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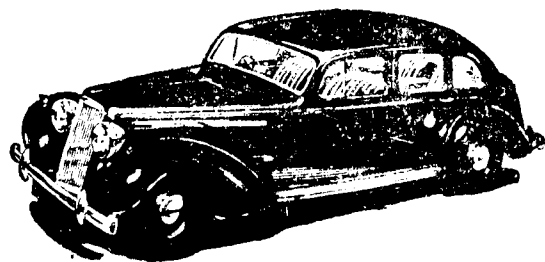
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THE magic breath of the God of cure
Has passed upon this medicine pure;
Whatever your pain, it drives, be sure.
O, have an eye, lest other things lure.

If you want a proof or certificate,
Its highest honor to vindicate,
Harken what the mouths relate
And all the boards and walls narrate.

From North to South and East to West
You can wander Sir, without a rest,
But have this bottle in your chest
Lest any pain your bones infest.

It is but a little that you invest
Upon this famous medicine best,
All coming dangers it will arrest;
To have it is your caution's test.

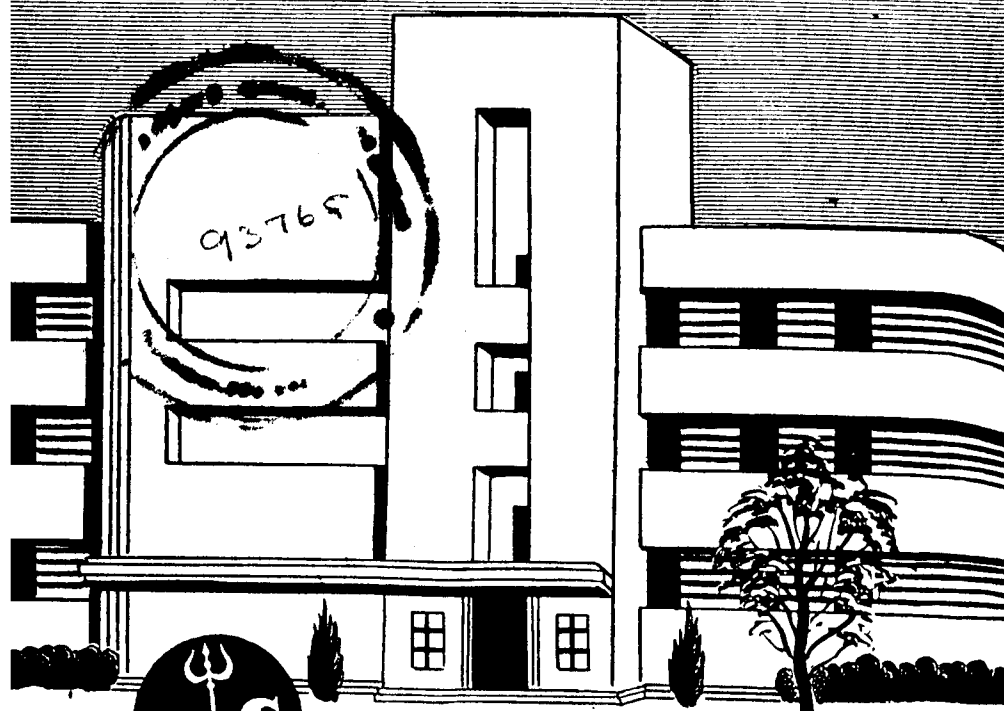
So cheap, so bottled, so potent,
So nice-looking, with such nice scent,
It is in every home present
As the most honourable guest pleasant.

It is the doctor of our poor peasant
As it cures most for the least that is spent.
The richer too did not invent
A medicine of a more portent.

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

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ON THE COVER: Portrait of Nehru. From the painting in oil colours by Sri Chamkur. It was specially commissioned by the Government Museum, Madras.

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ON THE COVER: Bhanumathi in Chandirani.

Amrutanjana

THE magic breath of the God of cure
Has passed upon this medicine pure;
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You can wander Sir, without a rest,
But have this bottle in your chest
Lest any pain your bones infest.

It is but a little that you invest
Upon this famous medicine best,
All coming dangers it will arrest;
To have it is your caution's test.

So cheap, so bottled, so potent,
So nice-looking, with such nice scent,
It is in every home present
As the most honourable guest pleasant.

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

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SWATANTRA

VOL. VIII.
No. 9

SATURDAY, APRIL 4, 1953

ISSUED
WEEKLY

GOVERNMENT AND PRESS ADVERTISING

FOREIGN news, Indian news. State news, home news and local news have all been subordinated, for some time past, to the campaign against Sri Morarji Desai in the columns of the *Times of India*. To judge from the space devoted to this campaign in issue after issue, the front page treatment accorded to it and the thickness of the headlines with which it is being publicised, one would think that the action of the Bombay Chief Minister in withdrawing Government advertisements from the *Times of India* is the most world-shaking event of the century. Mr. Jain, the Manager, is apparently not able to take in his stride the reverse of fortune that has come upon the paper, and he seems to be in no mood to allow its readers to rest or forget for a moment the tyrannical character of the Bombay Chief Minister's regime. We can recall occasions when intense suffering, before which the loss now sustained by the *Times of India* must be rated as insignificant, was inflicted on large masses of people, but not a fraction of the indignant righteousness with which the paper is throbbing nowadays was ever forthcoming on such occasions. The same can be said of the journals and newspapers all over the country that are now found rallying, with varying degrees of horrified excitement, to the banner of protest against the Chief Minister raised by the *Times*, and also of the President of the All India Newspaper Editors' Conference. These have not made themselves felt as they are now doing, although this is certainly not the first time when Government adver-

tisements were withdrawn from a newspaper.

Government advertisements in the *Times of India* constitute a negligible proportion of the total. The deprivation complained of is therefore correspondingly negligible. In the case of very many other victims of Publicity Ministers' or Chief Ministers' chagrin in the past, the very reverse has generally been the truth. Their economies were so precariously poised that a little upset meant to them all the difference between life and death. And yet their ordeals drew not a little ripple of concern from the sensitive consciences of our guardians of press freedom, and the placid surface of the Indian journalistic world went on with the same calm quietude as before, as though nothing had occurred to disturb its equanimity. If, in the name of a principle, grave injuries are passed over while a regular furore is raised over a minor discomfort, the principle in question cannot be said to be upheld with convincing zeal. It cannot make much of an impression on others. We are not therefore moved by the *Times'* campaign as the President of the AINEC has been.

Sri Dalmia when he has goods to advertise, is bound by no law. He can advertise in any paper he chooses, and in the same publicity campaign he can act inconsistently and honour simultaneously diametrically opposite principles. The press allows him to do exactly what he likes, and no newspaper blacklisted by him dreams of quarrelling with him for it. On the other hand the

tendency in general is to please and placate the advertiser and use all the arts of persuasion and flattery to overcome his disfavour or wear down his hostility. It is an interesting question which deserves to be considered, to what extent should Government in their capacity as advertisers forego the freedom with which private commercial firms act and should they be bound by special restraints not operative in the case of private advertisers?

We feel that the common superstition about the validity of a large circulation as a title to secure advertisements, is the very first thing that a sensible Government should divest itself of, if it is to arrive at a sound policy in the matter of press advertising. As the Government is not a commercial organisation, commercial motives should not weigh with it in its publicity campaigns. Its endeavour should be not to encourage with financial support socially undesirable newspapers even if they should have large circulations. In the Indian Press the mortality rate has been very high in the case of journals of outstanding social worth. If democracy is bound up with an independent press, some effort is due from

Governments pledged to democracy to discourage developments in the press tending to stifle freedom and independence. None can deny that at the present moment chain newspapers, whether they call themselves by separate names or give themselves the same name in different places, are the foremost enemies to freedom of initiative in the starting of papers. Take, for example, the case of the Andhra State. Some tycoon in control of a chain is likely to be the first in the field in the Andhra capital with a full-blown newspaper before the local people can get going in the effort to start one of their own. Outside money power will capture and dominate the press of the new State stifling local initiative and robbing it of every chance to fructify. These chain newspapers do not subserve the cause of an independent press. They are like fetters on the body politic. In the cause of the freedom of the press which is imperilled by the unchecked overgrowth of the newspaper chains, we urge the Government to exclude all chain newspapers completely from their publicity campaigns. Otherwise the chains will swallow the rest of the press.

Sotto Voce

THE MARCH OF THE DISPLACED BUFFALOES

WITH monotonous regularity the Public Accounts Committee has been unearthing cases of nepotism, incompetence and colossal waste of public funds. In due course these revelations are debated in Parliament with more or less heat, but nothing much happens. The faithful naturally recoil with horror from the

thought of meddling in such high matters. To question the immaculate perfection of anything remotely connected with a Congress Government is to be guilty of treachery to the Mystic Rose.

Meanwhile the Editors, with a Jove-like impassivity, serve out no



only such revelations as and when they come, but also the copious whitewash of the official apologist. Hardly a month ago most newspapers simply lapped up the attractive but inconsequential photographs and the romance about the fairyland that was Hirakud which had been cranked up by some Information Department. The Editors had heard that two crores of rupees had been thrown away on a superfluous subsidiary dam. And yet here they were assuring the public that everything was lovely in the garden.

Cool bungalows for the high-ups, lovely gardens and tennis courts galore had top priority in any Project even under the old bureaucratic regime. At the same time they had a healthy respect for rules and regulations. That no work could be begun without duly sanctioned detailed estimates and that accounts had to be rigorous and up to date were axiomatic. Between the Audit Department and the Finance Secretariat the Administrative Departments had a gruelling time of it. There was a certain amount of incompetence, waste and corruption even then; but it was under the table. It did not stalk abroad as it does in Swaraj India.

The Public Accounts Committee states bluntly of the Hirakud Project that "the scheme was technically and economically unsound right from the beginning." The Central Water and Power Commission seems to enjoy in our secular regime the status of the Trinity in orthodox theology. It was not only the expert consultant on whose authority the scheme was sanctioned. It was both the executive authority responsible for the construction and the 'O. K.'-ing boss. It could, like the Almighty, survey the work of its hands and pronounce that it was good without any fear of contradiction.

But, far from being good, that work was about as bad as bad can be. Men were appointed to high posts who had no qualifications and whose past would not bear looking into. When

on a belated discovery some sort of enquiry was held it was found that they had been either quietly sent away under orders from the Ministry or had been found other green pastures. The irregularities in recruitment were sought to be defended on the grounds that "there was a great dearth of skilled personnel"—while qualified men were cooling their heels elsewhere—and that the Project provided an ideal opportunity to rehabilitate "displaced persons." The rehabilitation extended not merely to the men from the Punjab but also to the cattle.

The saga of the bullocks and buffaloes hired at a monthly rental of Rs. 300 per pair and transported from the Punjab to Hirakud to drag road-rollers which were too heavy for them requires the pen of a poet to do it justice. To provide them with exercise apparently lighter rollers were made. All the time the Project had tractors in plenty. In due course the cattle faded away, but not before they had collected a fat wad for their fortunate owner. The Superintending Engineer, his relation, who had wangled this without any authority was rewarded with a free trip to America. Finding the Finance Department unsympathetic the Irrigation Ministry persuaded the Punjab Government to sponsor the *de luxe* trip.

The Committee drily remarks on this excessive interest of the Ministry in the personal affairs of this officer. And it distributes bouquets all round. It holds that the Chairman of the C. W. P. C. "failed in the very primary and essential duty to inform himself" on matters for which he had over-all responsibility. It points out that senior Executives openly flouted the audit requirements, with the result that no one knows how many millions have gone down the drain. And it shows that the Finance Ministry and the Home Ministry also contributed to the muddle. With three Ministries in the dock, why does Mr. Nehru keep mum? Would he say that the only thing disgraceful about the whole business was the temerity of the Public Accounts Committee?

VIGNESWARA.

SIDELIGHTS : :

IN the plans that are now being made for the establishment of a stable government in the new Andhra State, the central idea would appear to be the formation of a coalition between the Congress, the Krishak Lok and the Praja Socialist parties. The aim, apparently, is to secure a working majority to get along with, in a legislature of some 140 members. Professor Ranga has made smooth the path for coalition by advising his Krishak Lok followers to become associate members of the Congress organisation. From the side of the Andhra Congress a declaration has been made that associate members would have all the privileges of other members and would be subject to no sort of disability. The disability, evidently, is all on the side of the non-Krishak Lok section of the Congress—K. L. P. combination. When it comes to the choice of Ministers, the ordinary Congress legislator is a tame rival before his K. L. P. counterpart, since to all the advantages of Congress membership, the K. L. P. legislator can add the further weight of a separate existence under a different leadership at the bargain counter for division of offices. The public however have a shrewd judgment despite all the confusion of the babel of voices and noises assailing them from all sides. They will attribute the eleventh-hour change-over of the K. L. P. to Congress associate membership to a desire for a share in the ministerial posts.

Of course it is a politician's right in a democratic set-up to aspire for ministerial office, but the trouble with the K. L. P. is that there is none in its ranks fit for administrative responsibility. An exception might be made in favour of Sri V. Ramakrishna. But he is in the Council and not in the Assembly, and the Andhra State when it comes will have no Council, no provision for a backdoor entry into the legislature by means of nomination. The most suitable place for Sri Ramakrishna may not be on the Ministry but on

an economic development board of which the other members might well be Sir S. V. Ramanurthi and Sri B. V. Nath. The old practice of allotting seats on the Ministry to groups in the legislature is quite undesirable and should be given up. Competence should be the sole test. The public is in no way benefitted by the brand of the politics of a Minister. It is benefitted if it is served by Ministers with an adequate equipment in knowledge, commonsense, experience and intellectual qualities, provided of course they are not corrupt or corruptible. Sri Sanjeeva Reddi who has been elected leader of the Andhra Congress Legislature Party will have to play an important part in the formation of the Ministry for the new State, but he will come to grief if he proceeds mechanically seeking support from each group on a bargain basis in exchange for a seat or two in the Cabinet. The Andhra State should be served by Ministers of the highest promise, to whatever group they might belong, if mismanagement, and public disillusionment in consequence of it, are not to lead the State into chaos and throw it into the arms of the Communists.

The important thing is not the formation of any Ministry, it is the formation of such a Ministry as would inspire in the public a sense of enthusiastic support for the plans and programmes that will be drawn up to establish the State on a sound and secure footing. Sri Prakasam is universally acclaimed in Andhra as their greatest leader. He holds in Andhra a position comparable to that of Pandit Nehru in the whole country. An Andhra Ministry without Sri Prakasam would be as stable as a Central Cabinet without Nehru, and Sri Sanjeeva Reddi's first task, if at all he is to succeed in the difficult effort of forming the Andhra Government, is to secure Sri Prakasam's co-operation. As there is none in Andhra big enough to relegate Sri Prakasam to a second place, he and none other should be the Chief

Minister, whatever be the relative strengths of the various parties in the legislature. Prakasam, Sanjeeva Reddi, Tenneti Viswanadham and D. Sanjeeviah (the most successful of the Harijan Ministers) would make a good nucleus round which an excellent Ministry for the Andhra State might be built.

High priority among the objectives of the Andhra State, when it is formed, should be given to the diversion into its own territory of as much as possible of its trade now flowing through Madras City. For all its excellence, Vizag port is too far away to attract the Rayalaseema trade. I am told in the British regime a proposal was mooted in the Buckingham Canal Report for development of a port at Kandaleru on the Nellore coast where natural facilities exist, but the scheme was apparently dropped as it was thought it might interfere with the expansion of Madras trade. A first class port on

the coast in between Madras and Vizag, a comprehensive road system and urgent development of potential power resources would wipe out the whole of the deficit envisaged by Justice Wanchoo in his report and establish the Andhra State on a satisfactory footing financially in a very brief period. Let the Andhra leaders devote themselves promptly to these worthwhile undertakings instead of quarelling in a parochial spirit over the location of the capital, each disputant regarding his own place of residence as the hub and centre of the whole universe. In the matter of the High Court there is certainly no excuse for disputation or controversy. The High Court is an income-yielding institution. Its location outside Andhra will impoverish the Andhra budget proportionately. The discomforts of advocates and others who may have to shift if the High Court is shifted, should not be set against the interests of the whole State as an over-riding argument. —SAKA.

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THE ACHARYA'S INDICTMENT

By S. RAJAGOPALAN

ACHARYA KRIPALANI'S thesis on "Civil Liberties" is a bitter castigation of the governmental tendencies in modern democracies; and his reference to certain trends in India makes distressing reading indeed. Criticism emanating from so distinguished a person cannot be disposed of lightheartedly. But all the same one may be pardoned for feeling that the picture is for the most part overdrawn. His statements that the police here assault and lathi-charge all citizens, that brickbats are answered by bullets, that prisoners are shot dead in numbers and that even peaceful demonstrators are dispersed by police violence are not authenticated by details; at any rate, he should have referred to the circumstances, both antecedent and subsequent, in each case. If he meant to refer to the Salem Jail shooting incident, he should have considered the judicial enquiry that was held and its verdict. Likewise what happened prior to the Saurashtra incident, when the entire business community suspended all activities for months for so trifling a measure as the sales tax, which hits only the purchaser, should have been animadverted upon. As it is, the Acharya's observations are likely to be made use of by our numerous detractors at home and abroad, and played up to suit their propaganda.

Acharya Kripalani is on firm ground when he calls upon lawyers and retired judges to watch over the civil rights and privileges of the people so that incidents like the one that happened at Delhi recently, when two top leaders were arrested and kept in detention indefinitely, might not be repeated. His plea for a civil liberties organisation is well-timed, although it may be mentioned that some such body, though composed for the most part of political opponents of the Congress, is already functioning. One of its main tasks should be to agitate to bring our laws and regulations in consonance with the fundamental provisions of the Constitution. Acharya Kripalani

compares modern democracies with the ancient kingships and oligarchies, and is led to conclude that no king or oligarchy had exercised such vast powers as our modern states. They had, he says, no power to frame laws or levy taxes: neither could they conscript in war or peace. Hence the modern state, according to him, is "a much bigger and a more dangerous leviathan."

The principal forms of government have varied from age to age, and from country to country. The broad features can however be summed up thus: (1) Absolute monarchy where the king was above the law, and partook of divinity, with absolute powers over his subjects. (2) Constitutional monarchy, where his powers in each sphere were delegated to the parliament, judiciary and the cabinet ministry. (3) The republic whose President is elected by the people and who has the powers of both the constitutional and absolute monarch in certain circumstances. (4) The presidential republic, where the president is chosen by the people but exercises the powers of a constitutional monarch as in India. (5) The party dictatorship (as the one-party state in Bolshevism) and the now defunct fascism, where the ruling party is a dictatorship with the complete destruction of individual freedom and without an independent judiciary, and where remedies like habeas corpus and compensation for expropriation are not available. (6) The English democracy where the rule is by the majority party subserving the greatest good of the greatest number. (7) The American democracy where the democratic system has to respect individual rights which are enforced by the judiciary possessing the right of veto. These individual rights relating to life, liberty and property are not defined in relation to their reaction upon society, and hence legislation with a socialistic bias cannot be thought of. (8) The Indian democracy which is more or less the reproduction of the British cabinet system with full emphasis on

the fundamental rights of the individual. The Indian Constitution proceeds on the principle that though every individual has a bundle of rights, he owes also certain duties towards his neighbours and communities. As one writer put it, there is no sacred totality called the liberty of the individual for men are bound together in such a network of relationship that often the greater liberty of one is the lesser liberty of the other. Hence individual rights are tempered by social duties, and the Constitution has incorporated both in its catena of fundamental rights.

Democracies are government by the people, but the vast body of the population cannot function as an administrative unit. The majority party assumes the reins, and out of it a cabinet is chosen. In a properly worked democratic government, there need be no antagonism between the majority and the minority party or rather between the government and its opposition. There is debate: there is discussion. Deliberation is the keynote of every legislation which has to pass through three long stages. Questions and interpellations are powerful weapons. Above all, the electorate is watchful of the activities of the government and as the recent elections have shown, do not hesitate to throw out the undesirables. What Mr. Wilfrid Harrison has described about English conditions, may well be reproduced here, as applying equally to India. There is a bridge between the public and the executive instead of a gulf. A man in the street becomes an M.P., an M.P. becomes a cabinet minister, and a cabinet minister who loses his seat at an election becomes once again a man in the street. Hence it is apparent that Kripalani's dictum that the citizen is "enslaved to the government," is not true when it is applied to democracies of this type which prevail in England and in India.

There is even less justification for the assertion that in post-independent India, the individual has become a plaything, with his liberty greatly diminished. Happily the reverse is the case. The State has to subserve the interests of the citizen and two illustrative cases bear

this out. The Madhya Pradesh Government with a view to stimulating the 'grow more food' campaign passed an enactment prohibiting the carrying on of the manufacture of beedies in a certain village during the agricultural season; but it was vetoed by the Supreme Court because it was an unreasonable restriction on the individual's right to carry on business. On the same ground the Madras High Court set aside the direction of the Government to insist on all applicants for financial patronage to produce income-tax clearance certificates. As regards the Preventive Detention Acts, strictest vigilance is exercised by the judiciary and wholesome checks have been provided against their misuse.

Acharya Kripalani is not correct in saying that the kings and oligarchies had no power to levy taxes. In England, the early sovereigns not only levied taxes but imposed innumerable levies and loans and during the Norman period even appropriated the customs revenue which eventually led to the agitation for the Magna Charta and the Petition of Rights. In India, the monarch was entitled to the "Shastabagam" which was a sixth of the gross revenue, compared to which the modern income tax is not unconscionable. Kalidasa refers to it and compliments the Raghu Kings for having ploughed it back to the people even as the sun drains water vapour and pours out the rains. In those days tax-evasion was simply unthinkable. In regard to military service, every family sent up one male member during emergencies, and the heroic example of mothers and wives is the theme of many a story and a song in Tamil. In peace time compulsory service was exacted; and a festival celebrated even today commemorates Lord Siva himself personating an old woman to repair the breaches in the Vaigai river in Madura and even being whipped for remissness. Every big project in the country was a community project. The extent of the authority which the state possessed in those days over the individuals can never be exercised by the modern State. Acharya Kripalani complains that in India the power of the State has vastly increased. He says that even seven years after the

war, the controls have not been removed. The reasons, are obvious. Production has not increased and the country is still in short supply of essential commodities. Private enterprise is not inclined to go forward with big plans on some excuse or other. In regard to foodgrains, decontrol has not been quite a success in the places where it has been tried. As for housing only six crores out of 36 crores have, it is reckoned, habitats of their own and decontrol will only result in letting loose the hordes of rapacious landlords on the people. In regard to trade and industry, state control has become indispensable both for subserving the interests of the traders as well as of the consumers. If the State watches helplessly essentials like cloth, sugar and coffee seeds being exported heavily from the country, it will have a hell of a time from the people. For the protection of nascent industries, imports have to be cut down. Already the State is powerless to interfere when foreign nationals build up big industries and

thereby starve out local enterprises, as, for instance, in regard to soaps and chemicals. Any diminution of the powers of the State in this regard will be disastrous to its economy.

As for the "educational apparatus" being under State control and home management, a few facts have to be borne in mind. The actual situation is that the State controls secondary education but leaves university and higher technical education under the supremacy of autonomous bodies. It is well known that in India the universities have not fallen in line with the political development. They are still tied to the apron strings of the foreign educational system and they have not reconciled themselves to the place of a common language in lieu of English; and they are utter strangers to Indian culture, arts, epics and authors. The university products know little of Vivekananda, Tagore, Aurobindo or Ramana, and the Indian classical literature is a sealed book to them. Even in respect of secondary education, the State has little control over the text book committees which are the most powerful forces making or marring education and educational standards. Even an administrator of the stamp of Rajaji is unable to effect much needed overhauling in both secondary and university education in his State.

In regard to the wrongs committed by public servants, Acharya Kripalani labours under a series of misconceptions. There is at present no indemnity available to government servants who act in excess of their authority. Law recognises none at all. The only restrictions which have been prescribed are that, in civil cases, a two-month notice is necessary before launching an action, and in criminal proceedings sanction of the government should be obtained before hand. But this is not applicable when the act complained of arises out of an abuse of official position. This principle was applied recently in Madras when a sea customs officer was alleged to have assaulted and abused a woman who was suspected of carrying contraband articles.

SOUTHWARD HO!—III

By M. K.

BEFORE ten in the morning we were at Suchindram after a journey by bus from the Cape which was not particularly comfortable. The sannadhi street is about a furlong and the bus drops you at its end. When four people, strangers, two of them girls, progress up this road to the temple the 'natives' are naturally all interest. Speaking of Dodson and Fogg during a particular point of the immortal *Bardell vs. Pickwick* trial, Dickens tells us that nobody has every succeeded in appearing utterly unconcerned and unperturbed when he (or she) is aware of the fact that he (or she) is the cynosure of neighbouring eyes. We were somewhat surprised at the stares of the people; but there is an odd fact connected with such behaviour which is more due to curiosity than to bad manners. If you stare back at these starers they are usually upset, become bashful or angry and stop looking at you as if you were a Bushman or a Hottentot. I tried this remedy and saw it succeed as usual. The Manager of the temple, Mr. Nambiar, was a very nice person indeed; and he told us of Prof. Pillai who had spent months in studying the temple. I find that a book on Suchindram by this gentleman has been published. The usual guides were hovering round; but hanging back undecided when they saw that we had come armed with an official introduction to the Manager. One particular individual had already attracted our attention and finally we attached him to us as our guide. It was interesting to hear Mr. Nambiar tell him in an aside in Malayalam—which I overheard unashamedly—not to let himself fly high into the realms of fancy during his impending lecture! The guide, a man of ample proportions and a wonderful tongue, asked us what our language was; and started off in Tamil when we told him we were Tamilians. These guides are known as *dwibashis* and are there with the approval of the authorities. It is always better to secure the ser-

vices of an authorized guide rather than of an unauthorized one.

Our guide, from the moment he assumed the mantle of our cicerone, raised the pitch of his voice. It was evident that he was declaiming what he had repeated on scores of previous occasions. From time to time, when he was essaying forth on a legend or a myth, he would check himself and say: "that's what *they* say!" Sometimes he had to refer to the *Skanda Purana*; and perhaps you are aware of the Tamil saying that "*this* lie is not to be found even in the *Skandam!*" In fact, on many occasions in our tour, the clash between reason and faith was a problem each of us had to tackle as best as he could. Many legends are preposterous: those who explain them with the accent heavily on symbolism, often indulge in flights of ingenuity which still leave the earnest seeker after truth in perplexity. In certain shrines on certain occasions, all doubts vanish and you feel the immanence of God: there seems to be no room for reason on such occasions. Even the grabbing priests around you cannot shake this faith. Such occasions, however, are rare.

