual City, has no business to exhibit the same narrowness of vision and partisanship in outlook; and especially, as the Editor of a journal in English you

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cannot afford to forget your own duty to cater to the needs of all sections of the people in a multi-lingual City and composite State, not to speak of the wider reading public in our secular India. On your own analogy, by your deplorably partisan approach to the whole problem you are self-condemned and it would be in the fitness of things if you could choose to wind up your journal in English confining yourself to your vernacular edition wherein you could carry on your sacred mud-slinging campaign which would bring you profuse encomiums from that set of people to whom Mr. Sanjiva Reddi has made a reference. After all, Time will show that Mr. Sanjiva Reddi was not very far from truth in his remarks about those who thoughtlessly attack the one sane and far-sighted person this country has produced in recent times.

Long ago, Mr. K. Iswara Dutt said that if the Emersonian dictum, "To be misunderstood is to be great", were to be applied to C. R., then indeed Rajaji is great. No greater truth has ever been uttered about C. R. The baseless aspersions cast on him by the calumniators will flow down like water on a duck's back. So, dear Editor, please do remember: The dogs may bark but the caravan passes on.

A. K. SRINIVASAMURTHY.

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The opponents of linguistic states can be classified as follows:

(1) Persons belonging to particular linguistic groups which have been deriving numerous advantages in composite states by virtue of their numerical superiority over others.

(2) Persons, though belonging to the minority linguistic group, who have been with the majority group for their own ends. These are the Jogendra Nath Mandals.

(3) Persons, especially some top leaders, who approve the principle as such, but are not bold enough to take the necessary steps to implement and

(4) Those who entertain genuine fears that linguistic states might disrupt the unity of the country.

The degree of opposition differs from person to person and the language used on the culture and the spirit of tolerance towards other people's opinions.

It is a great pity that an eminent statesman like Mr. C. Rajagopalachari should have used many unhappy expressions in the recent past. The fact that some misguided youngsters somewhere cried something bad about him ought not to have led him to exhibit an irritable temper, which has been so clearly discernible in his statement at Tanjore after Potti Srimulu's death, in his speech to the Congress Session at

Hyderabad and even in his message to the silver jubilee celebrations of the Andhra University. Maybe, there is a gulf of difference between him and most others in public life in intellectual shrewdness, but that should not lead to intolerance of other people's opinions. A time may come, as past experience shows, when even such stalwarts will be replied suitably.

The word 'tribal' that he used at Hyderabad is most unhappy, when applied to an idea very dear to the hearts of many a civilised patriot of India in the past and present. Pandit Nehru's comment on this remark was worthy of notice. One can go even to the extent of pointing out that there is a considerable amount of public opinion which feels that the idea of invoking God and religion in matters of public administration and shaping of Governmental policies in a professedly secular State is more or less 'tribal'.

M. U. B. MURTHY.

"C. N. Annadurai"

The article on Annadurai published in "Swatantra" dated December 27, 1952, makes interesting reading. The author of the article has viewed Annadurai from all angles other than the most important, the political one. Will the author be kind enough to give his views on Annadurai's politics also, through the columns of "Swatantra"?

G. NAGALINGAM.

Pakistan And Middle East 'Defence'

There can be no doubt about Pakistan joining the Middle East Defence Organisation. Vice-Admiral Wright of the U. S. Navy is now in Pakistan and has made no secret of the object for which he is there. The talks for inclusion of Pakistan in the organisation are not a sudden development. When the White House invited Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan to visit the U.S.A. it was known that the United States wanted military bases in Pakistan. At the Paris meeting of the N. A. T. O. it was reported that Pakistan had expressed its willingness to take part in the 'defence' of the Middle East. The present negotiations must have begun then. The Anglo-American powers know who the aggressor is in Kashmir and their resolution on Kashmir shows their anxiety to please Pakistan so that it might join the M. E. D. O.

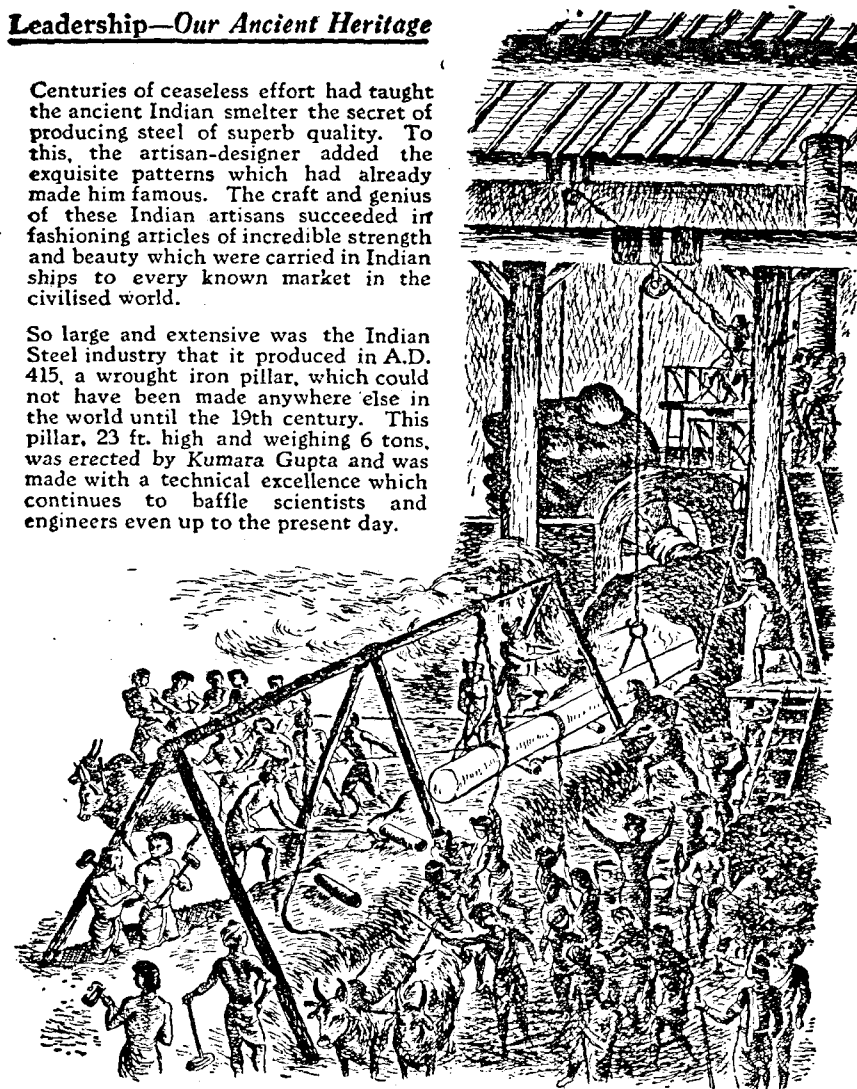
Pakistan will be soon in the M. E. D. O. and no one will be surprised. But it will be interesting to watch how the M. E. D. O. will shape. Pakistan aspires to become leader of the 'Muslim world' and Egypt's relations with the United Kingdom are not cordial and it has yet to make up its mind about the M. E. D. O.

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