The temple of Suchindram has been preserved and embellished by the devoted services of more than one Hindu dynasty. Some of the sculptures have been defaced and the guide put it down to the depredations of the myrmidons of the Arcot Nawabs of old. A *Siva lingam*, around which there are other images which have been defaced, is itself in perfect condition. And the guide, with a humorous tongue in his cheek, told us that the reason why the *lingam* had been spared was quite obvious: the idol-breakers must have been reminded strongly of their own heads! In the outer *praharam* there are a number of quite obscene carvings on some of the pillars. The guide tactfully hurried us past; but P and I came back to them by ourselves when the guide and the others of our party were examining in very great detail the musical pillars in another part of the temple. These



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pillars, by the way, are the temple's pride and are wonderful specimens of our sculptural art. There is, I think, a sculpture of a Yali in which, if you put your hand into its mouth, you can find a ball moving about freely inside. I do not know how it could be placed there: the sculptures are monolithic. A similar feature can be observed in one of the animals sculptured in the Minakshi temple at Madura. The guide drew our attention to the excellence of the sculptures in Suchindram. Muscle and nerve are shown in almost life-like fashion in statues representing human beings, like a Chera chieftain and his commander-in-chief. The carvings with a religious motif are grand in conception and execution and could only have been the products of a live faith. There is a *Ganesini*, an idol, which has all the appearance of being Ganesa but is obviously feminine. In another place Ganesa is shown preventing the birth of *asuras*. The *Jvaradevamurti*, a form, I believe, of *Jvarahareswara*, is another striking object. But, as far as faith is concerned, the huge idol of *Anjaneya* is perhaps the most important in the temple. The figure is of heroic proportions and the long tail curves right over the top of the head. Rose-water is available near by and the attendant priest climbs up a sort of scaffolding to perform the *abisheka* on behalf of devotees who, meantime, are conjured to make any particular wish they have in mind. I would have given much to know what was actually passing in the minds of my companions; and, I suppose, they would have liked to know what particular wish I was making!

Perhaps we were all imbued, at least for the moment, with the oneness of God. Suchindram's *Sthala purana* is the famous one pertaining to Anusuya and the creation of Lord Dattatreya. The temple is also said to be one at which Indra was cured of the curse that was upon him because of his passion for Ahalya; hence the name Suchindram. There are also idols representing the Pandavas and the guide claimed that this was unique to the temple. "As a matter of fact," said he, "there

is no *murthi* which you cannot find here and worship."

The guide, a shrewd psychologist, called upon us also to think of our *ishta devatas*; and he claimed that ours could not be anyone but Sri Subrahmanya. Now, this is a guess you can make in the case of ninety per cent of Tamilians and it was his ill luck that we were of the other ten per cent. None of us, however, denied the correctness of his cocksure guess when he led us to a Subrahmanya *sannadhi*.

He told us also that the priests of the temple were all drawn from the Nambudris of Irinjalakuda; they take turns in serving the deity. No priest, it seems, is allowed to officiate for two days consecutively. In past days hundreds of Brahmins were fed at the temple and the guide, when he saw we were Brahmins, deplored the fact that such customs should be passing! While he claimed that no other temple could rival Suchindram in the variety of god-heads which devotees could worship, he pointed out also a small shrine at which those could worship who did not believe in idols. Here we observed a mirror and nothing else; its symbolism was obvious. Each person thinks of God in his own way; if God has created man in His image it is equally true that man has conceived of God in his own way. In this temple we find a mixture of Tamilian and Malayalee customs. The Vellala community has played a prominent part in the maintenance of a temple to which the Travancore Rulers, the Nayaks of Madura and the heads of famous *matams* have contributed much in past years and continue to do so even today: the Nayaks, of course, have disappeared.

Apart from a capacity to appreciate music of the Carnatic school by the application of a highly personal set of standards, my knowledge of music is nil. But, to those with a knowledge of it, the musical pillars in Suchindram are the temple's main attraction. Owing to ignorant guides striking the pillars with stones and small iron rods and rails, one or two of them have been cracked. More care is now taken of them and the guides, at least the authorised ones, play upon them skilfully with their

fingers. These clusters of pillars do produce a peculiar musical sound—a rhythmic and melodic one—and it will have to be left to experts to find out what musical notes they exactly, or almost correspond to. There are six groups of pillars, four of which are to be found at the end of a spacious *prakaram* and the other two near the *sannadhi*. These last two are said to have their notes based on the notes of the *tabala* and the *mridangam*. The other group of four covers a square of about ten feet, with a cluster of pillars in each corner. All the pillars are cylindrical. Their dimensions, however, vary; the central pillars in all the groups are perceptibly bigger, but there is a notable uniformity in the size and structure of the rest. All these pillars are erected in a circle on a base a few feet above the ground. Around the central pillar in each group we find the smaller pillars in pairs of threes. Our guide told us that the notes produced on these four groups of pillars correspond to the musical sounds produced on the *thambura*,

veena, *jalatarangam* and the fiddle. The musical member of our party—to whom I am much indebted for the little knowledge I was able to pick up by carefully watching an expert at work—believes that the purpose of the pillars must have been to provide musical accompaniments when hymns and songs were sung before the Deity or dedicated dances were performed.

From Suchindram we went back, after waiting for three-quarters of an hour on the smelly banks of the near-by river for the bus, to the Cape. There is one more thing I wish to say about the Cape. There is an orphanage run by Hindus for Hindu girls and it seems to be a cause worthy of support. We do not seem to concentrate on this constructive activity as much as the Christians do. We made a small contribution to this *gurukulam*, as they call it, and also to a gentleman in the saffron robes of a *sanyasi* who called on us just before we left for Trivandrum en route to Madras via Madurai and Tiruchi.—(Concluded.)



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By V. P. SATHE

AFTER Dr. Keskar took over the Information Ministry and launched a purity drive through the censor board, our films cannot legitimately be accused of being cheap or vulgar. They are no longer capable of doing any harm; and yet it appears that the change brought about by Dr. Keskar has gone unnoticed by our moralists.

Of all people Acharya Narendra Dev should not have made such a sweeping statement that "the films of today were doing more harm than good to society." Similarly, after the introduction of adult certificate, his suggestion that children under 13 should be prevented from visiting cinemas appears to be pointless. And the women of Delhi are said to be on war path against modern films. A public meeting is reported to have been held in Delhi under the auspices of Adarsh Mahila Sangh in which ministers, members of the Parliament, educationists, religious heads all united in attacking films. This meeting passed a resolution demanding that no licence for building new theatres should be given unless and until there is an improvement in the standard of films which were vulgar.

One does not know whether Dr. Keskar attended this meeting, but the organisers should have invited him as he would have been able to assure them how in a year the vigilant censors have purified our films. The charge of vulgarity and obscenity levelled against films has always been exaggerated; but now with the stricter censorship it appears to be irrelevant. The film fans complain that the films of today have nothing in them to commend them to the public—not even the alleged cheap-

ness and vulgarity. The censors have deprived the producers of their only weapon to capture public imagination. Hence this cry against films is rather out-of-date. Those who are attacking obviously do not see our pictures. Indeed, all those who are attacking pictures obviously do not see our pictures. Indeed, all those who accuse Indian films of being vulgar should be made to see at least fifty pictures before being allowed to speak on them.

Picture Of The Week

It is seldom that one can repeat the same formula again with equal success; that is the impression one gets after seeing Bhagwan's *Jhamela* which tries to repeat the formula of *Albela* without attaining however its success. Yet strangely enough, the critics who were rather sceptical about *Albela* have voted *Jhamela* as a big entertainer.

In *Albela* Bhagwan owed his success mainly to two things. First, exceptionally good song and dance numbers; second, a clever blending of entertaining story of the stage-struck hero with the emotional story of his poor family. In *Jhamela* there is no legitimate stage and the heroine is just the prototype of Bhanumati in *Shamsheer*—a professional entertainer in the employ of a villain, she falls for the man she was supposed to kill. Today when all the States are merged into the Indian Union, the story of a common man forced to pretend to be heir-apparent to a throne and trying to be loyal to it even at the cost of humiliation to his sister is highly unconvincing and artificial. Hence, unlike *Albela*, where the suffering of family brings tears to one's eyes, the suffering of

the hero's widowed sister does not evoke great sympathy. While the narrative of *Albela* is simple and human, the narrative of *Jhamela* is involved and melodramatic.

Yet the beginning is excellent. And as long as the improbable prince element is not introduced the story is extremely interesting. The songs are aptly introduced. The moment the melodrama begins, the picture loses all its charm and the valiant efforts of Bhagwan to entertain the audience with all the tricks in his bag fail miserably. In the end it becomes a straight stunt-action melodrama of the *Nishan* variety.

Too long and rather loose in its screenplay, the other shortcoming of the picture is that, though it mainly concerns with the princely affairs of a big state, Bhagwan utterly fails to create the regal atmosphere of state. The birthday procession of the heir-apparent through the streets is ridiculous, with the king, the Dewan and Captain everybody huddled in one car without any retinue to give it an imposing air. It is his failure to lend even a fake air of regal splendour that makes *Jhamela* so unreal and artificial.

The music by C. Ramachandra is repetitious, the tunes lacking in novelty. Yet thanks to apt wording and catchy rhythm, the songs are entertaining. The performances are good, with Shakuntala stealing the acting honours as the widowed sister. The photography is pleasant but the production values are poor. Thus, mainly due to the involved and artificial plot *Jhamela* fails to repeat the trick of *Albela*.

Star Of The Week

A girl who held a promise to become a star is no more. The cruel hand of death has cut short the promising career of Nina Maker.

Nina Maker, whose real name is Hanwant Makkar, came from a Sikh family. She had an aptitude for acting since childhood and appeared in child-shows held at Metro Cinema (Bombay). She was one of the contestants in Kardar-Kolynos-M. G. M. contest; and it was at the party given to the final contenders that I first saw her. Dressed in Gorara and Kamees, she looked charming and graceful.

But, unfortunately, she lost the

contest; and yet she won a film contract. While the girl who won the contest is still to make her screen appearance, Nina got her break in Omar Khayyam's *Anndata*. The critics hailed her as a promising starlet; she was launched upon a successful career and got half-a-dozen new contracts.

Since childhood, she is reported to have had heart-trouble. So, when the W. H. O. experts came to Bombay she and her parents felt like taking advantage of this exceptional opportunity. Last Wednesday morning she went to the operation theatre at St. George's Hospital with a smile on her face; little knowing that it was going to be her last smile. For, while she was being operated she succumbed to a shock on the operation table. And thus came the unexpected end. At the time of her death she was working in two pictures *Teen Tasviren* and *Dharti ke Bhagwan*. May her soul rest in peace.

News Of The Week

—Vinod, who has written the story of Shantaram's new picture *Surang*, has been selected to play the male lead in the same picture. This is perhaps the first time that the author has been selected to play the lead in his own story by another director. Others in the cast are Ullhas, Shashikala, Sheela Ramani and Chandrakant.

—Shanker Das Gupta, the well-known play-back singer, has joined the ranks of music directors. He is giving music for Manmohan Sabir's *Sheeshe-ki-Diwar*.

—When Soviet representative Kulbiakin saw the rushes of *Do Bigha Zamin* last week he is said to have expressed the opinion that it was the finest Indian picture he had seen.

—Dilip Kumar is leaving for Europe on April 1 for a month's holiday.

—*Awara* will be the only Indian picture to be shown at Cannes Festival this year.

—Ashok Kumar will direct the second picture of his company Ashok Kumar Productions, the story of which will be inspired by a novel by Bankim Chatterji.

—Uday Shanker is inaugurating the People's Theatre Conference on April 6 at Bombay.

OSCAR HAD HIS HEART IN THE RIGHT PLACE

PROBABLY not a man, woman or child in the U. S. A. nation would agree with all of Oscar's selections in the Academy awards last week. But they certainly would admit that he had his heart in the right place.

Oscar picked a lot of sentimental favourites, old-timers all along the way. In some of the cases you might think he was looking for a chance to pay off old debts.

Cecil B. De Mille is the best example. All through Oscar's 25 years, he had ignored Mr. De Mille both as picture-maker and director. This time Oscar picked De Mille's film, *The Greatest Show on Earth* as the best of the year. These awards are based on artistic achievement and, on that basis, De Mille has not rated much recognition in Oscar's life-time. This director was a dealer strictly in the big, the lavish and gaudy. His heavily populated sets made work for lots of extras and brought visions of splendour to souls starved for expensive grandeur. Circuses and wrestling shared his relationship to the artistic side of movie drama. Wrestling is too drab a branch to entice his thoughts. But circus is another matter.

The master of tinsel and exaggeration found himself on familiar ground when he made a picture about a circus. Like De Mille himself, the circus has always worked with a glitter that was not quite genuine. Here was a mating of minds. The tawdry splendour of circus life was caught completely in *The Greatest Show on Earth*.

Movie prosperity has owed a great deal to De Mille, a director who never has had an unsuccessful picture. One can understand how the industry's leading figures, members of the Academy, would cast a vote for sentimental gratitude for their benefactor. In a popularity contest, De Mille's picture wins over such achievements as *Moulin Rouge* and *High Noon*.

John Ford won the award for director, over De Mille. John went to Ireland and crammed all the

charm he found there into *The Quiet Man*. When the charm he found was inadequate, one suspects he dreamed some and stuffed that in also. It's a nice fairy tale world he conceived, all in a beguiling brogue. Certainly it is a more pleasant world than the harsh realities John Huston directed in *Moulin Rouge*, Fred Zinnemann in *High Noon* or J. Mankiewicz in *Five Fingers*. Gary Cooper, another winner, gave precisely the same performance in *High Noon* that he has given in a long series of other pictures. Never has he been bad or any better or worse than in this one. Gary has been an outstanding actor with a sharply limited range. For consistency over the years, Gary rates an Oscar. There is a question, however, whether any single performance of his should be chosen over the virtuoso brilliance of Jose Ferrer in *Moulin Rouge*, Kirk Douglas in *The Bad and the Beautiful* or Alec Guinness in *The Lavender Hill Mob*. Pardon me if we hint a question about how many pictures those 1,600 members of the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences saw this past year before casting their votes.

Oscar seemed to be on firmer ground in choosing Shirley Booth as the year's best actress for her performance in *Come Back, Little Sheba*. Miss Booth had shrewdly learned the values in every line after playing the role for a couple of seasons on the stage. She had the added advantage of scenarist and director who thoroughly understood the difference between stage and screen methods. The result was a well tempered, sensitive portrait, one of the soundest achievements Oscar ever has honoured. Miss Booth, a debutante in films, called attention to herself in another way. She stumbled and almost fell on her face on the way to the stage to receive her Oscar. That was the only big mishap of the evening during Oscar's first full session on television. —P. G. KRISHNAYYA.

STARVATION DEATHS IN MADRAS STATE

By P. N. SAMPATH

THE Madras Government's persistent denial of the deaths which have occurred and which are even now occurring in several parts of the State through sheer starvation and want of victuals, is an atrocious performance of vain complacency in the face of stark reality. At first, reports of the prevalence of acute famine conditions in many areas of the State were brought to the notice of the powers that be. As the position worsened mainly due to continued drought conditions and to the steep rise in food prices following the decontrol policy initiated by the Rajaji Ministry, the lot of the lower strata of society and the unemployed and the indigent among the people became correspondingly worse. Owing to the crisis in the handloom industry and the resultant stagnation of stocks, vast number of handloom weavers became out-of-work and they swelled the mounting ranks of those who could not help themselves. Many of these migrated to the towns and the suburban areas in search of employment and their efforts in that direction have not been successful; they were reduced to beggary and pavement-dwelling. Scarcity of food and wholesale unemployment took a heavy toll of the purchasing power of these people and we have been seeing the paradoxical situation of people unable to purchase food even where it is available, of course at the prevailing high prices. In the wake of strong and vociferous representations to the Government, the authorities were gracious enough to open fair-price shops and gruel centres in most of the affected areas. Despite manifold slips between the cup and the lip, and manifest inefficiencies in the working, the gruel centres were a great boon to the hungry and hapless poor. But, it was not long before the Bourbons in power reversed this piece of good work they had been doing. The number of relief shops soon dwindled

at a progressive rate, and many gruel centres were closed without compunction and without reason. A Government which has chosen to maintain a Governor on an annual outlay of upwards of Rs. 10 lakhs probably could not find the finance necessary to run these gruel centres continuously until distress is relieved somewhat!

The lot of those who have thus been abandoned by the Government to shift for themselves need not be described. Obviously, public charity could not adequately compensate for the failures of the Government. It was insufficient. Consequently, deaths through starvation have been taking place. To bring these unfortunate occurrences to the official knowledge of the Government has not been so easy. Reports in the progressive Press were dismissed with a 'tut-tut' of disapproval, and official communiques were issued contradicting the news by a naive analysis of cause and effect, which always concluded with the note that the reported deaths were not due to starvation, but only due to disease of one form or other. The Government enquiry does not at all go into the question of what the alleged diseases were due to. Were they not due to under-nourishment, if not actual starvation? Again, even assuming that the deaths have been due to disease, is it not a sad commentary on the public health administration of the Government? Can the people be allowed to die in the streets unattended and uncared for by any civilised Government?

Rajaji has put himself badly in the wrong by his failure to recognise the fact of starvation deaths in this State. Congress in power, especially in this State, has so consistently neglected its duties to those who are committed to its charge, that it generally forgot it had any to perform. It has failed to recognise that people who are in a sad plight for no fault of their own have a pre-eminent

claim on the consideration of a Government which has any claim to be called popular. We agree that the Government cannot undo disasters due to natural causes like failure of monsoon, famine, cyclone havoc, etc. But it can help in mitigating the resultant suffering. It can alleviate distress. Excuses like lack of finance may serve as convenient expedients to counteract the overtures of the N. G. O.s, the lower subordinate staff, the constabulary, etc., for the grant of a living wage, but a similar attitude to the starving unemployed and the impecunious helots of society who are undergoing untold suffering will be disastrous to the Government in the long run. In society, people in a given economic and social setting act in such a manner that stresses and strains, dissatisfaction and suffering develop in cumulative proportions. Their tribulations will form the tinder for revolution; their famished state will fan the fires of discontent and the feeling they will have cannot be one of friendliness towards the powers that be. The Government may repudiate reports; it may rest content with denial of statements; it may unearth diseases out of the starved dead. But, if there is anything still left of its capacity for understanding, the Government must take note of the psychological reaction which reports of occurrences of starvation deaths are bound to produce among the great mass of the people. If Rajaji fails

to realise this, even though belatedly, we cannot of course blame him for that. For, how is he responsible to the people? He is responsible only to the Congress Governor who gave him an entree, albeit via the back-door, and to the minority of Congress legislators. But, in view of his great reputation for farsight, let us hope he will wake the administration from its emotional slumber and set it on the road to realism.

Adverting to the recent *Mail* report on the starvation death that occurred in Rasipuram, the editor of a vernacular weekly went at a tangent by calling the *Mail* to account for its alleged silence in the days when lakhs of people died of starvation in the infamous Bengal famine during the last days of the British regime v's-a-v's its present chivalrous attitude in front-paging a case of starvation death. The *Mail*, whose management was predominantly British till recently, might or might not have made even a passing mention of the Bengal deaths. But what excuse has this weekly for shutting its otherwise vigilant eyes to the deaths which are taking place in this State? While this weekly had the temerity to admonish the *Mail*, it has offered no solution for the stark reality. Polemics may serve to put the opponent in the wrong, but the problem remains. We have seen this journal's answer to the *Mail*, but what is its answer to the problem of starvation deaths?

SILENT TRUMPETS

THEY say that New York's Broadway is called the Milky Way because of the myriad lights that shine and sparkle all over the place at nights. The skyscrapers are ablaze with flood-lit facades and the eye is dazzled by the magical pyrotechnics of the advertisement bill boards. This fairy land should be an entertainment in itself to the many who turn back disappointed without tickets to the various performances that are staged within. Electrically illuminated advertising in our towns is certainly very much below the American level. We have

no skyscrapers here to flaunt the neon sign from the skies. Nor can we afford our meagre power supply for such purposes.

The other night as I was getting back home the view from my corner window in the bus was slightly unusual. The crowds were there, the traffic was there and the noise too, but something was absent. There was a change in the look of the street. I said to my friend, "What's happened to the old Bazaar? Has it lost its personality?" My friend replied briefly, "Power cut." Now I looked around with new and

knowing eyes. The power-cut had darkened the gay and lively bill boards that stretched over the entire length of our bazaar. Shop fronts and shop windows were full of shadows and the hair-cutting saloon that used to be the brightest spot was now positively uninviting to the eye. The green and blue fluorescent tubes that shed their limpid radiance into hotels and shops were few and far between. The hotels were less gay without their loudspeakers. Indeed the tempo of the whole business world of our town seemed to have dropped into dullness. The usually diverting ride through the street had lost all its interest.

Surely, commercial advertising in modern civilisation has become an adjunct to the economic progress of the world. We take advertising too much for granted and are not aware of its position in everyday life unless something like a power-cut makes its absence felt. If it is possible to resurrect a person who died around 1900 and land him plumb in the middle of a main street of any sizeable town, we cannot imagine his amazement at the huge, colourful and eye-arresting posters, the brilliantly lit facades of commercial buildings and many other forms of advertising that are to be found. The visitor from the past will need some time to get over his bewilderment. He might ask about those charming women who smile from the ubiquitous posters. Who are they? Are they the new national leaders? Let us not tell our visitor that they belong to the new species called film-stars and about their glory now.

Large-scale commercial advertising is a twentieth century phenomenon. Men are not above the love for publicity. In modern times with the growth of commerce and industry, advertising has become the chief instrument of competition between business organisations. Modern

methods of printing and display are fully utilised to serve their ends. These symbols of commercial competition have become so universal that the advertisement bill-board or the poster is an indelible part of the metropolitan scene. The ad, whether it is a small classified one in a newspaper or a huge bill-board in the street, is not merely the froth and bubble of the commercial cauldron. There is more in it than meets the eye. The immediate purpose of an ad is that the concern behind it blows its own trumpet through it. When taken as a whole advertising is the picturesque reflection of the trend of our times. It bears unmistakably the stamp of the materialist emphasis of current civilisation.

Can we imagine a newspaper without ads? How intolerably dull a newspaper would be if the familiar ads are not there. The common man does not dash off to the nearest agency to buy a turbo-generator or an expensive automobile on seeing these ads. But he really likes to look at them in his paper. They are his daily reminders of the vast and complex industrial organisation of the world. More often than not there is more interesting news to be found in the ads of a newspaper than in its news columns. A good ad can be an oasis in the midst of a desert of "words, words, words."

There is a marvellous variety in advertising. It has a wide range and scope, utilitarian and ideal. If one extreme is the illustrated brassiere, we have the other, the glorious UN posters where art enters the ad world. The exploitation of the female form divine is perhaps the most conspicuous aspect of modern advertising. Curvaceous and scantily clad women are the advertiser's bait to catch the eye of the world. Sex appeal is a much cultivated fad of society. It is but natural that ads are loaded with it—D. N.

He who would understand the real spirit of literature should not select authors of any one period alone, but rather go to the fountain head, trace the little rill as it courses along down the ages broadening and deepening into the great ocean of thought which the men of the present are exploring.—GARFIELD.

THE CONGRESS AND SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION

By J. B. KRIPALANI

THE Indian National Congress at its inception was designed to ventilate the grievances of the Indian people, especially of the educated Indians, against their foreign masters, and get them redressed. Slowly, however, it developed into an organisation for freeing the country from foreign domination and achieving political independence. After Gandhiji's leadership in the Congress, political independence was conceived principally in terms of the masses. They must be its chief beneficiaries, and must enjoy not only the benefits of national independence and democracy but also of social equality and economic competence. Mere political independence or even democracy would not solve the problems of their inequality, poverty and ignorance. Therefore, along with and as a part of the struggle for independence, Gandhiji devised a programme of constructive work which would progressively achieve social justice and economic equality. However, under foreign rule and with the resources of the country under its control, the schemes of social reconstruction on more equitable basis could only be partially worked. They could be fully worked after the elimination of foreign rule and the establishment of political independence, when all the resources of the country would be in national hands. This necessitated the primacy of the freedom fight.

The movement for independence was a common ground for all Indians, the classes and the masses, the capitalists and the labourers, the Indian princes, with their nominal authority, and the homeless poor. The whole of the Indian population suffered from the inconvenience and humiliation of foreign rule. All Indians were, therefore, interested in its elimination. But all sections and classes of the population were not equally concerned in the establishment of social justice and economic equality. For instance, the caste

Hindus in general, did not want the removal of untouchability. The higher castes who enjoyed social pre-eminence were not keen on the abolition of the caste system. The zamindar's sectional interests could only suffer with the disappearance of the zamindari system. The capitalist interests would equally suffer if there were economic equality. Political independence was, however, common ground with all classes of the Indian population without distinction of religion, caste or class. The Congress represented this universal urge. Speaking at the second Round Table Conference, Gandhiji said that the Congress represented all sections of the Indian population irrespective of religion, caste or class. He, however, added that Congress as it had developed considered the interest of the masses as paramount and any interest that conflicted with theirs must go.

As it represented all sections of the Indian population the Congress membership was open to all. It was, as its name indicated, truly a national organisation. Now that political independence has been achieved, the nation is faced with new tasks. They are not altogether new. Under Gandhiji's leadership the Congress had accepted them. These are, as we have said, the establishment of social and economic justice and equality. The nation need not, however, undertake them and may rest content with what it has already achieved, viz., national independence and political democracy. In the West most national revolutions were content with independence and democracy. For instance, the Founding Fathers in America, having driven away the British and made America an independent republic, did not feel called upon to work for social and economic justice and equality. They could not conceive in those days that independence and democracy were necessarily connected with social reconstruction of the country on a

more equitable basis. "The poor are with us always." The rich must also be with us always. There must also be the elite and the masses, and even in a democracy the former must rule.

However, such smug complacency after independence is not possible for India in modern times. Moreover, Indian national movement was conceived under Gandhiji's leadership in terms of a social transformation which was to be completed after the achievement of political independence.

The question then arises, can an organisation that was primarily and predominantly designed for one purpose, namely political independence, which was common to all, serve a different purpose, which is not equally common to all? Some sections of the Indian population are bound to resist social and economic change with all their resources and might. Here there is a fundamental clash of interests. However, in the Congress organisation all the conflicting interests are represented. Formerly, they had in common at least one purpose, political independence. Today there is no common purpose. Nevertheless, the leadership has declared in unmistakable terms that the new task before the Congress is the creation in India of a classless and casteless society free from exploitation. Every Congress session after independence has asserted this as the Congress goal. It is laid down as its objective in the constitution as recast after independence.

This objective, we hold, cannot be achieved through an organisation that represents all sections and interests of the people who were once united in the objective of independence. It results in a split outlook, creating tension and conflict within the organisation. Apart from internal rivalry due to newly-acquired power, groups and coteries are formed round conflicting social and economic interests of the various sections in the Congress.

This is illustrated by the fate of social and economic legislation in Parliament. The Hindu Code Bill lingered on and could not be passed during the last six years, in spite of

the fact that there was no opposition to Congress in Parliament, because Congressmen were not united on the merits of this piece of social legislation. Prohibition is almost collapsing, because Congressmen including some of the leaders, are not of one mind about the reform. There are people in the Congress who still believe in untouchability and firmly hold to the caste system. The Congress denounces communalism but it would be interesting to know how many Hindu, Muslim and Sikh members within the organisation are as rabid communalists as members of the Jan Sangh, the Hindu Mahasabha, the Muslim League and the Akali Dal! There are in the Congress Hindus who put on their forehead caste marks and wash the feet of Brahmins. The recent general election was fought in many instances on caste and community basis.

In the economic sphere though the Congress goal is socialistic, the legislation and taxation proposals for which its governments are responsible, have been far from socialistic. In education, because the Congress is predominantly a middle class organisation, most attention and funds are given to so-called higher education in which the middle class is interested. In health and hygiene it is the masses in the village who are neglected and urban areas get the bulk of the slender facilities available. Roads are made more for the convenience of urban than the rural population. While the Congress talks of rural reconstruction and while its Five Year Plan lays stress on home and village industries without which, it holds, the question of unemployment cannot be solved, it is not these but the mechanised big industries that get the bulk of government support and protection. Even the funds of the Gandhi National Memorial Fund are utilized to help big industry.

It is the irreconcilable conflict of interests among the ranks of Congressmen that makes all its professions and declarations of equalitarianism sound hollow. Such statements, when they are not deliberately hypocritical, designed to deceive the people, are dictated by the facts of the situation in the Congress. While general statements are made in terms of the objectives of the Con-

gress, action is powerfully modified by the conflicting interests in the organisation. Socially powerful and monied groups enrol bogus members and otherwise influence the vote and the policy of the Congress.

This is further complicated by the nature of the recent growth and expansion of the Congress. Formerly vested interests, whatever their sympathies, by and large, kept out of the organisation. It was dangerous in those days for the rich to dabble in revolutionary politics. Their stakes were great. By a single stroke of the pen the foreign government could inflict enormous losses on them. Moreover, being in the Congress, one could not always honourably avoid the sacrifices and suffering entailed by the freedom fight. Commercial and industrial interests could not, therefore, afford the patriotic luxury of being in a revolutionary organisation. If sometimes they gave a little money it was done secretly. Today all this is changed. There is no risk in joining the Congress. Rather there is possibility of gain in influence, power and money. Therefore, after swaraj members of the propertied classes have joined the Congress in large numbers. Some of these were selected as candidates for central and local legislatures. In every committee or commission the representation of businessmen and capitalists is disproportionately high.

Most of the members of the capitalists community are all on the Advisory Committee of the Five Year Plan. On the other hand, there is no fresh recruitment to the Congress from the young and enthusiastic and radical elements in the country. They have become either indifferent or join other homogeneous parties.

Unless, therefore, the old character of the Congress, of being an organisation representative of all sections of the population with their varying and contradictory interests, is changed it cannot bring about through its governments any equalitarian social revolution. Nor can it keep its unity of purpose and outlook. It must always suffer from the growth of sectional groups and cliques that attach themselves to powerful individuals in the government and in commerce and industry. If the Congress is capable by its origin and past history and its present composition to shoulder the new tasks its influence must continue to wane, whatever heroic efforts its supreme and solitary leader inside and outside the government may make. The Congress today is going on by its old momentum. It is living on the record of its past services, that is, on its capital, which it is squandering as recklessly as its government squandered the sterling balances. In the universal scheme of things (Virat) the Congress ceased to be because its task is done.

CHINA LOOMS BESIDE THE SOVIET PYRAMID

By ANDREW ROTH

THERE may not be an Egyptian saying "If you decapitate the highest pyramid, there is a better view of those almost as high." If there isn't, there should be. It would help illustrate the tremendous improvement of China's position vis-à-vis the Soviet Union with the death of Stalin.

The increased importance of Asia appears with every "decapitation" of a major Western country. In the United States the Democratic regime was overturned partly because the Republicans said they would pay more attention to Asia and Eisenhower promised he would fly to Korea to staunch the drain on American military life-blood there.

Even Britain's 1951 change of government served to signal the change in Asia's importance, although this was done by the portentous silences of Mr. Churchill. Once an outspoken and bitter opponent of Asian nationalism, particularly that of India, he now keeps his lips tightly sealed. He allows Mr. Eden and others who know how to appeal to Asians to do so unhindered by his own judiciously suppressed feelings.

Perhaps the most dramatic single element demonstrating the new importance of China in the rejuvenated Soviet leadership was a touched-up photograph which appeared in *Pravda* on March 10. Ralph Parker, of the *Daily Worker*, whose dispatches frequently transmit the 'line' to the British comrades, wrote that same day:

Stalin's death has been the occasion for a solemn reaffirmation of the solidarity of Chinese-Soviet relations....

Chinese Premier and Foreign Minister Chou-En-lai walked beside Malenkov immediately behind the gun-carriage that bore Stalin's remains to the Red Square.

Today's "Pravda", in its only picture of Stalin, shows Stalin, Mao Tse-tung and Malenkov together on the

occasion of the signature of the Soviet-Chinese Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance, three years ago. ("Daily Worker", March 11).

The *New York Times*, however, detected that *Pravda* had engaged in photographic trickery. The official Sovfoto photograph of the signing of the Soviet-Chinese treaty on February 14, 1950, did, indeed, show Stalin and Mao standing side by side. But Malenkov was off to one side with two other Russians and a Chinese between him and Mao. Vishinsky (signing the treaty) and Molotov (at Stalin's side) were also in the picture. The moving of Malenkov to Mao's side and the painting out of all others but Stalin must rank as one of the clearest expositions of Malenkov's aspiration: to be Stalin's heir and Mao's friend.

This and similar gestures must not be underestimated simply as the opportunism of the man who won the struggle for the succession and now fears he must "be nice" to Mao before the latter "turns Tito" out of disrespect. No doubt, Malenkov does not command the automatic respect in world Communist circles which decades of adulatory propaganda built up around Stalin's name. Until he establishes himself he must request where Stalin could demand. But it goes much deeper.

The fact is that Malenkov worked his way to the top partly because he has, for at least seven years, advocated closer attention to Asian matters. Many of the Soviet experts have been dislocating their arms patting themselves on the back for having first "tipped" Malenkov as Stalin's successor as long ago as 1946. They neglect to remind us that he was bypassed by Zhdanov in 1947-1948.

Asia Vs. Europe

The struggle between Zhdanov and Malenkov was, so far as we can determine, the Soviet equivalent of the American fight between the

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"Europe First" and "Asia First" schools, as well as between the "expansion" and "consolidation" schools. Malenkov emerged from the war superior to Zhdanov in the Soviet pyramid of power, having served on the five-man Defence Council with Stalin, Molotov, Voroshilov and Beria. He was next to Stalin on the podium on May Day, 1946, but faded thereafter as the star of expansionist, Europe-first A. A. Zhdanov rose. During this period Malenkov apparently favoured a more cautious attitude with more emphasis on Asia.

Zhdanov's speech to the founding session of the Cominform in 1947 indicated how completely the "Europe First" school had won. Over half of this speech "On the International Situation" was devoted to "American Plans to Enslave Europe," and there was no corresponding section devoted to Asia. Even more symptomatic was the callous way in which Asian Communist parties were instigated to putchist activities in the early months of 1948. None of these insurrections were in the interest of the Communist parties of the Asian countries concerned—India, Burma, Malaya, Indonesia. The Indonesian Communists lost their best leaders and much of their popular support. Indian Communists lost many of their intellectual followers and might have alienated many of their peasant followers had not some of the anti-Communist measures in Hyderabad been even more brutal than those of the Communists. Even today Burmese and Malayan Communists have not been able to emerge from the revolutionary *cul-de-sac* into which they were pushed by Zhdanov's effort to weaken Western Europe quickly by attacking it in its South-Asian colonial and semi-colonial "rear."

The eclipse and death of Zhdanov in 1948 and the reemergence of Malenkov coincided with the emergence of a programme emphasizing Asia more heavily. The victories of the Chinese Communists underlined the validity of his predictions. Said Malenkov in 1949: "Lenin pointed out in 1923 that the outcome of the world struggle between capitalism and communism depends in the long

run on the fact that Russia, India and China comprise the overwhelming majority of the population of the world and that this majority of the population is being drawn with extraordinary rapidity into the struggle for its liberation."

Curiously enough, Malenkov gave a subtle hint of his own criticisms of Joseph Stalin in the funeral oration at the Red Square Mausoleum, on March 9. He emphasized that "the most correct, essential and just foreign policy is the policy of peace among all peoples, based on a mutual trust, based and supported by facts and confirmed by facts." Virtually all the other sentiments expressed were a repetition of Stalin's words, but this emphasis on "facts" (the Russian word can also be translated as "deeds") is something new.

The few actions already taken—the open invitation to the U. S. to talk things over, the note of regret about the shooting down of Britain's Lincoln bomber, the promise to free British diplomats captured in Korea—have indicated what these new "facts" are in Malenkov's mind. The chief fact clearly is that the Communist bloc of 800,000,000 people—around the core of the Russo-Chinese alliance—is now strong enough and its future is promising enough to negotiate a relaxation of tension. He clearly feels that in ten or fifteen years—or two or three five-year plans—the economic and military strength of the Chinese and Russians together will surpass that of the United States and its allies.

Malenkov's emphasis on China's importance shines through his 30,000-word report to the Soviet Communist Party last October 5:

....A severe blow was struck at the entire world imperialist system by the historic victory of the great Chinese people. Today, a third of mankind has already been delivered from the yoke of imperialism, freed from the chains of imperialist exploitation. (p. 8)

Far from eliminating the economic and political contradictions of capitalism, the Second World War, on the contrary, still further intensified them, undermined the economy of the capitalist countries and intensified the general crisis of the world capitalist system.....

The economic consequence of the formation of two opposite camps was, as Comrade Stalin has pointed out, that the single, all-embracing world market disintegrated and two parallel world markets were formed: the market of the countries in the camp of peace and democracy, and the market of the countries in the aggressive imperialist camp. The break-up of the single world market is the most important economic result of the Second World War and of its economic consequences..... (p. 14-15)

All this signifies that the capitalist economy is now afflicted with still more profound contradictions, and that the world system of capitalist economy as a whole has become much narrower, weaker and still more unstable than before the war. (p. 19-20)

The position of the world capitalist system is now becoming increasingly difficult owing to the fact that, as a result of the war and of the new upsurge of the struggle for national liberation in the colonial and dependent countries, the colonial system of imperialism is actually disintegrating.

A direct result of the defeat of Fascist Germany and of imperialist Japan was the breach of the imperialist front in China, Korea and Viet Nam, where People's Republics have arisen in the place of semi-colonies and colonies. The victory of the Chinese people has still further revolutionized the East and has stimulated the struggle for liberation of the peoples oppressed by imperialism. (p. 25)

As a result of prolonged imperialist oppression and of survivals of feudalism, the economy of the colonial and dependent countries, especially agriculture, is in a state of decline. Tens of millions of people in India, Indonesia, Iran and in Africa are living in a state of constant hunger and vast numbers of people have actually died of starvation.....

The people of the colonies and dependencies are offering more and more determined resistance to the imperialist enslavers. Evidence of the growing scope of the national liberation movement is provided by the struggle of the peoples of Viet Nam, Burma, Malaya, the Philippines and Indonesia, and by the growth of national resistance in India, Iran, Egypt and in other countries. (p. 26)

Comrades, the Soviet state is no longer a lone oasis surrounded by capitalist countries. We are moving forward together with the great Chinese people, together with the many millions of the People's Democracies and the German Democratic Republic.....

(p. 146)..... Our cause is invincible. We must keep our hand firmly on the helm and steer our course undeterred by provocation or intimidation..... (p. 147)

It is worthwhile re-reading these pages despite their heavy load of familiar Marxist clichés and occasional factual errors (Indonesia should be grouped with India and Iran rather than with Malaya and the Philippines because there are no Communist armies fighting in Indonesia.) The whole impression given is that Malenkov bases his whole world-view on the potentialities of the Sino-Soviet alliance much more than did Stalin.

Stalin Belittled China

Despite tons of propaganda to the contrary, there is considerable evidence that Stalin did not, except in words, fully appreciate the revolution in the Soviet Union's position represented by the victory of the Chinese Communists. Although a Georgian himself, there are some hints that Stalin shared the traditional Russian disdain for the Chinese, including Chinese Communists. *The Times* (March 6) underlined Stalin's reluctance to depend on foreign Communists: "Even before the war Stalin set little store by the foreign Communists of the Comintern, and the way thousands of former German Communists fought for Hitler even within Russia left its mark on him." He also had a slightly chauvinistic attitude toward other Asians. *The Times* recalled: "After the defeat of Japan the pride burst out: 'We men of the older generation have waited forty years for this day, and now it has come!'"

Certainly, in advance of the Chinese Communist victory Stalin preferred the possibility of American friendship to the chance of a Communist victory in China. During the latter part of the war he repeatedly reassured the Americans that he felt that Chiang Kai-shek was the only possible leader of China, but that he hoped that the Chinese Communists might participate in the government as junior partners. Stalin showed his attitude toward the Chinese Communists in many little ways. He told Donald Nelson, an American representative, that the Chinese Commu-

nists were like radishes: "red on the outside, white on the inside."

At Yalta in February 1945, Marshal Stalin "again expressed his lack of confidence in China as a world power. He said that he could not understand why the Kuomintang Government and the Communists should not maintain a united front against the Japanese. He felt that Chiang Kai-shek should assume leadership for this purpose, but that there was a need for some new leaders around the Generalissimo." He suggested the Communists had "some good men." (Roosevelt and Hopkins, by Robert E. Sherwood, II, p. 513)

Hopkins saw Stalin again in May 1945 and cabled the following relevant report of Stalin's attitude to the State Department:

"He made categorical statement that he would do everything he could to promote unification of China under the leadership of Chiang Kai-shek. He further stated that this leadership should continue after the war because no one else was strong enough. He specifically stated that no Communist leader was strong enough to unify China. In spite of the reservations he expressed about him, he proposes to back the Generalissimo....."

He agreed with America's "Open Door" policy (in China) and went out of his way to indicate that the United States was the only power with the resources to aid China economically after the war..... (Roosevelt and Hopkins, p. 554)

His minimizing of the Chinese Communists was not merely to trick the Americans. When the Chinese Communists themselves decided in 1946 that they were strong enough to fight Chiang Kai-shek to the finish, they did so on their own and *against* the advice of Stalin. This has been known for some time by well-informed people but only confirmed recently from an unexpected source with the publication of "Tito Speaks" by Vladimir Dedijer. In this the author quotes Stalin in a discussion with the then Yugoslav Foreign Minister E. Kardelj:

....after the war we invited the Chinese comrades to come to Moscow and discussed the situation in China. We told them bluntly that we considered the development of the uprising in China had no prospects, that the Chinese comrades should seek a *modus vivendi* with Chiang Kai-shek, and

that they should join the Chiang Kai-shek Government and dissolve their army. The Chinese comrades agreed here in Moscow with the views of the Soviet comrades, but went back to China and acted quite otherwise. They mustered their forces, organized their armies and now, as we see, they are beating Chiang Kai-shek's army."

Although Stalin admitted his mistake in this case, it was a disagreement which apparently skimmed the cream off the milk of Sino-Soviet fraternalism about which their propaganda agencies have dilated so heavily these last three years. Stalin has been too long at the game of running the Communist show from Moscow to be completely comfortable about the setting up of Communist states except on a satellite basis. As he told Dimitrov at the above-quoted Kremlin meeting which preceded the Yugoslav break: "Mistakes are not the issue: the issue is conceptions different from our own."

The fact is that the Chinese conception would necessarily differ occasionally from Russia's. In 1946 Stalin advised caution because he was primarily interested in not provoking the U. S. in an area where its political emotions were so sensitive. The Chinese Communists decided to forego his advice because their future lay in defeating their hated Kuomintang enemy.

As late as the end of 1948 the U. S. S. R. entered into an agreement with the Chiang Kai-shek Government over Sinkiang. The Chinese Communists swallowed hard and did not publish this information in their newspapers. It would seem to their supporters an expression of Soviet doubt that they could succeed in 'liberating' the whole of China when few others doubted their ability.

These differing conceptions have never matured to a Tito-like break because Stalin learned from the Tito revolt that not every state can be treated like a satellite. The Soviets showed themselves sensitive to Chinese national feeling by leaping in to become the aggressive proponents of Peking's admission to the UN, satisfying the Chinese but making it difficult to secure American consent. Subsequently the outbreak of the Korean war less than a year after the establishment of the Peking

regime made China dependent on Russia for modern armaments. It has since become quite clear that, much as the West would like to, there is no chance of pushing any sizeable wedge between Peking and Moscow while the Korean war makes Peking dependent on Soviet arms and planes, and Peking retains its fears of American attempts to destroy the Communist regime.

Despite the enduring quality which this gives to the Sino-Soviet alliance, there are some minor points of friction which are worth examining without exaggeration. Thus, the \$300 million five-year loan which the Soviets advanced in 1950 was not by any means generous in view of the Chinese problem of industrialization; China has had to scale down industrialization plans by 30% for 1953—the first year of its first Five Year Plan. The Soviets appear to have been more generous in the supply of modern planes and armaments, but it is not clear what price the Chinese have had to pay for it.

It is difficult, of course, to assess the strains within the Communist world because such a cloak of secrecy is hung. In the case of Tito's revolt, there was no advance warning to the outside world whatever.

Relations between China and Russia were renegotiated last September when Chou En-lai, Peking's Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary, conferred with Stalin and Vyshinsky. Chou secured the transfer of the Changchun Railway to China at the end of 1952, as had been promised in the Sino-Soviet treaty of February 1950. But Port Arthur, which was also supposed to revert to Chinese control remains under joint control. Dairen was not mentioned but this was not necessary because under the 1950 treaty its position was to be examined only after China and Russia conclude a Japanese peace treaty. Since the Kremlin war and China's participation in that war occurred after the Sino-Soviet treaty was signed, there is no reason to feel

that Peking has any more reservations on the subject of Dairen and Port Arthur than the British Government has on American bomber bases. China is certainly more dependent for naval protection on the availability of the Soviet fleet in case of a showdown with the United States, than Britain is on the U. S. bomber force for air protection.

One of the chief Chinese irritants is probably psychological, although Moscow has allocated Eastern Asia as its operational sphere to Peking as a sign of fraternal respect. Malenkov hinted at this psychological dissatisfaction when, with precipitate haste, he replaced the senior career diplomat Panyushkin as Soviet Ambassador to Peking with V. Kuznetsov, a Deputy Foreign Minister and full member of the Central Committee.

The Chinese pay a great deal of attention to ceremonial visits to capitals. In fact it was the historic character of Peking as China's 'diplomatic Mecca' which largely decided the Communists to make their capital there. Under the Emperors, China's satellites showed their respect by making pilgrimages to Peking bearing tribute. During the period of their alliance with the Soviet Union, however, such pilgrimages have all been one-way, with virtually every Chinese leader, including Mao himself, travelling to Moscow. But during the 3½ years of the Peking regime's existence, *no important Soviet leader has visited Peking*, at least not publicly. Malenkov may have tried to salve Chinese feelings by increasing the status of the Soviet representative in Peking.

It seems reasonable to assume that the greatest *fact* on which Malenkov intends to base himself is that the strengthening of the Soviet-Chinese alliance is the prime requisite for the safety of the Soviet Union. If we find him, or some of his top collaborators, visiting Peking in the near future, it will indicate our assumption is sound.

I would rather pay ten million dollars for trademark-goodwill without property than one million dollars for property without trademark-goodwill.—GEORGE K. MORROW.

CHARLES CHAPLIN: HE'S A ONE-MAN COMPANY

By LON JONES

IF Charles Chaplin is barred from re-entering the United States, Hollywood will lose its only true genius. This is the opinion of every unbiased person in Hollywood, for no matter what anyone may think of Chaplin as a man, no one, not even his enemies, can deny that he is the most talented artist in motion pictures today.

The little comedian, who was born in London's slums, is the only man capable of doing every job in motion pictures and doing each one expertly and brilliantly. Most other movie artists and self-styled geniuses are specialists, either writers, directors, producers, composers or actors. Chaplin, on the other hand, excels in every phase of movie-making, from the initial writing of the screenplay right through to editing and cutting of the exposed film.

The late George Bernard Shaw, who rarely paid compliments to anyone but himself, once called Chaplin: "The only genius in motion pictures." Shaw made this statement some 20 years ago, but it still holds true, for the tiny, white-haired comic, now 63, was never greater than in his newest film, *Limelight*, which many critics hail as the crowning achievement of his 40 years on the screen. When Chaplin screened the film for the Hollywood press corps, before he left for London, these hardboiled critics actually applauded the picture several times during its running, a most unusual gesture for them, and gave it a tremendous ovation at the end.

In *Limelight*, is the full flowering of the Chaplin genius, for the famous comedian runs the gamut of the emotion, from low slapstick comedy to high drama, and never once strikes a false note.

Chaplin, who has been a great star of the screen ever since he made his first Keystone comedy back in 1913, plays an aging clown who has lost his ability to make audiences

laugh. He saves the life of a young dancer (English actress Claire Bloom) who attempts suicide because she is convinced she is crippled and will never again dance. In an unusual love idyll, they help and inspire each other to greatness again, before their association ends in tragedy.

Whatever faults Chaplin may have as a man, he has few as an artist, for *Limelight* is literally a one-man production. He not only wrote the original story and scripted it, but also produced and directed the film and, of course, starred in it. He personally designed all the sets and costumes, and even did the choreography for the ballet sequences, which are excellent.

This might have been enough to stamp the comedian a genius, but he also composed the entire musical score, including a hunting concerto, a complete ballet, and the words and music of three songs, which he himself sings in the picture. As a matter of fact, Charlie, a self-taught musician who can play five instruments expertly, has composed the musical scores of all his films since the advent of sound.

Despite the fact that *Limelight* is in the best Pagliacci tradition, Charlie has some wonderful comedy sequences, which are brought into the story logically. However, he has again dispensed with the baggy pants, large shoes, bowler hat and cane that first made him the world's most beloved comic. These now belong to another age, he told us on the set. "The younger generation," he explained, "might not understand the frustrated, pathetic little man I used to play. In these more cynical times, I'm afraid he would be something of an anachronism, though man is still frustrated and still very pathetic. Youngsters today might think him 'corny', to use one of their own expressions."

But without his famous costume and his smudge of moustache, Chap-

lin is just funny as ever, especially in the "animal trainer" sequence in the film, in which he uses two fleas as his "animals." This is quite ribald, but hilariously funny as the comedian performs it. In another brilliant comedy sequence he teams with Buster Keaton in a satire on long-hair musicians. This is pantomime at its best, for the two famous comedians never utter a word during the seven minutes the sketch runs, but they have the audience rolling in the aisles.

Although he uses gag costumes for these comedy sequences, Charlie is immaculately dressed throughout the rest of the film, a veritable fashion plate. This is a distinct departure for the pint-sized genius, but it seems he has decided to break completely with his screen past, creating a new characterization from now on. In fact, he has instructed his aides that they must not distribute any of his early still pictures, showing him in his traditional tramp costume. He is aiming his pictures at today's audiences and refuses to cash in on nostalgia. However, older moviegoers will never forget the old Charlie Chaplin and his wistful appeal that made them laugh and cry at the same time.

Most other movie stars, especially comedians, have faded with time. But Chaplin, at 63, is bubbling with new ideas and seems more eager to make pictures than at any time during the last 15 years. He disliked sound when it first came in, but now he has embraced it. In fact, *Limelight* is very "talky."

It would be ironic indeed if Chaplin were barred from re-entering the U. S. his home for the last 40 years. But this may well happen, for the Chaplin hating pack (and it is large) is baying at his heels. There is even a move, by the American Legion, to have his film banned in the U. S. though on what grounds it is difficult to understand, for it has no political content and certainly is not un-American.

Charlie's big mistake was in leaving the U. S., for his enemies were waiting for just this opportunity. His friends realized this and tried to change his mind. But he wanted to premiere *Limelight* in London, where

it is laid, and also to show the city of his birth to his young wife, Oona O'Neill, daughter of playwright, Eugene O'Neill, and their four children. It was to be a journey of nostalgia for the white-haired comic.

He felt he was pretty safe in leaving, for the U. S. immigration department issued him with the usual re-entry permit, necessary to all resident aliens leaving the U. S. His ship had hardly left the New York dock when the U. S. Attorney-General announced that he would have to face an inquiry into his political affiliations and his moral life before he could gain re-entry. Liberal-minded Americans think this was an underhand trick, not worthy of the Government, but Chaplin has powerful enemies, who have long wanted to get him out of the country.

His enemies have accused him of being a Communist or a fellow traveller. But Chaplin himself stated to the London press: "I am not a Communist and never have been one." He has appeared before the Un-American Activities Committee, but it never published its findings, which would indicate it had nothing on him. He has, however, been an outspoken liberal and states that he has always been for the "underdog" and always will be.

As to his moral life, the only public scandal with which he has been associated was the time Joan Berry, a one-time actress protegee of his, had him named the father of her illegitimate child in a sensational court trial.

Of course, he has had four wives, but if they began deporting all Hollywood stars who have had more than one wife, the movie capital would soon resemble Goldsmith's deserted village. His three previous wives, before Miss O'Neill who, by the way, is more than 35 years his junior, were Mildred Harris, Lita Grey (who bore him two sons, Sydney and Charles Jr., both now grown men), and Paulette Goddard. There's no doubt that Chaplin likes his wives young, but he also made great stars of them.

Perhaps the real reason why some Americans have disliked Chaplin is that he has never attempted to become a U. S. citizen. Just why he hasn't after living 40 years in the

U. S. no one but Chaplin himself knows. His friends, however, claim he is extremely proud of the fact that he is a British subject.

There is no doubt that Chaplin is one of Hollywood's wealthiest men, but this is due to his foresight and his courage.

For, right from the start, Chaplin felt hobbled when he had to take orders from others in his creative work. Just as soon as he could manage it, he erected his own studios and began producing the pictures he liked to make instead of those that pleased bankers and company heads. He has now been producing, directing, writing and financing his own pictures since 1918, as well as doing most of the acting. He is the only star in Hollywood who has ever had the courage to stand or fall on his own ability. He was so anxious to control every phase of his movies that he even formed his own distributing company, United Artists, together with Mary Pickford, Douglas Fairbanks Sr., and D. W. Griffith. He sold his interest in this concern a few years ago, but still releases his pictures through it.

It is perhaps just as well that Chaplin has no financial backer, for his methods, would drive them gray. In *Limelight*, for instance, he re-shot an entire day's scenes because he did not like the coat he wore in the sequence. He told his cameraman, Karl Struss: "I was not happy wearing that coat yesterday. It seemed all wrong, in colour and design. It somehow upset me and I felt I did not do my best work." Though Struss informed him that the coat looked fine on film and that the scene seemed okay, Chaplin insisted on changing the coat and re-shooting the entire thing.

"Charlie," said Struss, "is the only real perfectionist I have ever worked with. Everything in his picture must be perfect."

Chaplin now rarely discusses his early life, especially his childhood, claiming that is now past and no longer interesting either to himself or the public. But it is known that he was born in a hotel in London's East End, on April 16, 1889,

and experienced extreme poverty as a child. His parents had been in vaudeville and it was only natural that he should turn to the stage. He was out earning his living at any odd job a child could get at the age of 10, but by the time he was 12, he was a member of a juvenile troupe known as the Eight Lancashire Lads. He was doing a dance routine at the time, as well as performing a song solo and forming part of a quartet. He was always a fine dancer, and demonstrates this in *Limelight* in spite of his 63 years.

His first important role was as the page boy in the London production of *Sherlock Holmes*. He later joined a well known revue of the day and worked up a solo act of his own. This troupe toured the U. S. in 1912, and Chaplin stole the show, despite the fact that his act was completely pantomime. He returned to the U. S. the next year, and while appearing in Los Angeles signed his first movie contract with Mack Sennett and the Keystone Picture Co. He was paid \$150 a week, but when other studios found out how the world had taken the little comic and his tramp-like characterization to its heart they hastened to sign him. He made dozens of two-reelers during the next few years, becoming the most famous personality on the screen.

In 1917, now a world-wide favourite, he was signed to the only movie contract ever to specify a salary of \$1,000,000 a year. The next year he established his own studios, which still stand on Hollywood's busiest corner, one of the most valuable pieces of real estate in the crowded city.

Chaplin has no intention of retiring. In fact, he is already busy writing his next picture. Just where this will be made depends on the outcome of the attempt to bar his return to his adopted country.

But no matter where he makes his picture, the Chaplin genius will be the same. He has been invited to remain in his native land, so that if he is barred from the U. S. it will be Hollywood's loss and English's gain. —(NNF.)

THE CONQUEROR CONQUERED

By GEORGE YAMADA

THE *Insanity of Fray Bartolome de Las Casas* was the title of an article published in the Madrid periodical *Revista Hispano Americana de Ciencias, Letras y Artes* in 1927.

After reading the tract for which Las Casas is best known, *Brevissima Relacion de la Destruccion de las Indias*, Vicente Maria Velazquez, a priest of Merida, Yucatan in southern Mexico, declared: "Our forefathers usurped all the rights of the Indians and enslaved them under the pretext of Christianizing them and therefore these Indians ought to rule in all parts of this country."

El Repertorio Americano, the revolutionary London periodical of Spanish emigres, suggested early in the 19th century that an immense statue of Las Casas be erected on the Isthmus of Panama dominating two continents and the islands where "that hero of humanity left so much for Americans to admire and to emulate." In 1951, Guatemala imprinted a postage stamp with a portrait of Las Casas. Her one-centavo coin also bears his likeness. The devotion to Las Casas was so widespread that at one time it was suggested that the capital of Great Columbia be named Las Casas, according to the Mexican writer, Alonso de Zamora.

The enduring influence of Bartolome de Las Casas is suggested in the foregoing random selections from *Bartolome de Las Casas, Bookman, Scholar and Propagandist*: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1952. Highlighting the turbulent career of this reviled but equally beloved priest who profoundly modified Hispanic colonial policy, Lewis Hanke, a devotee of Las Casas, evaluates the intense Dominican ecclesiastic in this critical study. As his writings enter their fifth century, Las Casas continues to provoke passionate controversy. More than a thorn in the conscience of Spanish explorers and colonists, Las Casas was a versatile propagandist whose viewpoints he sought vigorously to have accepted by the Crown. The doctrines of Las

Casas live on after his death to vex Spaniards as bitterly as during his lifetime. To combat his subversive doctrines, the Town Council of Mexico City commissioned the writing of its official history in 1558. The city fathers became alarmed when natives from the neighbouring village of Texcoco presented a petition declaring that a large part of Mexico still belonged to the Indians. With almost blind faith, Las Casas was convinced that the King would correct abuses if appraised of the true situation. Thus, he furiously wrote memorials all of his Methuselan lifetime. He lived to be 92 years old.

Although William Lloyd Garrison is known to North Americans as their pre-eminent abolitionist, Bartolome de Las Casas preceded him by many centuries. However, the first voice on the Continent to publicly condemn slavery in America was that of Antonio de Montesinos, who denounced involuntary servitude three years before Las Casas was moved by the poignant tragedy of the native. Sustained by his superior when his parishioners demanded his recall, Montesinos was sent to Spain to defend his viewpoint. He was accompanied by Las Casas. The result was the Laws of Burgess of 1512, the first public recognition of Indian rights.

Long before the Quakers manumitted their slaves, Las Casas fought on two continents for the enactment of the *Nuevas Leyes* which banned the *repartimiento*—the apportionment of natives among settlers who in exchange for the exaction of forced labour were entrusted to "enlighten" the Indian soul.

At Rio Del Sol, Cuba, on his first voyage, Columbus said: "They (the Indians) are all very gentle, without knowledge of evil, neither killing nor stealing." Columbus, the first Viceroy and Governor-General of Espanola—now Haiti—introduced into Jamaica and Puerto Rico the colonial devices responsible for the slavery and extermination of the Caribbean

Indian, the encomienda and repartimiento. Bartolome de Las Casas was accused of introducing African slaves into America. For twelve years Las Casas, later appointed Protector General of the Indians, kept indigenous slaves. He also advocated the importation of African slaves to replace the dwindling autochthonous population. According to a royal permit issued in 1544, Las Casas was authorized to bring four Negro slaves to America. Writing in *Cuadernos Americanos*, the Mexican scholar, Silvio Zavala, in an article titled "Las Casas, Esclavista?", conclusively proved that Las Casas did not originate slavery in America. Las Casas later confessed that the enslavement of Negroes was "as unjust as Indian slavery and for the same reasons." Nicolas de Ovando, third Viceroy of Espanola, shipped Negro slaves into the Antilles from Andalusia where they had been imported by Portuguese traders in the fifteenth century. The succeeding century witnessed many enslaved Indians exported from the Caribbean to Spain. The tide had reversed.

1952 marked the 400th anniversary of the printing of *Brevissima Relacion de la Destruccion de las Indias*, the most famous of the ingenuous tracts from the pen of the prolific Indianist, Bartolome de Las Casas. *Very Brief Relation*, an expose and indictment of the barbarisms committed by the Conquistador upon the Indian, charged that twenty million natives had been wantonly destroyed. "...all of which has been accomplished in defiance of Your Majesty's instructions," he wrote Philip II to whom it was dedicated. No horror story surpasses the grim details of this document. Sensational in its foreign printings, the inflammatory tract was widely disseminated to discredit Spain in the power struggle. Under the title, *The Spanish Colonie, or Briefe Chronicle of the Acts, and Gestes of the Spaniards in the West Indies*, the English translation appeared in 1583 from London. Ranting against the barbarism revealed in *Very Brief Relation*, the English kept discreetly quiet about their own traffic in slaves. V. B. R. also was published in the Latin, Dutch, Italian, German and French (1579) editions. Consequently, Spain has

suffered from an acute inferiority complex.

Hatvey, *Cacique* of a hounded Haitian tribe, asked an assembly of aborigines in Cuba where he had fled. Why do the Spaniards treat the native so mercilessly? "Because they have a god who they greatly adore and love; and to make us adore him, they strive to subjugate us and take our lives," he said.

In *Very Brief Relation*, Las Casas declared that he had not told a tenth part of what he beheld:

.....from the time the Indias were discovered down to the present, nowhere did the Indians harm any Christians, before they had sustained harm, robbery, and treachery from them. Nay, they always esteemed them immortal, and came from heaven; and as such they received them, until their deeds manifested their character and intentions.

Excerpts from *Very Brief Relation* follow:

This infernal tyrant.....brought numberless Indians, chained to one another, carrying loads of sixty, and seventy pounds each. If one tired, or fainted from hunger, fatigue and weakness, they at once cut off his head at the collar of the chain so as not to stop to loosen the others in the line; and the head fell to one side and the body to the other, and they distributed his load among the other bearers.

Another time, this same tyrant captured many Indians in a certain town called Cora which he visited: he had fifteen or twenty lords and principal persons torn by dogs; and he cut off the hands of many men and women, tied them to cords and hung about seventy pairs of hands along a beam, so that the other Indians should see what had been done to these people; and he cut off the noses of many women and children.

The devil commandant ordered a hundred Indians to be called before him and when they promptly came like so many lambs, he had the heads of thirty or forty cut off; and said to the others: "I will do the same to you, if you do not serve me well, and if you leave without my permission."

They tortured him with the cord: they threw burning fat on his belly; they put his feet in irons fastened to a stake, tied his neck to another, while two men held his hands; and in this position they put fire to his feet.

He perpetrated this massacre because it seemed good to him to make himself feared by all the people of the

country.....he thought in this way to pacify the country.

Accused of exaggeration and excessive indignation, Las Casas wrote:

I believe that because of these impious and ignominious acts, perpetrated unjustly, tyrannously, and barbarously upon them, God will visit His wrath and ire upon Spain for her share, great or small, in the blood-stained riches, obtained by theft and usurpation, accompanied by such slaughter and annihilation of those peoples, unless she does much penance. And as if to confirm Las Casas, the

biographer, Francis Augustus MacNutt writes:

During centuries, much of the best blood of her prolific people was drained by the Americas, so that the population of the peninsula today is little more numerous than in the reign of Ferdinand and Isabel, whereas her territory and natural resources might maintain triple their number.

Without royal authorization, *Very Brief Relation* was first published by its author in Seville, 1552. Republished in 1640 and 1879, it was subsequently listed in the Index of the Inquisition. While its repercussions have shaken two continents over four centuries, the assessment of the character and achievements of Las Casas gains momentum each year. Employed for a variety of causes, the fiery tract was avidly read by a wide range of readers including Simon Bolivar, Voltaire, William Bradford, Cotton Mather, the Dutch pilgrims and Montesquieu. In refuting Malthus, William Godwin utilized Las Casas; Mexican patriots quoted Las Casas to strengthen their case against the Mother Country. The Deep South of North America also engaged Las Casas to defend slavery, ignoring that the monk later denounced Negro slavery as strongly as Indian bondage.

Las Casas took a law degree from the University of Salamanca but little else is known about his first 28 years. A native of Seville where he was born 1474, at 28 Las Casas sailed for the New World where, as lord of his father's estate in Haiti, the yearly income of which he estimated at 100,000 castellanos, he lavished his first twelve years—1502-14. In 1512, Las Casas participated in the plunder of Cuba although he had assumed Dominican

orders a year earlier. Nine-tenths of the natives perished in this period. It was not until Las Casas was forty that the piquant drama of the Indian touched his heart. If his conversion was slow it was thorough. Endowed with a passion that has survived four centuries and a hard constitution that was active 92 austere years, the Conqueror was in turn conquered by the vanquished. After this change of heart Las Casas devoted the last fifty years of his life to the protection of the *indigena*. At the age of 90 the Dean of Indianists wrote a vigorous defence of the Peruvian Indian. Because the Indian was plundered in violation of natural and moral law, the spoil exacted must be returned "to the penny." This was his first principle. How do we explain the paradox of this bold relentless priest of lofty idealism and passion for the oppressed with the former complacent squire?

In 1515, one year after his moral awakening, Las Casas gained an audience with King Ferdinand. The Spanish monarch died several months later, leaving the country under the regency of Cardinal Ximenez de Cisneros, a friend of Las Casas, who guided Spain for two years until the arrival of King Charles V, the Flemish ruler. Appointed Protector General of the Indians in 1516, Las Casas was a thorn to the pre-repartimiento Audiencia and the powerful autocratic Bishop of Burgos who controlled Indian affairs for 35 years. Las Casas accused Burgos and the Audiencia of vested interests in slave traffic. He secured a dictum from ecclesiastical authorities declaring that those who viewed the Indians as incapable of conversion committed a doctrinal error and should be burned at the stake as heretics. Subsequently, a papal bull defined the moral status of the native as equal before the law.

The austere friar, who was 48 when he joined the Dominican Order, spent seven quiescent years in a monastery absorbing papal doctrine and philosophy, including Thomas Aquinas, the "glory of the Dominican Order." During this cloistered interlude, Las Casas began writing his principal work, *History of the Indies*, in 1527; he forbid its publication until 40 years after his death.

"And when those forty years have passed, if they shall see that it is well for the good of the Indians and of Spain, they may command that it be printed for the glory of God and the showing forth of the truth," he wrote. Following his brief retirement from the world, the tireless Crusader returned to the fray with strengthened convictions. Ordained Bishop of Chiapas at the age of 70, Las Casas firmly refused to administer the sacraments to those who continued to oppress the native in violation of royal proscription. Refused alms and threatened with violence, once fired upon by colonists, Las Casas was forced to leave his diocese after six months—but not before excommunicating his recalcitrant parishioners.

Humanitarianism over-shadowed every other sentiment in Las Casas. Without cessation, he campaigned before the Royal Court for humane treatment of the Indian. Commissioned by Cardinal Loaysa to help draft the *Nuevas Leyes*, Las Casas also secured a royal cedula banning the encomienda in Peru, the domain of Pizarro. After the extermination of a large part of the indigenous population, Emperor Charles V in 1542 signed the *Nuevas Leyes* banning the encomienda. The New Laws provided for the gradual and total elimination of slavery—with due regard for the interests of the colonists. The royal decree did not immediately correct the abuses denounced so irascibly by Las Casas. A royal cedula exempting in perpetuity all Indians from servitude was promulgated a year later—to no practical purpose, so violently opposed were colonists to yield the source of their lucrative income. Three years after promulgation of the *Nuevas Leyes*, these angry settlers gained exemption from its stringent provisions, amounting to annulment of the new laws.

To Las Casas, the *raison d'être* of Hispanic conquests was the peaceful conversion of the native through persuasion and their incorporation into "Christian" civilization. Maintaining that the Indian was in many respects superior to the Spaniard, he boldly proclaimed that the Mayan temples of Yucatan were as worthy of admiration as the pyramids of

Egypt. His dream of a Christian commonwealth "in which the Indian would play a leading and honorable part" points him out as a humanist more than a late medieval theologian. In *De Unico Modo Vacatōnis*, Las Casas championed the unspoiled nature of the aborigine, arguing that the Indian was influenced by gentleness and justice, but never by brutality or oppression. The Spanish settlers of Guatemala, challenging Las Casas to put his theories into practice, declared that they would abandon their opposition and liberate their slaves if his demonstration was convincing. Las Casas accepted the challenge. Selecting Tuzulutlan, an unconquered war-like tribe for his experiment, he received a guarantee from the India Council that it would respect the independence of the *Cacique* of Tuzulutlan and a like agreement from the governor promising five years of absolute non-intervention and the permanent proscription of encomienda. The mission, under Luis Cancer, left for the hostile tribe in August 1537 and, unlike Las Casas' earlier colonization scheme in Venezuela, had a successful ending.

Las Casas vigorously maintained that force was incompatible with Christianity, that "war is wrong as a method of spreading the faith." He combated the doctrine derived from the Aristotelian concept that some classes—the Indian in this case—were naturally inferior and justifiably enslaved. "All the people of the world are Men," he proclaimed. On this premise he debated the formidable scholar, Juan Gines de Sepulveda to a draw. Sepulveda, Royal Historiographer to Charles V, the "Spanish Livy" according to Erasmus, justified the subjugation of the Indian on grounds of their "innate ignorance."

Las Casas argued that the armed invasion and conquest of the Americas was contrary to all right and justice. Queen Isabel had issued instructions that Indians were to be paid for labour. Unjust wars conferred no rights because right is not based on injustice, Las Casas maintained. He demonstrated that the Bull of Alexander VI, 1493, which granted title of the conquered domain to the rulers of Castile and

Leon, was conditioned upon the peaceful conversion of the native. Moreover, the bull expressly forbid the use of force except in self-defence. If any of these conditions were violated, the grant became null by default, he held. Neither Cortes nor Velazquez, the subduers of Mexico and Cuba, had royal authorization for their lusty adventures. Las Casas held that the Indian was peaceful and reasonable and would embrace civilization if treated with honour. His formula was to convert first; the native will become a good citizen later. This concept of conversion required first a thorough understanding of the Catholic doctrine and disallowed mere superficial baptism. The native should understand the tenets of the faith before embracing it; faith presupposes belief which is based upon understanding, he maintained. On the other hand, the colonists acted on the premise of conquer first, convert later, arguing that the aborigine would revolt unless first subjugated. Massacre was justified on the ground that if the native did not offer his fealty to the conqueror he must be enslaved.

Las Casas the ecclesiastic advised Philip II to declare that when His Majesty "has a surplus of twenty or thirty thousand ducats it should be reported to have one or two hundred thousand..." He called Marcus Cato "an eternally damned, gentile philosopher."

Las Casas who confessed Alvarado, cruel henchman of Cortes, recalls a conversation with the Conqueror of Tenochtitlan, which today is Mexico City.

Holding conversation with him [Cortes], as I asked him with what justice and conscience he had apprehended that great King Moctezuma, and usurped his kingdom, he admitted in the end that I was right and said: "Qui non intrat per ostium fur est et latro." Then I said plainly to him: "Let your ears hear what your mouth says," after which all ended in laughter, though I wept inwardly, seeing his insensibility, holding him to be an unfortunate man.

That Las Casas was not esteemed by some of his sacerdotal colleagues did not dismay the hardy friar. The tart Franciscan monk, Motolinia

(Toribio de Benavente) addressed Charles V in 1555: "Truly, for the few cannons Las Casas has studied, he presumes a great deal, and his disorder seems very great and his humility small, and he thinks everyone is wrong and he alone is right." Las Casas was, however, in the good graces of the Royal Court. Threatening Philip II with the pains of hell if he approved the encomienda, the Emperor, who had recently been united to Mary Tudor of England, not only denied the encomienda to Peruvian colonists but granted Las Casas a fat stipend in addition. His annual life pension of 200,000 maravedis granted by Charles V in 1555 was raised to 350,000 eight years later by Philip. Despite hostility against him, the Crown maintained its unshaken confidence in Las Casas. He was granted full freedom of expression while his principal adversaries, Motolinia, Machuca and Sepulveda were denied the same sanctions. Until 1,700 Las Casas had many friends in Spain. Antonio de Herrera, Royal Chronicler, valued Las Casas highly as a trusted source for his official version of the Spanish conquest, written at the end of the sixteenth century. In 1821, *History of the Indies*, was approved by the Royal Academy of History but its publication was suspended due to political exigencies. Most of his writings were not published until after his death.

Upon retiring from Mexico at the age of 73, Las Casas settled in Valladolid, seat of the India Council, at whose request he prepared the manuscript, *The Liberty of the Enslaved Indians*. In this essay, Las Casas argued the nullity of the title on which slavery is based, the duties of the Spanish sovereign, and the obligations of American bishops. Francis Augustus MacNutt states that "not one of the essential principles of his thesis... has not since been recognized as inherently and indisputably just."

In his will, notarized at 90, Las Casas bequeathed all his manuscripts to the College of San Gregorio in Valladolid. He asked that this mass of correspondence and reports be arranged chronologically in book form so as to confirm the truth of all he had alleged against the Spaniards

... "for should God decree the destruction of Spain, it may be seen that it is because of our destruction of the Indies..." The Dominican monk had outlived Cardinal Ximenes, Pope Adrian VI, the discoverers and conquerors from Columbus to Cortes and Pizarro. He had witnessed the rise of the Reformation, and of England as a world power and the sweeping changes they wrought. That he has not been canonized adds to his lustre.

Do not the principles advocated by Las Casas for social relations in the New World have a universal application, indeed a special and urgent

meaning for the whole world today? asks Hanke. Will Spain deny Las Casas as one of her most significant contributors to world history? "If Spaniards accept Las Casas as an integral, important, and even unique part of their conquest of America, they will stop employing so much of their energy to combat the 'Black Legend,'" Hanke adds. As Manuel Jose Quintana put it, Las Casas is "an honour not only to Spain but to America and to the whole world". The Chilean poet, diplomat and teacher, Gabriela Mistral, expressed it succinctly, "Las Casas is an honour to mankind."

COALITION AND CO-OPERATION

By T. V. G. PAL

THE National Executive of the Praja-Socialist Party, which met at Bombay last week, decided "to shelve the question of coalition or co-operation" with the Congress for the time being, as the Congress President had "dropped the matter" consequent on his talks with Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan and other P. S. P. leaders. This decision has no doubt caused a certain amount of disappointment to all those who have pinned their hope on the evolution of a welfare state in India through peaceful and democratic means, but there is still a ray of hope in the resulting situation as neither side is prone to consider that "the talks have broken down," and slammed the door on further negotiations. While Pandit Nehru expressed his inability to enter into any commitments with the P. S. P., he called on Congressmen to devise "ways and means of co-operating with the P. S. P. in all matters of national reconstruction." The P. S. P. executive reciprocated the gesture by expressing its willingness to respond "to any fresh initiative taken by the Prime Minister in this connection."

Thus, the situation is still fluid, and there is, indeed, need for a little clear thinking on both sides in order to effect a rapprochement between the two parties in the interests of the

nation. A united front of the progressive, and democratic forces, particularly at the present transitional period in Indian history, will not only help to nip in the bud the growing surge of communism and communalism, but will also unleash a fresh wave of mass enthusiasm and endeavour for national development. As against, the Communists, who seek to hitch the waggon of India to the star of Moscow, and the Communists who are out to destroy the secular character of our democracy, the Congress can find its own level only in the Socialists' camp. The Congress and the Socialists Party are thoroughly nationalistic in their outlook, and there is a good deal of identity in their approach to political issues. The difference between the two parties lies mainly on the economic front.

With the advent of independence, the Congress has lost its revolutionary ardour, and developed a certain conservative outlook. Unfortunately, there has been an influx of time-servers and opportunists into the organisation, and many erstwhile bureaucrats and diehards have also found a sanctuary in it. It is, no doubt, still the biggest political party, but has lost its vigour and vitality, and no longer makes any potent appeal to the masses. The surviving pre-eminence of the Con-

gress in the arena of Indian politics is mainly due to the unorganised state of opposition parties which are slowly gaining ground, and the personality of Pandit Nehru. More than anything else, it was Pandit Nehru's personal popularity and efforts that were responsible for the success of the Congress at the polls in the general election. But there is a yawning chasm between the outlook of Pandit Nehru, and that of his colleagues who are responsible for the shaping of the destinies of the Congress, with the result that the Prime Minister has often been forced to adopt the attitude of a temporising politician towards the manifold economic problems of the country, and this has reacted against the popularity of the Congress. It is doubtful whether, at this rate, the Congress, even with Pandit Nehru at the top, can survive as the primary political organisation unless it reorients its policy.

Gone are the days when political independence, and democratic traditions had no economic implications. The haves and have-nots could, in days of yore, co-exist in a politically democratic country without any rumble of unrest, and expression of discontent. But times have changed, and the concept of democracy has become widened. "There is every day," as Mr. Sydney Webb aptly points out, "a wider consensus that the inevitable outcome of democracy is the control by the people themselves not only of their political organisation, but through that, also of the main instruments of wealth production. The economic side of the democratic ideals is, in fact, Socialism itself."

Therefore, any political party, if it wants to survive as a mass organisation in a democratic country, has to look to the needs of the people, and save them from the scourge of poverty, unemployment, and hunger. The Congress, despite Pandit Nehru's honest intentions, has signally failed in this direction. It has done precious little for the improvement of the living standards of the common man during its regime. Unemployment is on the increase everywhere, and the purchasing power of the lower middle class is at the

lowest ebb. Though the authorities and the Congress are making a fetish of the Five Year Plan, the naked truth is that it has failed to evoke the necessary enthusiasm among the people, and has not gathered momentum even in its third year of implementation because the popular forces have not been associated with it.

The Praja Socialist Party, on the other hand is given to too much theorising, and lacks a well-knit organisation. The Indian Socialists have all the while been "ineffectual angels beating in the void their luminous wings in vain." There are, no doubt, many well tried and devoted workers in the party, but the organisation as a whole lacks cohesion. In the field of practical politics, the achievements of the party are negligible. Their attempts to improve the lot of workers in the postal and railway departments through strikes met with little success, and their recent campaign to protest against the withdrawal of the food subsidy by the Government fizzled out miserably. The party, as a whole, fared very badly in the recent elections. The two wings of the party—the Praja and the Socialist sections—were originally part and parcel of the Congress, and while the Socialists broke from the parent body on certain ideological divergences, the quarrel of the K. M. P. P., members with Congressmen was largely personal. Whether the two splinter groups came together accidentally, or through opportunism, or "because of a common vision and a common will," it cannot be gainsaid that the Praja-Socialist Party remains today—six months after the merger—more as a 'mixture' of the two elements, than as a 'compound.'

Thus, the two parties, the Congress and the P. S. P. suffer from certain chronic disabilities which can, to a large extent, be made up by their coalition, if not merger. The impact of the Socialist Party on the Congress will invest the latter with a new meaning, and the combined organisation can provide a new impetus for the mobilisation of popular support for various developmental projects. They complement each other, "one providing the requisite

speed, and the other the necessary volume."

The merger of the two parties at this stage is neither feasible, nor even advisable, for such a step will result in the removal, from the political field, of a potential power which, in course of time, can emerge as a healthy opposition party, and the clearing of the way for communal and other forces to occupy that role. But coalition between parties on the basis of an agreed programme without any prejudice to the separate identities of the various component bodies is a recognised principle in critical junctures in a democracy. After the First World War, in many European Countries, and notably in France, Popular Fronts comprising progressive forces on the basis of agreed programmes were formed to counteract reactionary forces that were slowly raising their heads at that time. Similar conditions exist in India today, and they warrant a confederation of all progressive elements.

The initiation of the move for coalition between the Congress and the P. S. P. at governmental and popular level reveals insight and vision on the part of the Prime Minister. But he felt that there was no need for any cut and dried plan for coalition, and that they should not "tie each other down but develop both the spirit and the practice of co-operation." The Prime Minister, in his talks with the P. S. P. leaders, laid special stress on the need to combat, through joint endeavour, the reactionary forces in the country, and was of the opinion that other ancillary factors would naturally flow from it. The P. S. P. leaders, on the other hand, were of the opinion that the formation of a united front merely for the sake of fighting reactionism was only a negative approach to the problem, and that there should be a positive programme to capture the attention of the common man, and galvanise the energies of the masses for constructive tasks.

It was precisely on this point that the leaders of both parties could not see eye to eye, and the talks had to be suspended consequently. But an impartial assessment of the situation

will show that some programme in the form of an understanding is necessary if such a coalition is to have its desired effect in the present context of the situation. The Congress, at present, commands a working majority both in Parliament, and in almost all the State legislatures (except in two, including the proposed Andhra State), and is not, strictly speaking, in need of a coalition in the political sense of the term. It need not swell its ranks inside the legislatures with a view to stabilising the Congress Governments. What is wanted, therefore, is a new message of hope for the people, and a new direction to our national policies so as to retrieve the common man from the present state of despair and disillusionment. The mere replacement of a Congress Government by a coalition involving a change of personnel will not go a long way in solving the problems. On the other hand, such coalition, on unspecified terms, will, as Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan rightly points out, create a feeling among the masses that the Socialists are after the loaves and fishes of office, and will consequently have a demoralising effect on the party. Further, barring Pandit Nehru and certain others, many Congress elders even today have a constitutional prejudice towards the Socialists. If the Socialists enter into a coalition with the Congress without any prior understanding, it may, in all probability, lead to the revival of the good old tug-of-war between the rightists and the leftists which characterised the history of the Congress in the pre-independence era, and may embitter the relations instead of creating harmony and cooperation.

The fundamental need of the hour is, therefore, the formulation of a definite plan of action towards the establishment of a new society based on economic equality and social justice, and the development of an organisation of sincere and honest workers to achieve this end. The 14-Point programme submitted by Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan to Pandit Nehru as a basis for coalition is, undoubtedly, a step in the right direction. A more pronounced labour policy, land reform, and administrative changes involving decentralisation and the reduction of pay scales

of high salaried officials are some of the essential things "if the common man is to be able to understand, and realise that he is on the move." Mere promises will not be enough to fight elementary forces generated by Communism and such other powerful associations.

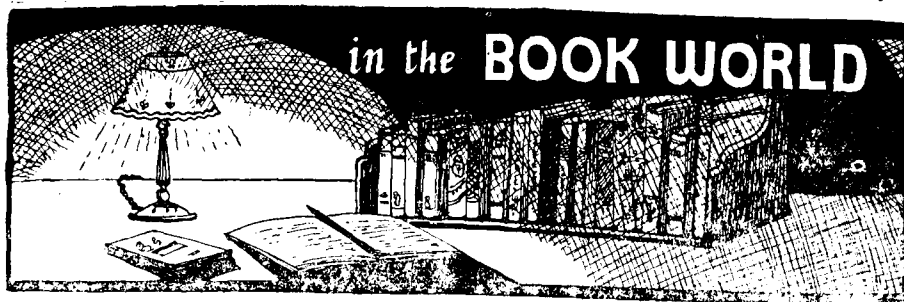
Linguistic reform is another burning question which, unless it is settled on an all-India basis, will always be a festering sore in the body politic. Having by their own policy fostered the agitation for linguistic States, the authorities that be should realise the obvious dangers of postponing the solution of the problem on one pretext or another. Linguistic reform is much easier if it is taken up on an all-India scale on the basis of certain well enunciated principles, instead of tinkering with the problem so as to pacify one group or the other as and when it is necessary. If the Union Government adopts such a policy, there will be no room for any group to complain that its interests are ignored, as a common yardstick will be applied in all cases in the redistribution of the states.

Even in respect of the demand for the amendment of the Constitution, there is much to be said, economically and politically, for the abolition of the posts of Rajpramukhs, and the stoppage of the payment of their privy purses. In the debate in Parliament the other day, there was a demand by members of all parties to this effect. "It is the unanimous demand," Swami Ramanand Tirth said, "of the eight crores of people of the erstwhile Indian States, that the institution of Rajpramukhs should be dispensed with." The institution is economically a drain on our resources, politically a blot on our democratic system, and psychologically a slur on our outlook. If the Constitution could be changed for effecting an alteration with regard to the fundamental rights of the people, it could with better justification be amended to abolish this ante-deluvian system.

If, however, Pandit Nehru thinks that he cannot go the whole hog, and accept the 14-point programme "in view of certain administrative and practical difficulties, it is up to him

to consult his partymen, and put up a minimum programme for coalition. There is no point in dropping the matter, and allowing the situation to drift. It is significant to note in this connexion that the P. S. P. executive did not pass, at the Bombay conference, any resolution committing itself to the stand that the 14-point programme is the irreducible minimum on which they can coalesce with the Congress. It is just possible that there might be an undertone that it is prepared for a climb-down in certain respects. The Prime Minister should pursue the matter to its logical conclusion. Otherwise, as Nehru himself rightly observes, "the democratic forces will be left behind, but the country will not be static. The country will march forward under the direction of other forces. It may thus, go forward, but on wrong lines."

Finally, the P. S. P. executive also showed realism in dealing with the situation in Andhra. Irrespective of other all-India considerations, it has empowered Mr. T. Prakasam to enter into or, even sponsor, a coalition in the new State in view of the peculiar emergency obtaining there. In the new State, no single party possesses an absolute majority, and some sort of coalition is inevitable if a popular government is to be established. During the past two or three years, Andhra Desa was practically in a state of political turmoil due to the bickerings between Andhra leaders, and the Communists, who always thrive in times of dissension and misery, have made headway. Unless the progressive forces join hands and work with selflessness and zeal, the much wanted Andhra State will be a bane, and not a blessing. By forming a united front of all progressive elements like the K. M. P. P. the K. L. P., and the Congress, under the leadership of a veteran Mr. Prakasam, who, by virtue of his age and sacrifice, has a prescriptive right to the veneration of all Andhras, they can not only show to Doubting Thomases that linguistic states are vital for the development of the country, but also pave the way for the cooperation of the progressive elements on an all-India scale.



SONGS AND SONNETS by G. V. Subbaramayya, Viveka Publishers, Nellore. Rs. 2.

This collection of little poems, some of which have been inspired by the author's devotion to Sri Ramana, has been dedicated to the Sage and is appropriately introduced by a fellow-devotee, Major A. W. Chadwick, in an appreciative foreword.

Most of the poems belong to the 1930's, while some are earlier still and the concluding sonnet is dated 1946.

Mr. Subbaramayya is a good student and a well-known teacher of English literature; and it is no surprise to see in the earlier work the profound influence of Spenser and the Shakespeare of the Sonnets, while the free verse pieces remind one of Whitman, Martin Tupper and Tagore.

With an assured mastery of the language and with ideas carefully cogitated and skilfully organized, the Songs and Sonnets form a respectable contribution to the dwindling stream of Indo-Anglian literature.

—K. S.

CHITRA TIRUPPAVAI—Edited by P. Sri and published by the Executive Officer, on behalf of the Board of Trustees of Tirumalai—Tirupati Devasthanams, Tirupati. (Pages 126). Price Rs. 2.

There has been, in recent years in Tamil Nadu, a mass revival of what may be called the 'Tiruppavai-Tiruvembavai Cult' and it has been hailed as a good augury by every discerning lover of Tamil literature and culture. This great awakening of interest in the two immortal gems among devotional classics has opened the eyes of many to their hitherto little known beauties and has created

an evergrowing demand for popular editions of the two masterpieces of Andal and Manikya Vachaka.

The publication under review is from the pen of P. Sri, although, with modest care, he has chosen to call himself the 'Editor.' This is due to his being largely indebted to a number of distinguished Vaishnavite commentators of the past, without whose illuminating explanations, the many esoteric meanings with which the poem is replete would not have been available to the present day readers. Such has been the seductive charm of Andal and her poem that few of the celebrated Vaishnavite commentators could resist the fascination of writing a commentary on the 'immortal thirty.'

P. Sri needs no introduction to Tamil readers. When the history of the evolution of Tamil prose comes to be written, he will occupy a high niche in it as the originator of an attractive and forceful though somewhat ornate style of writing. As an interpreter, in a new and engaging garb, of the beauties of ancient Tamil literature, he has few equals.

The 'Chitra Tiruppavai' is a sumptuously produced volume, having received the full impress of P. Sri's genius as an Editor. As the name itself indicates, the poetic idea behind each stanza has been illustrated by a painting from the brush of 'Chitralkha' and this novel idea has added to the attractiveness of the publication.

Considering the excellent get-up, the book has been moderately priced. Lovers of Tiruppavai will find in the volume not only an eminently readable epitome of the poem but also an authoritative interpretation of the eternal message it has to convey.—K. S. VENKATARAMAN.

INDIA, KASHMIR AND THE M. E. D. O.

By S. P. MISHRA

THE Pakistan Foreign Minister, Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan, stated in reply to a question in the Pakistan Parliament on March 23 that the Government of Pakistan had not received an offer to join the Middle-East Defence Organization. It is an evasion of the question whether or not Pakistan will join the MEDO if and when formally invited to do so.

There will of course be no such formal invitation to Pakistan unless and until Pakistan first informally agrees to accept it as, otherwise, its rejection would impress the peoples and make other governments hesitate joining the MEDO. In fact the indications were that Pakistan was negotiating for terms with America.

The indications were so very reliable that the report Pakistan was being invited to join the MEDO, was received with conviction in Pakistan and abroad and with alarm in India. It compelled Prime Minister Nehru to go so far as to state that it was a very serious matter and of which India must take notice.

The inclusion of Pakistan in the Anglo-US aggressive alliance against the USSR and China would not only ultimately involve loss of Kashmir to India but also active participation in the third world war. Pandit Nehru's assurance to America, that "where freedom is menaced, or justice threatened, or where aggression took place, we cannot be and shall not be neutral," depends for its implementation on the Indian view of situations.

The Government of India is as anti-communist as the American, or the British, but has a healthy fear of the consequences—political, economic and military—of a third world war ending in either communist or American world-domination. In that event America would seize the world's markets which the USSR and China cannot due to socialist and commu-

nist production being for consumption, not for profit.

"Surrender Kashmir"

In his article in the *National Herald* of March 8, M. N. Roy is evidently so obsessed with a war of annihilation of the USSR and China that he advises India to surrender ("compromise" on the issue of) Kashmir and regard the MEDO, including Pakistan, "as a defence of India herself" against the USSR and China. He not only tacitly admits the fact of an aggressive alliance but that India should join it. He ignores the consequences of the ensuing titanic struggle, particularly for the underdeveloped Asian countries and European capitalism, whichever side won.

Further, Roy implies that if India did not surrender Kashmir, the Western powers would aid Pakistan in war against India and force her to give up Kashmir. "Pakistan's joining the MEDO," writes Roy, "will alter the relation of international forces to the disadvantage of India. Consequently, the cold war between the two neighbours may break out into a shooting war. Beginning on the Kashmir front, it may spread.... Given Pandit Nehru's obstinate refusal to take a more categorical stand against the communist bloc, the western powers have no alternative but to enlist the active co-operation of Pakistan."

"It is not known if the western powers," writes Roy, "have made any commitment to back Pakistan's claim on Kashmir as against India. But it would be quite natural for them to support an ally as against an unreliable neutral, whose claim in Kashmir, after all, has not been very well established.... There was grumbling amongst Indian army officers that Pakistan was getting plenty of military supplies from America and England. Once Pakistan joins the MEDO, the flow of these supplies will swell."

It should be emphasised that Roy is not criticising Britain and the

U. S. He supports them against India. It therefore constitutes a threat that unless India gives it up, Britain and America would use Pakistan to make war against India for the possession of Kashmir. Roy candidly admits aggression against India would be for the possession of Kashmir by the western powers.

"The crux of the situation again is Kashmir," writes Roy. "It is the development in that country which must have induced the Western powers to draw Pakistan into their camp."

Roy's interpretations and conjectures are, if not actually inspired by the Anglo-U. S. imperialist policies, at least based on the knowledge of Dr. Graham's latest proposals on Kashmir. As pointed out by the USSR representative Zorin in the U. N. Security Council, Graham in his statement speaks of interlacing forces of strategic geography in this part of the continent.

Roy is more explicit differently. He contends Kashmir is gravely menaced by communism, and so are Pakistan and India by a possible Soviet-Chinese advance southwards. Pakistan and India should, therefore, he argues, "compromise" on Kashmir and join the western powers against the USSR and China. He cannot be ignorant of U. S. Admiral Radford's claim that Pakistan occupies a strategic position and should aid in the world struggle against communism.

Equally, Roy must know that Pakistan's semi-official *Dawn*, summing up the purpose of Radford's visit to Pakistan last November, stated that a military plan for the area was being worked out, including a plan for the establishment of an air base in Pakistan within 90 minutes' flying distance of important Soviet industrial areas. Bases in Kashmir would of course be better.

Roy says it does not matter as to who the aggressor is in Kashmir; also, that the U. N. has all along been partial to India. The U. N. has certainly been partial, but alternatively to both India and Pakistan all through these five years. The object of the Anglo-U. S. manipulators' of U. N. decisions has been to so aggravate the situation in Kashmir as to make occupation of Kashmir by foreign, "neutral," "U. N. troops" acceptable to India and Pakistan.

In his latest, (fourth) report Graham has again raised the question of the replacement of Indian troops, although India had categorically rejected that proposal, whatever the composition of the "neutral" replacement troops.

This time the proposal to occupy Kashmir is in the form of operative and administrative subordination to the U. N. through "neutral and local officers", a part of "Free Kashmir" troops being freed from the jurisdiction of the Pakistan GHQ and taken over as "neutral" troops by the U. N. for the purpose.

It is remarkable that these recommendations and plans for solution of the Kashmir problem preclude the possibility of the people of Kashmir being permitted to decide their own fate without Anglo-U.S. interference.

The comparison between "U. N. troops" leading "Free Kashmir" troops in Kashmir and "U. N. troops" leading "free South Korea" troops in Korea, is one suggested by General Omar Bradley himself.

According to the *New York Post* columnist Allen, "Bradley told Eisenhower the key to cease-fire in Korea is the creation of Allied defence community in the Mediterranean" with Egypt given the leading part. In other words, the stalemate in Korea can end only if there is another active front in the Middle East.

The recommendation attributed to Bradley, Chairman of the U. S. Joint Chiefs of Staffs, is of particular significance in that he leads the group of American militarists who are opposed to serious U. S. military commitment against China in the Far East, who, instead, insist that Europe is the primary theatre of war, that the USSR in Europe is the primary enemy.

The PTI special correspondent also cabled that Bradley believes he has the "sure way to end war in Korea—by working on the Middle East." Evidently, the Korean war can be left to Asian and the U. S. forces withdrawn only if another front against the USSR is opened in the Middle East in support of the European.

The Kashmir problem was created by Mountbatten himself. In 1947,

three days before expiry of accession time limit, writes Campbell-Johnson in *Mission with Mountbatten*, the Kashmir Maharaja offered both India and Pakistan standstill agreements. But "the States Minister, under Patel's direction, went out of its way to take no action which could be interpreted as forcing Kashmir's hand to give assurances that accession to Pakistan would not be taken amiss by India."

On October 25 the Defence Committee considered military aid to Kashmir and Mountbatten urged "accession should only be temporary," which was offered and accepted by India.

Mountbatten, writes Campbell-Johnson, "had all along, from his visit in June onwards, exerted his whole influence to prevent him (the Maharaja—S. P. M.) from acceding to one Dominion or the other." But when India considered, in conformity with British wishes, Mountbatten "returned to the change about accession"—now insisted on "temporary accession" instead of no accession to any Dominion.

Kashmir Maharaja's accession was "conditional on the will of the people being ascertained as soon as law and order were restored."

On this basis, on cease-fire, even without withdrawal of Indian and Pakistani troops, the issue of accession could have been decided finally by the Kashmir people themselves. But the reference to the U. N. gives recognition to a dispute to be settled by Anglo-U.S. "neutrals" and prevents a settlement by the people themselves.

The reference, under Article 35 of U. N. Charter, does not apply since, in the U. N. O., "Pakistan" and "Hindu India" are joint members (sharing the British Indian Empire membership of 1942) and not separate sovereign states or new members. This Article limits the U. N. action to recommendations for mutual settlement of disputes. Being sister dominions disputes between India and Pakistan are domestic issues in which the U. N. interference is barred by Article 2 (7), except those affecting international peace and security wherein all the U. N. forces may be used.



A scene in Prasad Art Productions' *Pempudukoduku*.

THE POISON OF THE COLOUR BAR IN AFRICA

By FENNER BROCKWAY

WE are faced with three issues in international affairs. First, war or peace. If war comes, everything good goes. Second, world starvation or betterment. Unless we double food production in the next decade millions now under-nourished will starve and millions more will become under-nourished. Third, colour bar or racial equality.

The first and second of these issues are the most immediate. The third is the most fundamental and enduring. Without racial equality there can be no harmonious or co-operating world.

This issue is now being decided on the Continent of Africa. There are two extremes in South Africa and the Gold Coast.

In South Africa the African population (and little less so, the Indian) is treated as subhuman.

In the Gold Coast we have the first virtually self-governing African colony in the British sphere. It should be a matter of pride to us that the Convention Peoples Party, whose leader, Kwame Nkrumah, is Prime Minister, declared itself a Democratic Socialist Party at its conference last August.

Between these two extremes we have a vast area in Central and East Africa where the issues of the colour bar or racial unity is undecided and hangs in the balance.

This area is in the British sphere. The decision will largely be made by the British Parliament.

There is a biblical text which urges that we should remove the beams in our own eyes before we concern ourselves with the motes in other eyes.

We are right to concern ourselves with the colour bar in South Africa. But we cannot afford to be self-righteous. In Central and East Africa we have beams in our own eyes.

In South and North Rhodesia the colour bar is extensively practised. Europeans and Africans have separate entrance to post offices. African

women cannot go into shops where European women are customers—they must buy their wants through hatches in the walls. There is segregation of the races in general, with reserved territories for the Africans.

In North Rhodesia the Africans have no votes; in the South about 500 have votes. The Government recently raised the qualification from £120 per year to £240 a year (or £500 capital value) because it was afraid too many Africans would get votes.

In both the Rhodesias the colour bar prevents Africans from entering any skilled jobs or professions.

It is the colour bar practised by the Europeans which makes the Africans opposed to the scheme of Central Federation. They resist political domination by Europeans who believe that the whites are a superior race.

I am glad that the Labour Party has decided to oppose the imposition of this plan of White Domination on the Rhodesias and Nyasaland. If we had not done so our party would have lost its soul.

But the colour bar does not end with Central Africa. It extends north to Kenya. The humiliation of the colour bar is one of the most powerful reasons for the despair and bitterness among Africans which has found ugly expression in Mau Mau violence.

In Nairobi three years ago I was with an African and an Indian. The African was the representative of the United Nations in East Africa, a doctor of philosophy at Columbia University, New York. The Indian was the First Secretary at the Indian High Commission in East Africa, an honours degree graduate at Oxford University. We spent one hour in Nairobi trying to find a restaurant or hotel where we could take a meal together. Everywhere the rule was "Europeans only". Finally, we had to resort to a rather disreputable dance hall, down town.

I was ashamed by this experience. My companions were humiliated. I understood the frustration which leads to the bitterness which can so easily become viciousness.

The colour bar rules the life of Kenya—social, economic, political. In every sphere there is racial discrimination and segregation.

No. I am wrong. Once in Kenya, I have seen the intermingling of races. It was in the queue to the children's show at the cinema in Nairobi. There European, Asian, and African children stood together, eagerly discussing the cartoons and Walt Disney's *Robin Hood* which they were to see. It was a refreshing and startling sight.

But these same children are segregated in the schools. They must not be educated together. The European schools are better than the Asian schools, the Asian better than the African schools. Educational expenditure is £11-14s for each European child, £2-14s for each Asian child and 6s. for each African child.

This racial segregation of the children is the worst social crime committed in Kenya. Children have no natural sense of the colour bar. The position enters their minds only through the example of their parents or other adults.

Politically, the colour bar operates like this in Kenya. There is a Legislative Council of 54. Of these, 40 are Europeans (14 elected), six are Asians (all elected), two Arabs (one elected), six are Africans (none elected).

Compare these with the populations. There are 5½ million Africans, 100,000 Asians, 35,000 Europeans, and 12,000 Arabs.

When I plead for the ending of the colour bar I am not asking that the non-African races shall be expelled from East and Central Africa. We are not pro-African. We are pro-human. We are not nationalists, we are inter-nationalists.

Just as in this country the Labour movement is the movement of the unprivileged, so we must identify ourselves with the African race in its struggle towards social, economic and political freedom.

The British Parliament is still responsible for the destiny of sixty million people in Africa. There must be no doubt where Labour stands.

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PROBLEM OF INDIANS IN CEYLON

By V. SUBRAMANIAN

THERE are about the Ceylon Indian problem some regular, repetitive features, as about the diurnal motion of the earth. The Ceylon Government, as usual, accuses the 'intractable' Ceylon Indian Congress of persistent non-co-operation and the Indian Press of misrepresentation. The Indian Government talks of employing persuasive methods to change the heart of a younger brother or—for a change—of the impossibility of doing anything where a sovereign sister state is concerned. Legislators in Madras are asked by the Chief Minister to leave the matter to the Centre, while legislators in Delhi are asked by the P. M. either to leave him or 'it' alone,—or, get a statement at the end of which the same note of helplessness and persuasion is struck. News-hungry Indian pressmen hope there would be a solution to the problem which obligingly enough recedes farther and farther. The Ceylon Indians, however, are subjected to greater and greater harassment each day, while ways and means are being devised to reach a settlement.

But into the stale symphony a few new notes got intertwined recently. One is that Ceylon's High Commissioner, true to his instructions to correct the misrepresentations in the Indian Press, has been going round busily explaining, how the unique privilege of being arrested as an illegal immigrant, and being treated as guilty, till proved innocent by the suspected person is being distorted by the Indian Press to make it appear a serious disability. (In short, things in Ceylon have come to such a pass that nothing but the most blatant lying can throw a veil over them.) The new Indian High Commissioner however started his work of giving advice to Indians in Ceylon in Bombay itself and so far his ardour has not abated.

I wonder often how many even in South India, which the pro-government Press in Ceylon described as

the hotbed of anti-Ceylonism, realize the full implications of the recently passed amendment to the immigration act, and whether they read through all the speeches in the Ceylon legislature and then analysed the final voting. Most people know that many Indians are swooped upon and arrested as illegal immigrants, paraded and, after due sentence being passed, deported. They are also aware that while there was quite some sizeable illegal immigration into Ceylon early last year, it fell off to a negligible figure last year itself. Hence the passing of the amendment can mean only one or both of two things. Either the Government caught in a financial crisis and food crisis wants to make a scapegoat of the illegal immigrant or deliberately wants to spite the poor Indian resident and put him in his place.

In fact the law and conditions previous to this amendment were such, that the Indian resident who was caught as an illegal immigrant was in quite an unenviable position. There were two sections of the act under which he could be dealt with, alternately. Under one of them, he was produced before a magistrate, and if the police proved to the satisfaction of the magistrate that he was an illegal immigrant, he was convicted, otherwise released. The proofs asked of the police were not strictly as elaborate as in other cases. For one thing the principle that the accused is not guilty till proved so and convicted was considerably modified by another principle of procedure that it was the accused only who could give out certain facts regarding himself better than others. Anyway the police were throughout on velvet. But the Ceylon police consistently refused to utilize this section of the act in most cases. The only inference could be that the reasons for arrest were flimsy. They used this section to arrest persons and keep them

in custody till they obtained a deportation order from the Prime Minister of Ceylon. Then the case was withdrawn on the plea that there was not sufficient proof and the suspects were deported. Under the deportation clause, the Prime Minister (Foreign Minister) has full powers to order out of Ceylon any (foreign) person, as an undesirable without trial. In fact the way the two sections of the act were used, the first to arrest and hold in custody suspected persons and then withdraw the cases filed from the magistrate's courts when the other section of the act had secured deportation order, became such a scandal that the Presidency Magistrate of Colombo strongly reprimanded the police.

One would have thought that all this gave enough amplitude to the police to play hell as they liked. The new amendment cannot in fact make things much worse in practice. But it betrays a peculiar element in the Ceylon Government's psychology. It is a firm subconscious belief that any insulting and inhuman legislation vis a vis the Ceylon Indian could be passed while the Ceylonese and Indians could be easily convinced that it was in sheer self-protection. That the rights not denied to an ordinary criminal are denied to an Indian resident if suspected is a brutal fact the significance of which few members of even the vociferous Tamil Press of India have realized. The humiliation has been taken so calmly that even Pandit Nehru found little need for an elaborate statement. On the other hand, Ceylonese legislators, some of them reputedly anti-Indian, have fully realized the magnitude of the humiliation and shown that the Ceylon Government was more right in its presumption regarding Indians than Ceylonese. The leader of the opposition, Mr. Bandaranaike, who once said that he would not sleep soundly till the last Indian left the shores of Ceylon voted against the inhuman amendment for the simple reason that it was inhuman though it was anti-Indian. It is to his great credit that he refused to use any stick to beat the Indian with and like Burke foresaw that injustice abroad (or to one community) meant injustice at home in due time. Another opposition

member revealed the extent to which the Ceylon police were prepared to go to terrorize Indians. Most Indians who came to Ceylon before 1948 do not have passports since they were not required to have them then. A few of them later obtained passports and temporary residence permits. All those who came after 1948 have their passports and T.R.Ps. Mr. Peter Keuneman said that he knew of cases where the police after a wrongful arrest destroyed the passports and a case where the police blackmailed some Indian families in Colombo under threat of arrest.

The final voting must be a lesson to all sponsors of racial and linguistic alignments. The Ceylon Indians had often in the past spoilt their case by alignment with the local Tamils on linguistic and racial grounds, while the only correct alignment would be alignment with the Sinhalese workers as workers. The lesson was emphasized when in the final voting on the amendment, Tamil members of the Ceylon Government Parliamentary Party, some of them vociferous admirers of Tamil culture, and one of them a respected president of Tamil conferences voted en masse to give the Indian Tamil resident in Ceylon the privilege of being denied the rights of an ordinary criminal.

Mr. Desai outdid our general run of High Commissioners, by starting to give advice to Indians even before he assumed charge in Colombo. The advice to identify themselves with the local population when reiterated in season and out of season can mean only one thing, that the Indians overseas are erring citizens who have not identified themselves with the local population. This is a lie and an insult to the lakhs of Indian workers born in the Ceylon estates and who have not even seen the coast of India. The advice given to the Indian merchants to utilize local talent is good, but again out of place. At a time when the Indian resident is almost squeezed out systematically our High Commissioner goes about holding a brief for those who damn the 'unabsorbable' Indian element, while here in India, Ceylon's High Commissioner does his best to explain the 'privileges' conferred by Ceylon on Indians.

Letter To The Editor

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

'Spotlight On Andaman Islands'

I have read an article published in your weekly of February 14, by Sri V. V. Sharma entitled "Spotlight on Andaman Islands."

The writer of the article has not confined himself to a report on the Andamans as the title will normally suggest but has also turned his spotlight on the Nicobars and on the Christian missionaries and myself in particular. The picture of the Nicobars as drawn by Sri Sharma is totally wrong and this will only create misunderstanding and misapprehension in the minds of your readers. So far as I have been able to gather Sri Sharma paid a very brief visit to the Andamans along with the Congress Parliamentary delegation. Neither he nor any member of the delegation visited our island. So, his views on the Nicobars are presumably based on the reports of some other people. Serious allegations of the nature that he has made should not normally have been made by any responsible journalist without an exhaustive enquiry. Anyway, I am giving out the main fact about the Nicobars.

The Nicobars are a group of 19 islands out of which 12 are inhabited with a total population of about 12,000. Administratively it is a part of the Andaman and Nicobar islands. The local administrative officer is an Assistant Commissioner with his headquarters at Car Nicobar. An island council consisting of the headmen of different villages assist the Assistant Commissioner. So far as I am aware there has not been a single occasion when there was any difference of opinion between the administrative head and the island council. Our decisions are always unanimous. The Government has taken extremely wise precautions to see that the normal ways of life of the people are not disturbed. So, the traditional village and community life are still there in spite of the impact of tremendous and strong outside forces during and after the war. Everybody is happy and contented. We do not have any difference of any kind in our society. The truth of my statements will be borne out by the reports of anthropologists, Central and State Government Officials and others who visited our islands from time to time.

What are the missionaries doing in the Nicobars? To that question Sri Sharma has given an erroneous reply. The Christian mission in existence was estab-

lished first in Car Nicobar nearly 60 years ago. It may be a news to Sri Sharma and to your other readers that the first missionary to come out to this island for the present mission was Sri Solomon who was himself an Indian. He was from a Madras district. He was the first representative of the modern world to our Island. He was our school master, our Administrator, our medical adviser—in fact everything that the modern scientific world can teach to its less fortunate inhabitants. I was one of those who first joined his school. In the face of almost insuperable difficulties he carried on and succeeded in building up a small primary school. About a quarter of a century afterwards the seeds that the pioneer had sown began to bear fruit. We came to have a written language. Our dialect was transcribed in Roman. Since then, many changes have taken place in these islands. But in all these noble endeavours to uplift our people the mission has played its part. We have also taken the message of God to those who have not received it. Particularly after the indescribable sufferings under the Japanese occupation the people in Car Nicobar felt the need of spiritual succour. But it is absolutely wrong to suggest that any force or pressure has been used on anybody to change his faith. All that is unknown to a Nicobarese.

Lastly, I must emphatically protest against the insinuation made against us that we are encouraging people to seek separation from the Indian Union. Nothing can be farther from the truth. The local mission has never engaged itself in political matters. There is no political party here. Nobody even knows the meaning of politics. So, to ascribe some very secret and anti-State conspiratorial work to the mission is on the face of it absurd.

We are all grateful to the Government for all the care and attention bestowed on us. We need help, assistance and advice. But we do not want to get involved in any political controversy or political manoeuvre.

I believe in the ways of God and I also believe that everybody has a right to worship Him in whatever way he thinks best. A good Christian can also be a good Indian and there is certainly nothing wrong if an Indian believes in the ways of Christ.

J. RICHARDSON, M.P.
Andaman and Nicobar Islands.

SWATANTRA

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QUEST FOR STABLE GOVERNMENT

THE legislature of the new Andhra State will have 140 members. Of these 46 are Congressmen, 40 Communists, 18 members of the Praja Socialist Party, 17 members of Krishak Lok Party, 6 members of the Praja Party that have held aloof from the alliance with the Socialists, and the rest Independents. The members of the Krishak Lok Party have, all but one, elected, under Professor Ranga's direction, to become associate members of the Congress Legislature Party. Adding the new associate members to his own old party men, Sri Sanjeeva Reddi arrived at the figure of 66, and starting with it as a comfortable nucleus, he has been carrying on confabulations with other non-Communist members, avowedly to form a stable Government in the new State. We are informed that up to now he has secured the support of some 75 members, excluding the members of the Praja Socialist Party with whose leader, Sri Prakasam, he is still carrying on negotiations in quest of co-operation. According to the arithmetical conception of stability, Sri Sanjeeva Reddi, with 75 votes at his command, has it apparently well in his grasp, whether Sri Prakasam concedes or withholds his cooperation.

With 75 votes in his support, Sri Sanjeeva Reddi will have a majority of ten votes in his favour, and it will be quite sufficient, on a superficial estimate, to enable him to overcome the maximum degree of resistance that all the various groups and parties of the Opposition will be able to muster against him in the legislature. But will this constitute, in any

real sense, the "stable Government" of his dreams? Stability of government has less to do with proceedings in the legislature than with the effect of such proceedings on the public mind and the next elections. The Independents who made a great show of their independence at the last elections cannot bring much strength to Sri Sanjeeva Reddi, as in the very act of pledging him support, they have to forswear a little of the independence which they assumed at the polls, and to that extent they stand guilty of having duped the voters after getting their votes on a false pretext. Scarcely different is the case of the K. L. P. men. Professor Ranga left the Congress with a great fanfare of trumpets. It was stated that on grounds of principle it was impossible to cooperate with the Congress any longer. It was on the principle of dissent from the Congress on material points comprised in policy that Professor Ranga built up his electoral position and his K. L. P. adherents won their electoral seats. Now when they rejoin the Congress quietly as associate members, what becomes of the principles they so vehemently professed before the elections? Will not the public be right if they conclude that all avowed principles have been uncere- moniously abandoned by the K. L. P. for the sake of a share in the new Government?

From all this, some idea can be formed of the pattern of Government that is taking shape under Sri Sanjeeva Reddi's initiative. Between his party and the Independents and the K. L. P. there will be no ascer-

tainable harmony of outlook and attitude. On the other hand the Government to be formed will be a mechanical group of Ministers, each Minister representing a minor coterie of supporters with whom he shares power in exchange for their votes. It was precisely this arrangement that brought upon the Congress the obloquy which served the Communists so well at the last elections. Congress prestige declined very steeply when it was found after freedom that instead of serving the public and building the nation the Ministers used their power for their own advantage and the profit of cliques that lent them voting support. It is this same ruinous precedent that cost the Congress so dear once already that is being repeated afresh in Sri Sanjeeva Reddi's professed search of stable Government. It is not for nothing that so many of the wirepullers from behind that adorn his entourage and for whom he seems to have a special fascination, belong to the most discredited elements in Andhra public life associated most prominently with the ruin of earlier Congress regimes in Madras State.

In this atmosphere it is to some extent refreshing that at least an elementary mention is being made of a programme as the basis for cooperation in the talks between Sri Sanjeeva Reddi and Sri Prakasam. It is quite true that Sri Prakasam is the idol of the Andhras and symbolises in himself an incarnation of all their hopes. They would love nothing better than to see him restored to the helm in the Andhra State after all the turmoil, struggle and frustrations of recent years. No Government ungraced by him would satisfy them, nor will any crown of power yield to any other wearer any glory other than thorns. Despite all these axioms, the fact remains that the Ministers exist for the State, and not the State for the Ministers; from which it follows that the only stability worth having for a Government consists in prestige through service.

Survival through intrigue and manipulation is the very reverse of stability.

The Andhras will not tolerate a Ministry of which the members share with their coterie the power of the State in exchange for voting support. Such a Ministry would be steeped in corruption and its contribution in terms of social benefit would be nil. As it goes along, with every day it stays in office, it would pile up support for the Communists until the whole State is engulfed in revolution. In the formation of a Government a leader is one who is free to choose his cabinet on considerations of competence and is not compelled to bargain posts for cooperation. To the extent to which this criterion of leadership is violated, we see no chance of a stable Government for Andhra.

Indian Cricket

THE true inward significance of the Test matches between India and the West Indies, which recently came to a conclusion, lies in the fact that the bond of cricket brought together the two nations which, though widely sundered in geography, have a romantic affinity with each other since Columbus, voyaging for one of them, blundered upon the other. It is a poignant thought that multitudes in whose veins flows Indian blood should have been enabled to pay homage to the distant country through cricket. The Indian visit was, therefore, of much more than technical interest. It has demonstrated that, to the lonely farmhand in the West Indies, the game can conjure up visions of the hoary temples of the land of his origin.

The poetry of the venture has accorded well with the technical results. There can be little doubt that Indian cricket has been sensibly strengthened. It is legitimate to take heart of grace from the fact the national game has signally recovered from the grievous injuries it sustained last year in England. The

bowling which had quailed before the punitive bat of Hutton has been able to subjugate within moderate limits the irresistible genius of Weekes, Worrell and Walcott. The batsmanship which had been scattered to pieces by Trueman held its own against King and Valentine, pace and spin alike. In many respects, the tour of the West Indies represents the finest achievement of Indian cricket hitherto.

The fact that a considerable part of this triumph was borne by the younger players must add to the satisfaction. The recovery of Roy from his English failure is of moment, while in Apte there would appear to have been discovered the characteristic opening batsman, equable and self-possessed. The crisp skill of Manjrekar, which has too often in the past been deprived of its proper reward, has at last come into its own. While there will be regret that the genius of Hazare was often rendered desiccated, Umrigar's success will inspire satisfaction. His

rude, thumping blows are perhaps alien to the main trend of Indian batsmanship, which, flowing as it does from the art of "Ranji," is in the main delorative rather than purposive. However, he fills an essential need.

But, it is the resounding success of Gupte which is the most glittering prize of the venture to the West Indies. No student of the game could have been prepared for his mastery over ruthless batsmen who have cast dismay into the hearts of the most resourceful bowlers in all parts of the world. He forms with Mankad as notable a pair in the history of the game as Valentine and Ramadhin, Lindwall and Miller, Rhodes and Hirst, or Briggs and Mold.

It remains for players and administrators alike to foster Indian cricket on the satisfactory basis now achieved. A sagacious scheme for the revival of public interest in the Ranji Trophy championship and quickening of interest in the youth of the land is what is needed.

Sotto Voce



THE NEW KALAKSHEPAM

THE Tirupati Devasthanam is starting a course of training in the art of *Harikatha Kalakshepam*. If the present Premier of Madras should at any time allow his overwhelming sense of responsibility to be overcome by his world-weariness one could hardly think of a more suitable occupant for the chair. I trust that none of his admirers will see an intention to insult in this respectful suggestion. For Mr. Rajagopalachari himself

would consider no honour greater, though he has had all the honours that a grateful country could bestow upon him. Did he not tell the librarians the other day that only a *Harikatha* movement could effectively take care of adult education?

And what he does not know of adult education is not worth knowing. Glowing tributes were paid at the meeting to the multi-faceted brilli-

ance of this Admirable Crichton of our times. But they all singled out for special mention his gift for illuminating the path of the benighted with the torch of wisdom. "Come, brother," "Can it be done in Tamil?" "A Feast for Grown-ups"—the very titles of the books he has written or inspired, to rouse the faded souls of adults, must make the pale shades of Jeans and Mansbridge look paler, and give notice to Prof. Laubach, the literacy wizard, to look to his laurels.

Pedants might object that it is not the pure well of Tamil undefiled that you find in these classics. But I myself think that that might be an advantage rather than otherwise, especially if, as I hope and trust, C. R. will some day accept the Tirupati chair. In view of the rumours about the likelihood of the Capital of Andhra being located in that holy city, there is, I admit, a certain hazard. But the situation is not without its piquant possibilities, nor does our Daniel lack courage. He may hope to charm the beasts with his gift for polyglot. After all he has brought off more difficult feats with less visible equipment.

The political *Kathaka* may have a smattering of knowledge but he must have immense self-confidence. He must not allow false delicacy of any kind to interfere with the paramount duty of tickling the groundlings. He must loudly genuflect in the intervals of more or less refined clowning. But it would be fatal for him to allow the crowd a moment for reflection or to throw out anything like an intellectual challenge to its rudimentary powers of thinking. Above all he must not forget that showmanship means legerdemain, though it might be hardly more respectable than Zuleika Dobson's, coupled with a gift for patter, preferably of the slapstick variety.

All the ingredients were perfect and perfectly compounded in the Saturday night entertainment. One of the honoured guests was a man who has given a life-time to the rational organisation of libraries. He deferentially referred to his early encounters with the chairman of the

evening's function, when the latter used invariably to wonder whether there could be such a thing as a library science; and he went on to express the hope that what had since been done and acclaimed by scholars all over the world had helped to overcome the chairman's doubts. But C. R. blandly retorted, "I still doubt whether there is such a thing as a library science"; and the admiring audience doubled up with laughter.

Having thus put the librarian in his place, our polymath went on to declare that library science was nothing but "Panini *plus* decimals"—so simple you know! And here was Dr. Ranganathan trying to say it in twenty-five volumes. As for the President of the Library Association, you might have thought that at that meeting there were many obvious things to be said in his praise. But C. R. is nothing if not original. The secret of Mr. K. V. Krishnaswamy Iyer's achievement, we were told, was his ability to say 'No.' This was illustrated with a suggestive story which to some old-fashioned folk may have seemed of dubious taste. But the audience was again convulsed.

My old grand-mother had a perfect image for the born demagogue: he was the "Aall-kanda samudram," the ocean that swells at the sight of thronging humanity. You may make no sense of that impressive roar, but the roaring is the thing. The admiring throng on the Saturday evening heard many paradoxes propounded. It was told that, while books were no great shakes and could do with a good bit of censoring by the wise (who shall not be named more particularly!), newspapers were positive piffle, trashy ephemera; the daily press was the enemy of books as the cinema was the enemy of classical music (which C. R. so well understands). People reading the full report of that *Harikatha* in the papers the next morning may have wondered. Could the daily Press be extracting subtle revenge by inviting the public to judge who had contributed the largest quota of that day's refuse?

VIGHNESWARA.

THE RAILWAY CENTENARY

By H. RANGACHAR

THE Indian Railways are now a hundred years old. The official "Satabdhi celebrations" are already in progress. An exhibition depicting the history and the various phases of the development and operation of our railways was opened at New Delhi nearly four weeks ago by the Prime Minister. Hundred years are a long span of time, an age unattainable by the overwhelming majority of individuals. "He who lives by all accounts the longest lives but a hundred years," observes the great sage Patanjali in his *Mahabhashya*. Though this does not apply to institutions, it is still time long enough to constitute a definite stage and a memorable landmark in their lives. After all, sheer age is no criterion of greatness or merit; "one begins to count one's years when there is nothing else to count," says Emerson. This does not apply however to Indian railways for there are many things good and a few not quite so good to count in their career so far. It has in fact been officially described as "a century of service."

Whatever the rationale of birthday celebrations, they afford a convenient occasion for taking stock of the present position and for making pious resolutions for the future. Birthday resolutions have become a proverbial pastime in which scarcely no one fails to indulge. The centenary celebrations will become a mere formality and their utility will be lost if advantage is not taken of the occasion to take a bird's eye-view of the growth, the achievements and failures and the strength and weakness of our railways, with a view to the formulation and carrying out of measures to remove the existing deficiencies. It is to be hoped that this is being done by the authorities concerned. Something in this direction, however imperfect, will be attempted here.

The 18th of April, 1853, marked the beginning of Indian railways. On that day the first section of 22 miles of the Bombay-Kalyan line was opened for public traffic and the

first train carrying passengers steamed off from Bombay. This was one of the "experimental lines" sanctioned by the East India Company, the other two being the Calcutta-Raniganj section and later the Madras-Arkonam section.

This policy of proceeding slowly with short sections on an experimental basis did not find favour with the Government of India and Lord Dalhousie, rightly regarded as the founder of Indian railways, advocated vigorously a bolder policy of railway expansion "upon a scale commensurate with the magnitude of interests involved and with the vast and various benefits, political, commercial and social, which that great measure of public importance would unquestionably produce." In his famous Minute of 20th April 1853, written two days after the opening of the first railway line, he recommended to the East India Co. a plan for introducing a system of railways in this country, commencing with three main trunk lines from Calcutta to Delhi and the North-West Frontier, Bombay to Delhi and Madras to Bombay. These railways were to be built by English companies as "the successful employment of English capital and English energy in railway undertakings would stimulate and encourage similar efforts, thereafter, in connection with the products and trade of India." The Board of Control of East India Co. sanctioned these proposals, not without some hesitation.

Thus, 1953 is not only the centenary of the opening for traffic of the first railway line but also of the adoption of the policy of a "wide introduction of railway communication throughout the length and breadth of the country," constituting the real beginning of the present railway system.

It is usual for histories of railways to begin their subject with a telling description of the ordeals and "travails of travel" in the immediate pre-railway era, if only to bring into clear relief the blessings of rail-

ways. This familiar feature is not missed in the narratives of the beginnings of our railways. Thus a writer in the seventies of the last century states that in the vast stretches of the country goods could be carried only on camels, buffaloes and pack bullocks which often groaned and sank under their burden and "their bones whitening the route acted as landmarks to travellers." "There never was a country with people so intelligent and rich in which roads were so few and travel so difficult." While there is some truth in these statements, it should not be forgotten that trade and intercourse between different parts of the country and outside had attained an appreciable measure of development. There were also several means of transport well established. Apart from overseas traffic, coastal trade had developed; there were also systems of inland waterways and canals carrying a fairly large volume of traffic. The country had, for that time, a satisfactory system of roads, including trunk roads, which had been improved and developed by the Moghul emperors and their successors. It is also on record that in the decade immediately preceding the introduction of railways, nearly 30,000 miles of roads were constructed in British India at a total estimated cost of four crores of rupees. The means of communication and transport were not so primitive or undeveloped as in some countries of the west at that time.

An interesting aspect of the comparative cost of transport was brought to light by the remarks of Sri Ramanujam, the present General Manager of Southern Railway, in a recent broadcast talk. It was revealed that the cost of transporting merchandise between Madras and Walajahnagar by road then was nearly the same as that charged now by the railway. This question will be considered more fully later.

India was early in the field in regard to railways. As seems to be the case with many progressive ideas, the first scheme for a railway originated in the South, in Madras Presidency. As far back as 1831-32, a proposal was laid before the Parliamentary Select Committee on the

affairs of East India Co. for a line running along the banks of the Cauvery from Cauveripattanam to Karur, a distance of about 150 miles. The scheme contemplated the laying of flat rails on the road and using animal traction. The estimated cost was Rs. 8,000 per mile. Later, however, in 1836, Captain Cotton, Civil Engineer of Madras, put forward a proposal for a railway line from Madras to Bombay via Walajahnagar, Arcot, Bangalore, Bellary and Poona, a distance of about 860 miles. Though a pioneer in the field with concrete schemes, Madras had the experience, by no means unusual for the South, of being the last to benefit from railways, as it was only on 1st July, 1856, that the first railway line, the Madras-Arkonam line, was opened, nearly three and two years respectively after the first lines were opened in Bombay and Bengal.

The first railway taken up for serious consideration was the "great line" between Calcutta and Delhi. It was not before some public complaints were lodged and an agitation was set up, in which the Press played its part by drawing attention to the special favour shown to Bengal and the United Provinces at the expense of Bombay and Madras, that the question of providing the latter with railways was taken up. Though later in the field, Bombay had the distinction of being the presidency in which railway operation began first in the country.

It was believed in the early days that in the design of Providence India was not a land well suited for railway expansion. Amongst the adverse factors listed by the Court of Directors of East India Co. in 1845 were such irremediable natural ones like the "influence of the vertical sun," continued action of violent winds, periodical rains and inundations and ravages of insects and vermin.

These glimpses into early railway history may be concluded with a reference to the discovery of the great prehistoric civilization of the Indus valley, which was, curiously enough, the accidental result of railway construction. The circumstances are best narrated in the

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words of Stuart Piggott, in his *Pre-historic India* (1950), "In 1856 two brothers, John and William Brunton, were engaged in laying out the East Indian Railway from Karachi to Lahore. John was in charge of the southern section, his brother of that in the Punjab from Multan northwards." In a book of memoirs written by John Brunton, he has explained how he solved the problem of securing ballast for the line by "plundering" Brahminabad, a medieval city, built of bricks, then in ruins. The Multan-Lahore line also ran close to another ancient city Harappa. "John must have told William of his brilliant scheme for obtaining ballast for the track: a prehistoric capital of the Punjab, Harappa, was plundered as ruthlessly as Brahminabad had been and today the trains rumble over a hundred miles of line laid on a secure foundation of third-millennium brickbats. During the brick-robbing, antiquities of various kinds were found."

John Brunton was also the cap-

tain of a corps of volunteers and trained an efficient rifle team which defeated many times the regular Line Regiments stationed at Karachi. The General commanding, Cunningham, who on retirement became the Director-General of Archaeological Survey of Northern India, and who "was much annoyed at their repeated victories" also visited Harappa when depredations were in progress, obtained various antiquities "including engraved steatite seals of a type which we now know to be characteristic of the prehistoric Indian civilization, with the symbols of an unknown script upon them and the figure of a bull." Cunningham realised that these were "extremely ancient and important," but "it was not until seventy years later that their true significance was recognised and the civilization now named from the site of Harappa was identified and defined."

Such is the great contribution unwittingly made by Indian railways to the knowledge of the history of the ancient civilizations of the world.

THE ANNUAL RUMPUS

ONE of the most consistent conversational staples between my grandfather and his group of friends, all declining in the vale of years, is provided by the rapid modernisation of Mylapore. The old folks are never tired of marvelling, rather wistfully, at the change that has come over Mylapore within a decade. Luz corner, where formerly only newspapers were sold, is now a fairly self-sufficient shopping-centre that saves many an excursion into down-town Madras. The four streets around the tank are so closely packed with shops of all kinds and hotels and resound with the roar of traffic day and night that one can hardly bring oneself to believe that Mylapore was originally a village tucked around the temple. Thus they go on endlessly. Most of what they say is quite true. But Mylapore has one link with the past and never is that connection so well evident as during the festival in March. Mylapore undergoes a metamorphosis—the metropolitan atmosphere disappears

for a fortnight giving way to an almost rustic one.

Perhaps the main factor that contributes to the small town atmosphere is the fact of the thousands of the poor and simple men and women who throng the streets and the temple during the festival week. Quite a large number of them come from the nearby villages but most of them, surprisingly enough, live in Madras City, yet so completely untouched by the sweeping hand of progress and fashion. After an hour's jostling with the crowd, one comes away with the impression of thousands of blank and weary faces, clothes old both in age and fashion, blouseless women and many mothers reduced to spectres by the tyranny of child-bearing and malnutrition. Indeed, how incongruous it is to speak of progress and fashion and our poor millions in the same breath.

At night the spectacle is not so depressing. The myriads of lights and the cooler air tend to infuse some gaiety into the scene. What is

more there are thousands of children darting about here and there with eyes bright with excitement and pure enjoyment. A walk around the tank provides rich and varied glimpses into the naive amusements and recreational habits of our people. There are very old men and women, eager to have 'darsan', walking about only by an effort of the will. They prostrate on the road before the Gods, with hurried and feeble movements, unmindful of the stampede and the shouts. They are then taken to the tank steps where they are left to be picked up later by relatives who plunge again into shopping and sight-seeing. Here these oldsters sit in peace, chewing the cud of old memories. Every night throughout the festival the streets are very busy till the small hours of the morning. On the sidewalks around the tank a number of curiosity shops have sprung up where the oddest things are sold. Here and there are some tents within whose dark confines lie the 'wonderful snake-woman' and the 'amazing fish-woman.' Vendors of syrups and sherbets, sweets and candy, their throats hoarse with day-long yelling, do a roaring trade under flickering oil lamps. Puffed rice, inviting to the eye, is spread in small heaps. Sudden shouts and whistles indicate the proximity of the merry-go-round and the giant wheel—the targets of all children and some grown-ups too. It is amusing to watch the elderly react to the gay and merry whirl of the merry-go-round. Their initial primness and awkwardness evaporate as the

merry-go-round starts and they chime in with the yellings of the youngsters soon. At the end they step off and reel away laughingly for more fun.

People wait in long queues for a visit to the "City of Yama," which contains pictures of the torments that await the sinners of the world in hell. With rapt faces and many a pang in their hearts, people file past these grotesque pictures. This is perhaps a cruder but a more compelling form of moral rearmament. Thus ten days pass by filled with pleasure, worship, excitement and noise. We can watch our people by the thousands milling in the hot sun, that seems to vapourise all energy and enthusiasm, speaking a form of Tamil or Telugu that is peculiar to Madras City and its environs. Delinquent youths, that one comes across so frequently now near cinema-houses, taxi-stands and street corners, swagger along picking pockets and taking pleasure in dashing shoulders with the young women in the crowd. They laugh raucously and wipe their faces with kerchiefs kept under the shirt collars.

The appalling backwardness of our people is never more evident than during these days when they come out of their hovels into the daylight. One thinks of how superficial it is to talk of progress and modernisation when the millions of the country live in darkness. Progress has merely scratched the surface of our society. The task of enabling it to penetrate down to the lower levels is a truly Herculean one.—D. N.

A new device to set patients asleep without drugs was recently invented by Prof. Felice VISALLI of the Rome University and is being experimented upon before it is released for clinical use. Its aim is to induce sleep on the same lines as nature does. It consists of a large metal box which can be made air-tight and accommodate the lower half of the patient's body, from just above his waist downward. A vacuum pump is then set to work and the gradually sinking air pressure in the box sucks the blood down from the patient's head to his lower limbs. Two-thirds of the blood usually circulating in the brains and chest are thus made to flow downwards. This is exactly what happens in normal sleep, when the low ebb of blood in the brain blots out consciousness. For surgical operations on the brain, this device offers the additional advantage of an artificial anaemia, thus reducing greatly the danger of haemorrhage while operating on brain tissues. Other assets of the new method: the patient can be led back to normal conditions at any moment by restoring the air pressure, and there seems to be no bad after-effect from the anaesthesia thus produced.—*Italian Cultural Digest*.

CREATIVE MARXIST?—I

By V. SUBRAMANIAN

"I am not a dogmatic Marxist but a creative Marxist," said Stalin to Dr. Radhakrishnan, when he was India's Ambassador in Moscow. On an earlier occasion, discussing dialectical materialism, Stalin wrote: "There is dogmatic Marxism and creative Marxism; I take my stand upon the latter." A little more than a year before his death, in his reply to the doubts of some comrades, Stalin said that Marxism was the very opposite of dogmatism.

How far can the claims be substantiated? An answer must be found essentially in the speeches and writings of Stalin and in his policies. From the latter, one can only infer, since the policies, extending over a great length of eventful years, varied widely. His writings and speeches however are direct authentic expositions of the creed and his sincerity need not be doubted.

Criticism of Lenin and, to a certain extent, of Stalin, has centred on their interpretation of Marx. It is said of Lenin that he read so much into Marx that was not there, that it was absolutely necessary for him to don the garb of orthodoxy by tracing his policies to Marxian tenets. The same criticism is voiced in regard to Stalin and with greater emphasis. The Communist hierarchy is generally credited with preserving the greatest freedom of thought and discussion at the top level while rigid discipline prevails below. Hence, any action, decided by the top-men, is ostensibly justified on the basis of a reinterpretation of Marxism to preserve the semblance of orthodoxy and passed down the ladder as the rigid orthodox creed for the time being. In this sense, Lenin and Stalin were not so much creative Marxists but destructive; and whatever they created could not be strictly called Marxism.

It is difficult to arrive at any sweeping judgment on these criticisms and Stalinist counter-claims. Indeed, the variety of the apparently mutually contradictory policies and statements of Communist leaders is

often bewildering. The line between glorified opportunism and timely re-interpretation is thin but we have to take interpreters of Marx at their word. If their interpretations are wide of the mark, it is more likely that they sincerely believe in it. The dilemma of a 'creative Marxist' who faces the realities of running a state is the dilemma of all prophets in a crisis. What must be to him a flexible creed for inspiration must be to others the inflexible commands of an almighty power at least for the time being.

Stalin's contributions to Marxist theory can be grouped under four broad titles; (1) interpretation of dialectical materialism; (2) theory of the socialist state, its special problems of transition, and transformation in an encircled world; (3) theses on the question of nationalities; and (4) views on the problems of socialist state in a non-socialist world and of the possibility of co-existence and peaceful collaboration. On all problems Stalin's speeches and writings have been prolific though not so prolific as those of Marx or Lenin. Contrary to the Wellsian description of Stalin's writings as ponderous and pulpit-tainted, I find that in clarity he leaves little to be desired. In addition, there is a crude but relevant strain of humour in some of his writings, as he tears his opponents to tatters.

His peculiar strength and weakness are evident when he deals with dialectical materialism, the basic philosophy of communism. Of profundity of thought or originality, Stalin has little to offer unlike Lenin whose application of the dialectic not only to contemporary history but also to contemporary science made useful, original and lasting additions to the dialectical methodology. But for a clear, concise and cogent presentation of dialectical materialism, I would personally prefer Stalin's short tract on the subject to the long-winded if profound presentations of Marx, Engels or Lenin. Maybe, cogency and clarity are

achieved at the expense of important omissions, probably deliberate. Some of these omissions are briefly dealt with, in a series of earlier articles in answer to criticisms of the Marxian dialectic by some anarchists in Georgia in 1905.

Stalin clearly states in his reply to anarchist critics that there are varieties of materialism, and the Marxian is the most perfect of them and that the dialectic, though it owes its origin to Hegel, was purged of its idealism by Marx. His interpretation of theories of materialism and idealism is also strictly orthodox. He probably saw in the implications of a strict idealism (better than Marx and Lenin) that it would logically end in denying the existence of not only all external matter but the egos of all except the subjects. Marxist materialism is not the older, cruder materialism. According to Stalin, both ideal and material phenomena exist in the world but this does not mean that they negate each other. "On the contrary the ideal and material sides are two different forms of the same nature or society. A single and indivisible nature expressed in two different forms, material and ideal; a single and indivisible social life expressed in the different forms—material and ideal—this is how we should regard the development of nature and social life. Such is the *monism* of the materialist theory." I have quoted at length to make clear what exactly Stalin's conception of materialism or materialist monism was. How far the theory is tenable on scientific evidence is a different question. The point is, so stated, this definition of materialism gives a simplicity and unity to dialectical materialism, which it does not exhibit, at least conspicuously, in earlier writings.

Stalin further explains his materialist monism. Consciousness, which he equates with the ideal, is not anything divorced from or opposed to matter. "So-called external non-living nature existed before there were any living beings." First there was only irritability, among living things, then as organisms developed, there was sensation, then consciousness. "Thus the history of the development of nature utterly refutes so-called idealism." Going a step fur-

ther he says, "The same thing must be said about the history of the development of the human society." As an example, a story of a shoemaker is given. First he is an independent shoemaker, unable to compete with the firm. He then forsakes his trade, joins the firm as a worker, but still nurtures the ambition of saving enough to set up again independently. Thus proletarian in life but petite bourgeois in consciousness, he slowly becomes proletarian in consciousness as well.

Appropos the question of materialist monism and the development of consciousness from matter, Stalin's view, though not original, is definitely an original synthesis for whatever it is worth. According to Bertrand Russell, Marx's materialism anticipates Dewey's pragmatism. The subject becomes aware of the object, not passively, but the process of conscious knowledge is one in which both the object and the subject undergo a change. At least one admirer of Marx has seen, in Marx's view, anticipation of the present dilemma in physics, that one cannot measure the position or velocity of an electron without affecting its velocity or position. Bertrand Russell also says that the materialism of Engels and Lenin is definitely not pragmatism as generally understood.

Stalin's position, made clear in the quotations, is obviously free from such dilemmas. For one thing, Stalin was in a better position than Marx or Lenin to assert that consciousness equated with idealism is not fundamentally different from matter. Stalin gives no reasons, though he could have given better reasons than Marx or Lenin could have given. There was the whole armoury of behaviourist and Pavlovian experiments to draw inspiration from. Anyway, the basic assertion of a materialist monism not only simplifies the basis of dialectical materialism but gives greater unity to the theory; the difficulty of which is persistently felt by those students of dialectical materialism who are not communists and are not therefore obliged to swallow communist casuistry without questioning.

Marx is said to have first shown that Hegel's dialectic and his idealism vis a vis the absolute state

have no logical relation. Hence, he separated the dialectical method from his idealism, and used it as a weapon to build up his materialist interpretation of history. But to many students of history and philosophy, Marx seemed to have committed the same error as Hegel in thinking that the dialectic and the materialist interpretations of history were logically inter-related. The dialectic was for Marx just a way of getting started and one loses the thread of it as one studies further the historical chapters of the development of capitalism.

Accepting the existence of all matter independent of one's consciousness of it, it is hard to understand how the materialist interpretation of history logically follows. As Russell put it, the basic assumption of the materialist interpretation need not be materialism at all. What is most important is that men care for matter primarily and it is this desire (strictly non-material in the older sense) that is responsible for the central thread of the theory that it is the economic motive that directs history.

Orthodox dialectical materialism, after assuming all forms of matter, postulates that all things in nature are changing and this change is not simply just quantitative growth. Each thing contains a *contradiction* in itself and it is this which is the basis of change and progress. In the words of Lenin, "In its proper meaning, dialectics is the study of the contradiction within the very essence of things." On another occasion he said "Development is the struggle of opposites." As Stalin himself puts it the dialectical method "holds that the process of development from the lower to the higher takes place not as a harmonious unfolding phenomena, but as a disclosure of the contradictions inherent in things and phenomena, as a struggle of opposite tendencies, which operate on the basis of these contradictions."

There are two difficulties in this view. The universal existence of contradiction is assumed without any proof. The proof, of course, cannot easily be given inductively. Taking the assumption for granted, the second difficulty is with regard to what 'contradiction' exactly

means. On this point, however, Stalin leaves much to be desired. Mao Tse tung (probably because of naivete—or absolute freedom from casuistry) equates contradiction with difference and extreme cases of contradictions with antagonism. He also allows for the existence of more than one 'contradiction' at least in human society but only one of them is dominant at a time.

The process of development is more simply explained. The internal contradictions in a thing are called thesis and anti-thesis respectively. Their competition finally issues in a synthesis, which is apparently unified for the time being. This synthesis however develops contradictions within itself. The new contradiction is different from the old. This development goes on by the continuous ever renewed struggle of the opposites.

The same process applies to the mental sphere, since, in Hegelian parlance, one is a reflexion of the other. The Marxian reason for correlating the mental and material spheres is, of course, different. Says Marx: "Our consciousness and thinking however suprasensuous they may seem, are the product of a material bodily organ, the brain. Matter is not a product of the mind but *mind itself is merely the highest product of matter*." In another place he says: "*It is impossible to separate thought from matter that thinks*." (For both assertions Marx gives no particular reason).

Lenin, in addition to the Marxian arguments, repeats the Hegelian argument of reflexion in an inverted form. "Consciousness is only the reflexion of being, at best an approximately true reflexion of it." Neither Marx nor Lenin refers to any materialist monism like Stalin.

Granted the assumptions of materialist monism, the whole of dialectical materialism attains a monolithic structure which Marx has not conferred on it. Nature develops dialectically and hence the course of evolution. Society develops dialectically from one system of production relations to another. Man's consciousness vis a vis the system of production also develops dialectically and hence historical materialism. All this is one single unity.

BRITAIN FEARS FOR AMERICAN POLITICAL SANITY

By ANDREW ROTH

AS the highly exciting play on the American witch-hunt came to its dramatic close, an American radio announcer was heard reporting that the McCarran Act compelled even Prime Minister Churchill to be examined on his arrival in the U. S. The last scene was purest irony: it showed the Statue of Liberty.

This dramatization of "The Troubled Air," Irwin Shaw's taut novel on hysteria in American radio, was not displayed at a West End theatre, although the quality of the dramatization merits a sustained run. Instead it was presented, twice in one week, on Britain's national TV network where it was seen by as many as five million people.

The selection of this play at this time might be considered accidental were it not for several relevant facts. A few weeks ago the BBC broadcast "The Troublemakers," an even more violent attack on hysteria, this time on an American university campus. This crudely powerful American play had scarcely been shown in the U. S. and enjoyed only a few weeks' run at the West End here.

This slight rash of anti-American-hysteria plays is almost certainly not accidental. The BBC is not formally an official network; under its charter it has a considerable independence. But in practice it is semi-official. This tendency was heightened last summer when Sir Alexander Cadogan became its Director-General. Formerly the permanent head of the Foreign Office and Britain's UN representative from 1946 to 1950, Sir Alexander is not expected to deviate far from the path of the Cabinet and Foreign Office.

A recent interview with the Home Secretary, Sir David Maxwell Fyfe, made it clear that the BBC was, indeed, mirroring the Cabinet's fear for American political sanity in presenting these plays critical of hysteria. Sir David told a group of American newsmen on February 4

that it is a major error to attack the problem of security through any general attempt to mobilize public opinion. During a seemingly endless 'cold war' it is essential, he held, to retain all the liberties that go to make up the warp and woof of a free way of life and particularly to ensure that freedom of controversy that is so vital to democracy. He continued his implied criticisms of American tactics by declaring that the Conservative Government believed that a member of the Communist Party was entitled to hold a government or private post provided that his work did not involve secrets relating to the nation's security. Communists have been barred from such "sensitive" posts since 1948 when the Labour Government quietly transferred some 2,000 persons considered Communists or Communist sympathizers to posts where they could not damage the national security.

The Home Secretary also made it clear that he would continue the Labour Government's policy of permitting the entry of foreign Communists coming to attend open Communist meetings, which the British voter knows how to evaluate. He is continuing to refuse foreign Communists coming to use Britain as a sounding board under the auspices of camouflaged Communist front organizations.

This forthright declaration made clear two facts. The first is that there is no difference of opinion between the Conservative and Labour parties over the importance of preserving Britain's civil liberties. The second is that the Conservatives are now as worried about the witch-hunt in the U. S. as the leftwing of the Labour Party has been for some time. British leftists, who do not share the American assumptions in the 'cold war', could be expected to resent the attacks on their opposite numbers in the States. But now Britain's Conservatives are openly worried stiff at

a situation where decisions on top international questions—such as talking to the Malenkov-mild Russians—can only be made by the Eisenhower administration after it considers what the lunatic fringe McCarthy-McCarran duet will have to say about it.

The attack on Ambassador-designate Charles ("Chip") Bohlen has silenced almost every British defender of the American witch-hunt. One must say "almost" because Rebecca West, who has made a good thing out of her specialization on traitors, is trying to convince the readers of Kemsley's *Sunday Times* that the American witch-hunt was completely justified by the scope of the Communist conspiracy in Washington. Few here, except the Communists, deny that the U. S. had to take special precautions in a period such as the present, confronting an enemy such as the Communists. The British security services also tap telephones; the Home Secretary admitted it in the House of Commons several weeks ago. The correspondence of some few security suspects is also apparently intercepted and read.

The vast difference, however, between the British and the American technique is that the results of such investigations are not "leaked" to rightwing newspapers or M.P.s and are used only for the purpose for which they are intended: security. They come out in cases such as the recent trials of a young soldier and a Foreign Office code clerk. The discretion and judgment of the British security services is, apparently, less to be trusted in recommendations concerning those not to be trusted for "sensitive" jobs. Sometimes, it is alleged, a Conservative-minded security officer cannot distinguish between an anti-Communist 'Bevanite' and a full-blown Communist sympathizer. But there is no chance of anything so ludicrous as using the intuitions of a lunatic to smear someone of the standing of Mr. Bohlen as a "poor security risk."

Security problems are treated here with the flexible maturity of a cultured aristocracy in a long-stable community, instead of the hot-blooded vigilante spirit of a raw frontier town. Particularly revealing was the role of a leading War Office

security officer, Mr. William Skarden, who cracked the Fuchs case, after receiving an American 'tip.' It was his moral and psychological persuasion, rather than any serious evidence, which led to Fuchs' confession. It is difficult to conceive of any man fencing as skilfully for three months as Skarden is depicted as doing in Alan Moorehead's "The Traitors." This policy of treating even Communists as gentlemen brings its own reward, and not only in the Fuchs case. In 1951, a Communist sympathizer in the British Navy asked publicly for transfer from a post in which he was responsible for shipping ammunition to Korea, on grounds that he was acting against the dictates of his conscience. This gentlemanly security technique has its weaknesses: *The Observer*, in profiling Sir Percy Sillitoe of M. I. 5 (the War Office's counter-intelligence organization) on March 22 suggested that "M. I. 5 in the 1930s never watched the growth of communism amongst students (who are the physicists and higher civil servants of today) but confined their attention to hunger marchers and unemployed leaders, who were to prove of less lasting importance." But the British technique has the advantage of making few Communist martyrs while managing to retain the fabric of civil liberties better than any other Western country.

The British are naturally loth to criticize American techniques because they themselves have been caught flat-footed in the cases of Fuchs, MacLean, Burgess and Pontecorvo. But their basic criticism would seem to be that American investigators, by their links with American politics, spend too much of their time attacking views, or once-held views, which would be normal here in the almost half of the population which voted Labour in the last election. British security officials do not think that sympathy for the Spanish Republic in the 1930s automatically connotes treachery today. Nor does student radicalism, despite *The Observer's* criticism. An outspoken example of strong Conservative views was that of Mr. Churchill's friend, Sir Brendan Bracken, in the *Financial Times* (January 12):

Things have now reached a pass (in the U. S.) when to have made a mild speech 20 years ago at a college debating society, saying that perhaps there was a grain of truth in the doctrines of Marx and Lenin, is quite enough to blot a man's career.

Conservatives are now speaking out more openly for two reasons. They have been disappointed in their hope that the Eisenhower administration would be immune to attacks from McCarthy and McCarran. Even more important, they see the whole delicate task of diplomacy fouled by the witch-hunters. They cannot help but have strong views since Mr. Bohlen is known to his British conferees as one of the most dynamic of the American diplomatic 'cold warriors,' one of the moving spirits in taking up the reins of Western diplomatic leadership in 1948 when Britain ostentatiously dropped them.

"America has two Secretaries of State," *The Observer* quoted Dean Acheson as having said during his term of office, "Senator McCarthy and myself." Added the pro-American *Observer* on March 29: "In the past two months it has sometimes appeared that Mr. Dulles might also be forced to share his high position" with Senator McCarthy.

"How long will America stand for this?" asked Francis Williams, *News Chronicle* columnist and former press spokesman of Labour Prime Minister Clement Attlee, on March 26. His views frequently reflect those of the Attlee-Morrison leadership of the Labour Party which has long toned down its criticisms of the U. S. in contrast with the "anti-American"

leftwingers. There are signs of a change of attitude, particularly with the return from the States of James Callaghan, former Parliamentary Secretary to the Admiralty in the Labour Cabinet. He returned revolted by the excesses of American hysteria. Francis Williams wrote:

The climate of opinion which makes it possible for the McCarthys of American life to remain powerful public figures is not America's concern only.

The moral attitudes they depend upon and exploit matter not only to America but to the whole free world. And those of us who hold as our strongest article of international faith the need for the closest bonds of fidelity between Britain, the Commonwealth and the United States have, I believe, an obligation to tell our friends in America just how much damage those attitudes are doing to the cause of freedom everywhere....

"As things stand today," said Mr. Kennan in (his Pennsylvania Bar Association) address, "I can see no reason why malicious persons should have any difficulty in rendering unavailable for service in this country almost any person they might select.... All that is necessary is to release a spate of rumours and gossip and demands for an investigation."

And he asked: "Are we so rich in talented public servants that we can afford to leave the ones we have vulnerable to this sort of danger?"

That is a question which others besides Americans have some right to ask in a world where the standard of American diplomatic skill and integrity is of vital interest to all its partners.

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HOLLAND FIGHTS BACK THE SEA

A grim determination to reconquer the sea is again much in evidence as the industrious Dutch set about repairing the extensive damage caused by the most disastrous storm in five centuries.

By **ANDREW ROSS**

A year and more will be needed by the industrious Dutch to repair the damage to their lands and their dykes caused by the most disastrous storm in 500 years. In re-draining their land the people must do all over again, and quickly, what took their ancestors centuries.

It is a mammoth task and hard for anyone to appreciate. One-tenth of Holland's farmland was reconquered by the sea from which was wrested the most fertile and most densely populated part of this most intensively cultivated area of Europe. But the waves had barely subsided and the winds had scarcely fallen than the Dutch were back at work on their dykes.

A half-million people were homeless but their spirits were unbroken. The damage amounted to one and a half times the total annual income of all Holland, but grimly and with determination they have set about repairing the damage.

"Our fathers worked on the dykes and our grandfathers and their fathers before them as far as we can trace. This grim determination to conquer the sea is in our blood," said J. Van Heurck, of the Ministry of Transport and Water, under whose expert guidance I visited the flooded districts.

I watched the bulldozers and drag-lines heaving up new ramparts, the powerful pumps hurling millions of gallons an hour over repaired levees, and the hundreds of farmers, merchants, doctors, clerks and artisans swarming like ants over the devastated area. Every able-bodied man over 18 who is not otherwise usefully employed has been summoned by radio to work on the dykes, and men whose hands have not felt a shovel in years are toiling side by side with the farmers who sold their eggs, the millers who ground their flour and

the mechanics who keep their cars in running order—men like Dr. van der Byt of Sgraven-deel. His beautiful home stands on higher ground and so was one of the few relatively unscathed in this town of 5,500.

He has turned it into a combination city hall and refuge. Mayor C. van Heesen is directing reclamation work from the front parlour while tankards of coffee are kept hot in the sunroom and dining-room for workers chilled by the cold wind that whips about the dyke top.

With one of the few cars that escaped the inundation, Dr. van der Byt has assumed the humble role of messenger, running errands for the master like any chauffeur.

"But why shouldn't we do this?" his gallant wife demands. "His practice has been evacuated and we who are left are all as one."

But she looks sadly at her trampled floor and fine furniture piled high with rubber boots and south-westerners.

Showing me the shambles that was his office in the worst flooded part of the lower town, the doctor made almost the same comment: "What does this damage to my office matter, for I have no patients left? In the light of their greater loss mine is small," he said. "Until my patients return—perhaps in a year—my wife and I shall remain here doing what other work we can."

In the first two weeks after the disaster that struck without warning in the night of January 31, little thought was given to other than salvation. And for their work of salvation the Dutch pay full tribute to the U. S. army in Germany which sent 3,000 soldiers, a fleet of amphibious ducks, helicopters to snatch people from rooftops and haystacks, flying boxcars to drop food, and German labour companies to help

plug the holes in the walls. A little boy's thumb wasn't enough this time, the Dutch wryly comment.

No sooner had the last woman and child been snatched from danger than the forces of reconstruction began their work. The Dutch knew exactly how to go about it, for they had had bitter experience in the last days of the war when the British blew up the dykes of Walcheren island to flood the Germans out. It took six months to repair the eight holes in the Walcheren dykes. This time they have more than 80 gaps to close.

The Dutch had never really believed that such a disaster could happen but, intelligent people that they are, they, nonetheless, prepared for it and you may see their plan of action, complete with working models, in the museum of the water department at The Hague. It was put into operation without a hitch.

The people were evacuated first to such front line posts as Rotterdam, Roosendaal and Dordrecht where they were given clothes, blankets, army rations and whatever else they needed. There was even a hospital ship at Dordrecht, an excursion steamer requisitioned the first day without compensation to the owners.

"In such a national calamity in Holland everybody gives freely what he can and does not expect to be paid," explained Dr. J. Houwen, president of the Dordrecht Red Cross. Only one person, an old man, died on the hospital ship but several babies were born.

Theatre owners ripped up the seats and turned their theatres into relief depots. Others put on continuous free shows for the evacuees.

The refugees remained in these forward posts only long enough to be processed before moving on to dispersal posts at Arnhem, Utrecht, Amersfoort, Hengelo and other strategic points from which they were sent to private homes all over the country. No evacuee ever had to sleep in a barracks or dormitory or on a temporary cot. Every single one was put up in a private home. Many have gone back to the same homes to which they were evacuated during the war.

"France, Belgium, Germany, Austria and Spain offered to take care of our children, but we want to look after our own people, and we will not break up families," Dr. Houwen explained.

He showed me the most amazing collection of international merchandise I've ever seen under one roof. There were dresses, suits, overcoats, shoes, rubbers, blankets, sheets, dish towels, baby carriages, carpets, layettes, stoves and goodness knows what from almost every country under the sun except Russia.

"But alas!" he said with mock sadness, "our Dutch farm women are too big for most of the dresses. We need more dresses for big women. They can't get into gowns, however pretty, made for petite Parisiennes. We can use many big dresses for the next year."

While the rescue phase was still under way and the last compulsory evacuation was not until February 17, many men remained behind to do what they could to prevent further damage to the dykes. By February 15 enough equipment had been gathered to commence reclamation and all radio stations broadcast calls to able-bodied men to return to their places for the work of repair. The first called back were the men of Stavenisse, and there on February 16 the counter-offensive against the sea was launched.

You should understand this flood is like nothing we know in other parts of the world. When the Red river overflowed its banks and inundated Southern Manitoba and part of Winnipeg, it was a costly disaster, but we had only to wait until the river subsided and the water drained away of itself. A short time later farmers were back in their homes and tilling their fields as usual. But this flooded land of Holland is all below sea level. The water will never drain away of its own accord. It must all be pumped—a lake of 60,000 acres and in places 15 feet deep. Before it can all be pumped out more than 80 breaches in the dykes must be closed, and that is a Herculean undertaking.

At Winnipeg, when the water subsided, the dykes were dry and could be repaired at leisure with no more

inconvenience than the making of a road. But here in Holland the water never subsides and 24 hours a day a raging torrent pours through each breach-in when the tide rises, out when it subsides.

For the first few days it was all the workers could do to keep the torrent from tearing bigger holes, let alone attempt to close the breaches. Only four times a day, and then for brief moments only, is the torrent still twice when the incoming tide is at its height and pauses briefly before reversing its flow and rushing out, and twice when the tide is at its lowest and there is a moment of calm before it returns to assault the levees. It is during these brief pauses that the dyke workers labour with feverish haste. At other times the tools will be torn from their hands by the torrent and they may themselves be swept away.

Holland is not, as most of us imagine it, a country surrounded by an enormous dyke to keep the sea out. It is a country of a series of ranks of dykes built through the centuries as the sea was gradually pushed back.

These 2,200 miles of dykes enclose 2,800 individual polders, as they are called, some only a few acres in size, others several square miles, but each polder representing a new little piece wrested from the sea. A map of Holland showing the polders looks like an erratically made honey-comb, for each polder represents a bit of land pushed out from an older one.

Because of the tremendous torrent that rages through each gap with every change of tide they cannot start with the outer seawall, so they must begin with the farthest inland or the shallowest polders, which are usually the first ones their ancestors drained 500 or 600 years ago when they began their assault on the sea. Because Holland has neither gravel nor stone the smaller dykes are of earth, but earth dumped into the gap is swept away with the next change of tide, so they use the technique developed by their ancestors centuries ago. They weave thick and heavy mattresses of willow boughs

and at each momentary pause in the tide they slide in a new mattress and securely anchor it with earth heaped on the mattress by a bulldozer.

As soon as all the gaps in a dyke around a polder are thus closed, the water is pumped out. In normal times the pumping is done by Holland's famous windmills but the windmills can't handle such a mammoth task as this one and every kind of power-driven pump that can be located has been pressed into service. From all over Holland, cities and towns have sent their fire engines.

According to plan the first polder reclaimed, a small one of perhaps 20 acres including part of the town of Sgravenedeel, was pumped dry in five days by 15 fire engines, and the people have already begun repairing their homes. Another larger polder was pumped dry with 40 fire engines.

But all the fire engines in Holland could not pump the whole flooded area dry in 20 years, so Western Germany has offered all the big power pumps that can be used.

Germany has also offered to transport by sea, free of cost, all the rock needed to reface the outer sea-wall and make it stronger than ever. As each dyke is repaired and the polder behind it drained, the one next to it is attacked, so that the army of reclamation advances steadily toward the sea like soldiers taking a series of trenches. By the time they reach the outer sea-wall so much of the land behind it will have been reclaimed that little water will be pouring through the gaps.

In the old days it took seven years for the rains to take the salt out of the soil. Now they use chemicals, a more expensive process but faster. It is believed most of the flooded area will produce a normal crop in 1955.

As soon as a polder is drained, the inhabitants will be encouraged to return to it, but actually a great many of them are expected to go to Canada instead. This is the area from which Canada has received its best Dutch immigrants. It is the most overcrowded part of Holland, and the Dutch Government has

offered to assist any former residents and their families to go to Canada. Already the Dutch emigration office has hundreds of applicants on its list.

"They have lost everything, any-

way. Whether they remain in Holland or go to Canada they've got to make a new start from the ground up. Many of them think that new start should be in Canada," Van Heurck said.—(NMF.)

SUPPLEMENTARY FOOD EXHIBITION

COOKING has never been my forte. This is not a boast (which it could have been not so many years ago!) much less is it a confession. For, with confessions is attached a sense of guilt or shame and I have none whatever.

With this background in mind you will easily grasp the element of surprise felt by my friends and relations when they saw my handiwork being displayed in a recent Supplementary Food Exhibition organised by Bombay branch of the All-India Women's Food Council. But more about it a little later.

"How came this?" that was the surprised reaction of my friend. It is a little secret for which I must really thank Mrs. Krishna Hutheesingh. It was a few years ago. Interviewing her for a local newspaper I learnt of her frantic efforts at learning the culinary art.

On setting up independent house in the city (soon after her marriage) she found out that she had to join regular cooking classes. Well, to me that did sound not a little curious and I made no bones about conveying my feelings to her. But she added in explanation that it was not for the love of cookery as for getting round the hired cooks who get the better of *memsabs* once they know of her ignorance.

This carried conviction with me as nothing else (told by aunts and grannies) had done. After all, even if one has to get a spot of work done from others (whether in the domestic cook-home or a commercial workshop) a rudimentary knowledge about the job on hand always carries many advantages. While not ruling out (completely) the possibility of being cheated, you at least know whether you are getting the money's worth or not.

Besides these practical considerations, nutrition has had a big hand in turning my face kitchenward; as

it is probably doing with a number of sophisticated women and men nowadays. Now, don't you imagine that my kitchenett is turned into a chemist's laboratory cluttered up with crucibles, tripods and weighing scales.

Nor do I think of my meals in terms of proteins, vitamins, minerals and calories, as some converts to this new faith (or fad (?)) are wont to do. Thanks to the nutrition expert friend of mine, I have learnt a few new and easier methods of food preparations like steaming, broiling and baking. I also know how to get the most out of the foods. I eat, and do a little saving on the doctor's and druggist's bills.

For example, I would not think of buying tomatoes at one rupee a seer in the hot season for making soup. Instead, I would use lentils or a few mixed vegetables and have just a small quantity of tomatoes to add colour to the raw salads.

Writing about the raw salads I am reminded of the novel manner in which it was displayed at the Supplementary Food Exhibition. Instead of the conventional salad bowl (which the dietician calls "bowl of health") an ingenious competitor (in the exhibition) had presented it in the form of a chariot appropriately suggestive of motion and activity which ought to result from a balanced though economic diet.

The show (lasting four days) was arranged with a view to encouraging people in devising new recipes of non-cereal, non-rationed articles. And purely from that angle it was a success although one may feel that entries from individuals could have been far more. The main competitors were women's institutions and hoteliers and it could be easily said of the former that they kept high the banner of female ingenuity, thrift and skill.—LEELA JOG.

«...Over A.I.R.» by "Z"

A government department can always try diplomacy, other things failing. We should remember this privilege in time, before ascribing inefficiency to any government agency—the explanation for its seeming lack of ability could be, in the last resort, intention. I am moved to these Machiavellian thoughts by the National Programmes broadcast in March. All of them were heavy and dull, with a weighty preponderance of technical competence over art. It is worth noting that the four programmes for March featured no less than five instruments, the sitar, the vichitra veena, the flute, the sitar again, and the southern veena. Vocal music was restricted to half an hour by Ustad Rahimuddin Khan, before the second sitar recital, and in that period one felt satiated with this singer's limited charms.

A series of instrumental concerts, unrelieved by masterly individuality or the warmth of the human voice, can have a cumulatively saddening effect on the conscientious listener. A friend told me that he thought last month's National Programmes so heavily instrumental, badly planned—but I suspect there was more in them than met the ear. We know that A. I. R. has decided, consequent on its cut in broadcast of film music, to evolve its own light music. We know that such music is apt to possess a certain *avouirdupois*. We know that lightness, in any art, is a highly comparative quality—read Milton for three hours a day for a week, and Wordsworth will seem almost flippant thereafter. Is it possible that A. I. R. is using its National Programmes to create a ponderous, sombre background, against

which its light music can sparkle with insubstantial elan?

Palladam Sanjiva Rao, long past his prime, demonstrated on March 14 that his flute still retains its urban composure and mastery of repertoire. But the National Programme that interested me was the veena recital by V. Doreswamy Iyengar, towards the end of the month. He favours the Mysore style of play, distinguished by straight-plucked, deep-toned notes—and he must have powerful fingers. I did not like his amorphous rendering of *Shanmukhapriya*, or his amorphous rendering of any other *raga*, but no doubt his preoccupation with immediate tonal contrasts and sequences of notes was often melodious. Only the uncompromising tonal emphasis of his play resulted, occasionally, in a jarring false note, unworthy of a performer in a national programme. He was in distinguished company in this, though, and unlike some of his fellow N. Ps., has still the years to overcome the fault by sheer practice.

I am keen on adding a postscript to this critique of National Programmes, especially as I found so little to enthuse over in them. The institution of these programmes was undoubtedly a happy and constructive thought, and one should realise that with the variety of musical schools that obtains in our country, and the live popular interest in this one art, A. I. R. has taken on quite a task in organising these concerts. One looks forward to them and to their continuance, and already they have achieved much in popularising regional classical music on a national

scale. The growing taste for North Indian music in the South is due, no doubt, largely to the initiative of A. I. R. I wonder if there is a reciprocal feeling for Carnatic music in the North.

The broadcasts by the visiting team of WHO experts, organised by A. I. R., Madras, must have had a large audience, for popular interest in illnesses and cures is rapidly increasing. Being in uninterestingly good health, I could summon no zest for these talks—I mean, recorded interviews—but still listened in for the sake of this review. Subsequently, some of these broadcasts have been published in the press, and they merit all the publicity they can get in our country, where the credulous faith of laymen in miraculous remedies has been recognised from classical times. The wary, scientific caution of these savants, and the weight of their authority, must have curbed the unbridled hope of many popular-science addicts. Especially was this caution noticeable in Prof. Levine's discourse on ACTH and Cortisone. In his lucid exposition, Prof. Levine warned listeners that these powerful substances had to be used with the greatest care, and under expert supervision, aided by laboratory tests, because of possible harmful side-effects, and that they were largely ameliorative rather than curative in their effects. Only in the future, when greater experience of substances akin to ACTH and Cortisone might reveal greater therapeutic value, would he hold out rosy hope. Prof. Levine could have been asked a question or two to which there were no informative answers. For instance, he might have been asked if he was aware that certain yogic practices are thought to stimulate the ACTH-secreting-Cortisone-inducing pituitary. Not that this would have elicited any startling reply—being a scientist, all that Prof. Levine could have said, guardedly, was that he could say nothing of what he did not have experience of. But the question might have informed a re-



V. Doreswamy Iyengar

presentative of Western science of the cryptic, esoteric store of our own knowledge, which most of us (I belong to the majority) know nothing about and care less for!

The Tiruchi station put over a special series of rural programmes during the last three days of March. The first of these featured *Panchamirtham*, listed as an "imaginative medley"; the description intrigued me. Imagination, especially when it runs riot in mixture, seemed wholly out of place in a rural broadcast. However, my misgivings left me as I listened to the programme, a wholly enjoyable show, which I am sure village listeners would have appreciated. In spite of its being a medley, there was a strong connecting theme, there were many humorous interludes and the humour was broad and tangible, and the sounds and accents of a rustic festival crowd were there—I missed the mooing of stray cattle, though. Somewhere in me there is a strong bucolic streak; at times, it is everywhere within. After listening to this broadcast, I wanted, very much, to hear the other special programmes, on the next two days—and I did not. When will the stations of A. I. R. realise that your true rustic's appetite for entertainment is sharp only after dinner, long after dinner, and that in any case it is never felt at half past six in the evening?



By V. P. SATHE

WHAT pays at the box-office? If only the secret is known the producer would pile up a fortune. So far nobody has known the real formula for success. Yet, an analysis of successful pictures is always helpful.

With pictures flopping, it is being said that the people are sick of love stories and musicals and that they want dynamic realistic pictures like *Bicycle Thief* or *Yukiwarisoo*. It is also said that those pictures which have good songs and a love story have been most successful at the box-office. The current box-office rage is *Anarkali* which threatens to set up a new collection record, even in these depression days. Two other most popular pictures of last six or eight months are *Aan* and *Baiju Bawra*. These three pictures fall into one category—musical romances.

Indeed, it is a tacit fact that no picture, however good, can succeed in a big way, unless it has good songs. One of the reasons why *Jhansi ki Rani* has not come up to expectations is that it has no good songs. For, without songs, a picture has no 'repeat' value. And, however much you may like realism, there is no denying that the majority of the picturegoers are romantically minded. Love is still the most popular theme for a screen-story. Nobody can forget this fact.

Even the progressive and realistic stories have a chance to succeed at the box-office only if they are blended with music and romance.

This being the inevitable conclusion most of our screen-writers have lost faith in themselves. They have become cynics and if the present

cycle of realistic films like *Footpath*, *Rahi*, and *Do Bigha Zamin* do not succeed they will have no faith left in progressive films.

Those who know the film industry aver that basically the public taste has not changed at all. It is because of late our producers have been making such dull, uninspiring and mediocre films that the picturegoers are not patronising them.

Star Of The Week

In England, the artiste gets a state recognition in the form of a title from the Government; in Russia he is presented with the Stalin prize or the coveted designation of people's artist; in the United States he is honoured with an academy award; in India he is neither honoured nor respected.

Recently, the President honoured musicians; but so far to my knowledge no artiste from the stage or the screen has been honoured. I know Prithviraj has been nominated to the Council of States and a shawl was presented to Keshavrao Date a fortnight ago at Delhi by the Railway Centenary Cultural Festival Committee.

While the presentation of a shawl to Keshavrao Date by Dr. Radhakrishnan, the Vice-President, is a fitting tribute to Date's art as a stage actor, it is time that the exponents of histrionic art on the stage and the screen are given official recognition by the Government. That would be one of the ways of improving the standard of acting as well as films.

Keshavrao Date, who is over 60, is one of the oldest stage artistes of Maharashtra and has kept pace with

the times. Coming from a respectable Brahmin family, he joined the Marathi stage in its days of popularity. Short-statured, Keshavrao Date was handicapped by his voice; yet he overcame it by superb acting in historical plays. Like most artistes, he began by playing female roles but soon distinguished himself as a character actor. One of his memorable performances on the stage, I think, was that of Aurangzeb in the play *Agrahun Sutka* (Shivaji's escape from Agra).

With the advent of sound films, the Marathi stage suffered a set-back from which it has not yet recovered. The old-fashioned plays were no longer in demand, and there was no effort to have a new kind of plays. At such a crucial time some of the intellectual writers formed a drama company and launched a one-act-one-scene type of Ibsenian play *Andhalyachi Shala* (School for the Blind). Date joined them and directed the play which in a way was a milestone in the development of Marathi stage-craft.

At the same time, the screen lured him and Date played in the Marathi version the same role that made Chandramohan famous in the Hindi version of *Amrit-manthan*. Though Chandramohan's eyes are famous, it is said that it was the close-up of Date's eyes that was utilized in both the versions.

Alternately appearing on the stage and the screen this versatile artiste who played the hero's role opposite Durga Khote in the picture *Pratima*, directed by Baburao Painter, won recognition and fame for his unforgettable performance in *Duniya Na Mane*. As the old man who marries a girl young enough to be his daughter, Date's performance was a model of restrained and yet natural portrayal.

He repeated his acting triumph in *Shejani* the Marathi version of *Padosi*. He played the role that Mazhar Khan played in the Hindi version; and personally I think he played it better. By now Date has appeared in scores of films; at one time he used to be cast in every second Ranjit picture; later when Shantaram formed Rajkamal, he joined him and is still a part of that institution. Among recent performances his

portrayal of the hero's father in *Dr. Kotnis* was remarkable.

Though as a stage-director he has achieved success, his two essays in film-direction were rather disappointing. But about his versatility and acting ability, there cannot be any doubt. He is one of the few really good character actors that we have either on the screen or the stage. That Keshavrao Date's first love is the stage and not the screen is understandable. He was originally a product of the stage.

He fully deserved the tribute paid by Dr. Radhakrishnan, and one must say that he should have received this honour long ago. Though old, he is as energetic and enthusiastic as a youth as far as his art is concerned and one can look forward to some memorable performances from him, both on the stage and the screen.

Picture Of The Week

Though officially Varma Films have contradicted that their picture *Aurat* is not a copy of *Samson and Delilah* and acknowledged the fact that it is inspired from the Bible, the picture, as it emerges, bears greater resemblance to the De Mille version of the Bible than to the authentic Biblical story.

True, it is not exactly a copy of De Mille's picture. The development of the plot is typically Indian, though the highlights are taken from De Mille's picture and so are the costumes and sets.

Having taken the inspiration from the Bible, it would have been advisable to have Biblical names. Instead, the names are fictitious and while the main characters are dressed in Roman style à la Hollywood, the extras are dressed like Arabs while the hero's mother looks like a Kashmiri woman.

The basis of *Samson and Delilah* is the miraculous strength of Samson. Unless one associates Samson with the Bible one cannot believe in his strength which is said to lie in his hair. As it is without any mythological background, the story of Adil who was betrayed by the woman he loved hangs in an artificial air without any basis whatsoever.

And this air of artificiality pervades the whole picture, with the

result that even the most serious scenes fail to evoke proper response from the audience. What is worse, the pedantic long-winded dialogue further retards the tempo of the picture and the songs that jolt you with a shrill and loud rhythm every few minutes destroy the illusion of the authenticity of the narrative.

The story revolves round Adil who revolts against the king's declamation to enlist forced labour. Accidentally he happens to save the life of the king's favourite dancer, by fighting a lion (the fight as presented is most ludicrous) and the dancer falls in love with him. The king who elevates him to the position of a commanding officer revokes the law of forced labour. When he invokes it again, Adil revolts and the king sends his armies to capture him. Single-handed he fights back the army and so the dancer goes to capture him alone. She succeeds in luring him to reveal the secret of his strength and in winning his love. But a misunderstanding about his relationship with another girl provokes her wrath and she gets him arrested. Blinded, tortured, Adil faces his death in a temple scene. But ultimately his strength returns and the temple is crushed and so are all the people, except Adil and his childhood mate. This 'escape' is an improvement on the Bible and De Mille.

In fairness to the picture, it must be admitted that the last few reels are thrilling and tense. It must be also said to its credit that the production is lavish, photography good—at places excellent—and direction by Bhagwandas surprisingly good for a maiden effort. In acting Premnath in the last few reels is in great form.

Poornima gives her customary performance; though at times her busting into song is annoying. The music is loud and the tunes stale.

Had *Aurat* been based on an Indian story with Indian costumes all the efforts and money spent on it would have yielded far more satisfying results. Now it suffers by comparison with the De Mille opus. Even now if the picture is re-edited and its length reduced by at least two thousand feet, *Aurat*, with all its faults, would be an entertaining film.

News Of The Week

—Raj Kapoor launched a new picture on April 1, entitled *Ghat*. Written by Inder Raj Anand, this will be the first picture directed by Raj in which he will not appear. Prithviraj will play the lead with Nargis acting as his daughter.

—Dilip Kumar left for a month's holiday on April 1, for Europe.

—Bare Ghulam Ali Khan, the great singer, is likely to be signed by Shantaram for giving musical score along with Vasant Desai for his forthcoming technicolour picture.

—Trilok Kapoor, Shammi Kapoor and Pradip Kumar are the three heroes playing opposite Madhubala in All-India Pictures' *Karishma*.

—Meena Kumari is reported to have been signed by Mehboob to play a stellar role in *Amar* now on sets.

—Though the ban on Indian films is not yet lifted many Pakistani distributors are in India negotiating for Indian films.

—A two-reel short on Naushad has been prepared. It contains about 20 song hits that Naushad has given during the last decade.

UNESCO has just published the fourth volume of "Index Translationum," an International Bibliography of Translations. It contains bibliographical notes on more than 17,000 works translated in 44 countries during 1951. Within each national bibliography, the entries are listed in the alphabetical order by authors and in accordance with the broad categories of the universal decimal classification system. The Index, which every year becomes larger and more complete, is becoming a valuable working instrument not only for library workers, publishers and translators, but generally for all persons interested in the exchange of ideas and knowledge between peoples and between the great cultural zones.

BOOKS OF OUR TIME

[N conversation not long ago, an able and respected critic of modern culture remarked that, more and more, he has come to feel that less and less is explained by what we usually call "common sense". In other words, if this is an uncommon universe, uncommon sense will be required to make it out. Joseph Wood Krutch, the critic referred to, went on to develop the background of this conclusion by way of historical explanation, saying that to realize that we live in a most uncommon universe is hardly a revelation prepared especially for him—nor even for a select few.

Since there is little doubt that physical science has set the tone for most of the thinking of the past two centuries, and since physics has played a key role in the development of science, everyone is or shortly will be affected by the physicist's new effort to tell us that "feet-on-the-ground" common sense doesn't even explain what goes on in our backyard, let alone subatomic and celestial motion.

The theme of physicists of a century ago was quite different. Then it was popular to maintain that everything in the universe could be explained in a matter-of-fact way, and that all such explanations would soon be as familiar as the facts of the barnyard which experienced husbandmen grasp with ease. But "matter," that old reliable, has now become energy, and by some is ultimately linked with the primordial nature of mind itself.

(Dr. Krutch, who some years ago wrote *The Modern Temper*, is now busying himself with another volume which, unless a better title comes along, will be known as *The New Modern Temper*. So fast, apparently, do the changes in basic orientation take place, that even Dr. Krutch finds it difficult to catch up with them in comprehension, for he confesses the new work just as difficult to write as its theme is interesting and rewarding.)

Krutch's view is one of many ways of describing the tremendous trans-

formation which has taken place in orientations of mind during the last fifty years. It is a change which came not a bit too soon, we might remark, for there is not much comfort in the thought of a stable and stolid physical universe with so much present likelihood of its being blown out from under! In any case, it is a transformation which touches each field of human inquiry. The biology of this century is by no means the biology of the 19th century and this, as in the case of physics, is not merely because clever young men have come along to build painstakingly upon the foundations erected by their forebears. Vistas so entirely new have been opened to biological gaze that the total orientation of this science may undergo radical change. For one thing, the origin of living form is now an almost mystic sub-division of biology called "morphogenesis," and from this new voice among the life sciences we presently hear that the essence and the source of cellular structures is an electro-magnetic field. Not the physical nucleus, but the virtually metaphysical "nuclear intelligence," gives to each part of our bodies the shape and self-regenerating durability it possesses.

Other biological spokesmen have also been behaving strangely, lately. Julian Huxley, addressing recently the membership of the William Alanson White Psychiatric Foundation, explained that, having rescued God from theology, and protected him from the character assassination of anthropomorphism by redefining "him" as the spiritual aspect of nature, it is now the privilege and pleasure of science to put him back into the natural scheme of things where he belongs.

While we are reporting on the spiritualization of God, we may consider anthropological evidence that man has a more complicated lineage than the Darwinians suspected. Numerous discoveries support the view, expertly summarized by Frederic Wood Jones, that man is himself a primary biological type, with the giant apes relegated to some sort of

ancient bastard deviation. If the apes have split off from man rather than man having come up from the apes—as modern anatomical studies and the recent diggings in Iran imply—the “spiritual” qualities of man may again be considered to be primary in the general explanation of things, much as “metaphysical” forces are now held to be primary in physics and biology.

Nor do the new horizons stop here. The fields of psychology and sociology are passing through their own transitions, and this, in turn, means that concepts of education will be in an interesting state of flux for some time to come. Even the professional philosophers, so long impoverished by a determination to gear their system-building to the pace of physical science, are beginning to broaden their bases of theoretical operation. Meanwhile the “wisdom of the East” awakens new interest, since from Asiatic lands have come so many labours in rational mysticism. (In order to maintain that “rational mysticism” is a misnomer, you will have to ignore the magnitude of the tasks in synthesis which are demanded today.) Even the religionists and the psychologists—at least the non-doctrinaire among them—are finding common grounds of interest in a study of the meaning of metaphysical symbols.

We hold that the books of our time which contribute to an understanding of this mighty transformation are, in every real sense, great books, and especially if they indicate a few things we may do with our thinking after the transformation has proceeded further, and familiar landmarks have altogether disappeared.

Such books may need to be made the very backbone of both university and secondary school discussion of “the Humanities,” to furnish stable ground for independent efforts of thinking among the young, and so that they may recognize that the experiment of the human understanding is barely begun. Such books, we hold, are “great books” because the need for them is great. We are, it seems, only on the threshold of authentic self-consciousness, with a coming awakening of mind the chief hallmark of the future.

We propose now to list several books which appear to us to do the best job of making the present intelligible, while offering credible hopes for the future. Granting that other volumes unknown to us may be even better for serving the needs at hand, until they are called to our attention we shall rest our confidence in these:

(1) *The Human Situation*, by W. Macneile Dixon; (2) *Psychoanalysis and Religion*, by Erich Fromm; (3) *Richer by Asia*, by Edmond Taylor; (4) *The Root is Man*, by Dwight Macdonald; (5) *The Neurotic Personality of Our Time*, by Karen Horney; (6) *The Higher Learning in America*, by Robert M. Hutchins; (7) *The Reach of the Mind*, by J. B. Rhine.

Since first on the list is W. Macneile Dixon's *Human Situation*, some special note of this book seems in order. Our appreciation of these 1935-37 Gifford Lectures stems less from a desire to canonize Dr. Dixon than to make use of a great opportunity which this particular book, alone of his works, affords. Dixon, it seems to us, here took a long stride into the future possibilities of human thought. We say this partly because he was so well able to understand the dilemma of our civilization—a culture which had, fortunately, forsaken religion, but which, unfortunately, has been forsaken by science.

Dixon not only vividly portrays the dilemma of “modern man in search of a soul,” as Carl Jung phrased it, but clarifies greatly the problem of how that search may now be legitimately pursued. In so doing, he takes us back to some very ancient philosophers, not because they are made imposing by age, but because they lived in a simpler time, centuries before all human opinions were encompassed by the “religion vs. science” debate. The freer perspective of ancient philosophy certainly needs to be reborn, to fill the great need for high and broad hopes in our time. Thus Dixon's view on the “great books” is stimulating. For him, such books are not the end of thinking, but only a beginning of philosophizing which we must ourselves institute, sometimes along lines quite different from those sanctified by the passage of centuries.

It is all very well to point out, as a precautionary measure, that the

classics have stood the test of time, and that a work like Dr. Dixon's own, for instance, however excellent it may appear, has not yet endured this test. But we are not sure that “time” can be relied upon to perform the task of “testing” any better than we can, here and now. Nor are we sure that we can afford to wait. The value of “time” has been in the extensive “filtering” of a work through many acute human minds which it allows, accomplishing, finally, the judgment of a collectively broad perspective; but since we cannot today think at all, in terms of important questions, unless we adopt a broad perspective, it should be less necessary to wait centuries for just appraisal. *The Human Situation*, then, we hold to be a great book for our testing.

What are its basic propositions? First, that we must, in all matters, “aim at conclusions upon which both the heart and the intellect can agree.” Poetry and metaphysics, for instance, or even our own private intuitions, may be just as capable of revealing reality to us as is rational analysis. Why should we be privileged to cut nature asunder, proclaiming that the intellect alone can give us “true knowledge”? What right have we to make this distinction? If nature misleads us in one case, why not in another? Let us consider both or neither as avenues of approach to reality, and if we conclude the latter, we may as well, in resignation, stop all efforts to search for truth.

The great intuitions of man need, on this view, intensive re-examination. The human yearning for immortality, and the consistency of many beliefs in respect to its possibility, are primary facts of the “human situation”. Dixon predicted that mechanistic speculation would soon reach a dead-end because the primary puzzles of life's meaning always remain no matter how thoroughly you have charted its mechanical motions. The soul must be a reality, he said, or, if it is not, it matters little whether anything else be “real.”

So Dixon goes on to view “the great experiment of existence” from the standpoint of a collectivity of

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evolving human souls. He wrote of birth and death, of changing philosophies, religions, and sciences, as a man should write—with the enjoyment of one who finds the life of man and of mind a continual adventure. Philosophy was to him neither the arid figurings of the pedant nor the doctrines and dogmas of religion, but rather an affirmation that no “thus-far-and-no-farther-shalt-thou-go” can ever circumscribe. The great currents of Platonic thought, so imperfectly grasped by Western culture, come alive again in his words, and the ideal of the quest for truth and beauty emerges as the only goal worthy of man's vast potentialities. And, finally, the index points of thought are in *The Human Situation* freed from the confining categories of “historical periods” and returned to the province they should occupy—

the province of each man's present thinking. What Dixon really did was to take the soul away from theology and give it back to man.

Slowly, since Dixon, have come along other attempts to revitalize and synthesize religion, philosophy, and psychology. C. J. Ducasse's *Nature, Mind, and Death*, a 1952 writing, follows Dixon's trail in its closing sections, reevaluating the basic question of the immortality of the soul, presenting the logical possibilities of this idea as to truth and the magnificent probability that immortality of a non-theological sort may indeed be truth. A gathering of many concerns here comes about, or, at least, the attitudes which may make such gathering and unifying possible.

In Dixon, the poetry and inspiration of philosophy come alive. Genuine religious issues find synthesis with philosophical discipline and qualification, in passages such as the one we are about to quote. Perhaps, for some, this "flight of mind" is too wild and free, yet its splendid vision cannot be denied, and it is the width and breadth of vision of *The Human Situation* which won its placement on our present list:

It is Plato's doctrine, and none more defensible, that the soul before it entered the realm of Becoming existed in the universe of Being. Released from the region of time and space it returns to its former abode, 'the Sabbath, or rest of souls,' into communion with itself. After a season of quiet 'alone with the Alone,' of assimilation of its earthly experiences and memories, refreshed and invigorated, it is seized again by the desire for further trials of its strength, further knowledge of the universe, the companionship of former friends, by the desire to keep in step and on the march with the moving world. There it seeks out and once more animates a body, the medium of communication with its fellow travellers, and sails forth in that vessel upon a new venture in the ocean of Becoming.

Many, no doubt, will be its ventures, many its voyages. For not until all the possibilities of Being have been manifested in Becoming, not until all the good, beauty and happiness of which existence allows have, by the

wayfaring soul, been experienced, not until it has become all that it is capable of becoming—and who can tell to what heights of power and vision it may climb?—is it fitted to choose for itself the state and society which best meets its many requirements....

We include this quotation principally to call attention to one view of life which may, in the final analysis, be wholly natural to man. At any rate, it is an outlook which has deepening relation to the premises and temper of other works we plan to mention. What are the essential ingredients of the view for which Dixon declares his preference? First, the affirmation of man's intrinsic nature as a *self-moving* soul. Second, the suggestion that whenever man considers himself to be less than a "self-moving soul," he retreats with appropriate lament for his weakness and inadequacy, into the protection of authoritarianisms, either religious, cultural, or political. From this we may reason, if we care to—as we happen to do—that the most important determinant of man's happiness on earth is his opinion of his own essential nature. For the "root" is indeed man, individual man. In accordance with what he thinks himself to be, man determines the nature of his relationship to others, and to the society and natural world in which he lives. Neither economic nor cultural factors are of themselves sufficient as the key to man's behaviour, but his ultimate philosophy begins and completes the picture.

Those who truly believe in the dignity of individual conscience are often, we suspect, those to whom the doctrine of the "self-moving soul" has an inwardly tested validity. This one article of faith depends upon no authority, upon no theology, and upon no specific science. Because of its independent origin, it is never advanced by powerful institutions, to whom, for obvious reasons, it is anathema. But it does find voice, nevertheless, and that perennially, among all the members of an unlabelled fraternity whose company may continue to bring both delight and benefit to the rest of humankind.—*Manas*.

LIBRARY MOVEMENT IN MADRAS STATE

By S. RAJAGOPALAN

IN a world distracted by fear and laid low by frustration, where the minds of the people are swayed by passion and prejudice, where narrow walls separate man from man, where stern criticism has taken the place of solid work, and advertisement, not achievement, has become the keynote of all activity, it is refreshing to come across institutions and individuals to whom the path of steady and unostentatious work is the path of glory. The Madras Library Association whose silver jubilee celebrations have just concluded has abundantly illustrated that more things are wrought by drive and single pointed effort than the world dreams of.

Like its sister institution, the Music Academy, the Madras Library Association was started in the wake of the Indian National Congress session at Madras in December 1927, by a group consisting for the most part of the metropolitan lawyers. At the start the organisers had a limited objective. Libraries were then huge affairs with an air of solemnity and awe about them and under the control of a be-spectacled librarian with a forbidding look or exterior, who was not much of a help. To evolve out of it a system of public libraries, which would bring "solace" to the reading public and what was more to build up a science out of it, were the limited objectives. But it speaks volumes of the skill and efficiency of its personnel that the things attempted and the things done have outstripped even cautious beginnings. The handicaps in its way were many, but each one was but a stepping stone to success and fresh endeavour; and it is not unnatural that it should have elicited the admiration of even so discerning a critic as Rajaji. The Association, at the outset, had only a few people to work for it; its head and a good number of sympathisers and workers were lawyers mostly of the Madras bar, who could have had

no pull either with the people or with the government; in fact its affiliations were with the higher ranks of the judiciary, especially its European personnel. It had no finances or government grants, excepting subscriptions and donations from members and well-wishers. Its membership never exceeded 417, by no means a high figure for a state with 40 million people. Its main office-bearers and propagandists were Tamilians. With all these, its achievements for 25 years reads like a romance. Its positive contribution is the formulation of what is styled library science which has recently attracted world-wide attention; it has evolved popular methods of library technique by lectures and demonstrations and has also compiled bibliographical aids. Leading men and women were commissioned to write essays on everyday science and arts for circulation amongst the people and as part of adult education. Its workers have traversed every linguistic area, even villages, and made people library conscious. Its influence has extended from Berhampur, to Palamcottah and from Cuddapah to Coorg. It set up a school for librarianship which was later adopted by the Madras University and later still by those of Andhra, Bombay, Benares and Delhi. It was solely responsible for the introduction of the 'open access' system, which has been a boon to the busy reader, and it carried on effective propaganda for the better utilisation of high school library hours. And years before the legislature took any action, it prepared a library bill. It was able to infuse enthusiasm even into many of the local bodies, and public libraries in the State. It also intervened to see that government grants to libraries were administered properly.

Not less noteworthy has been its rural programme—275 visits with a stock of 3,700 books and a total issue of 20,000 volumes. Its hospital service envisaged an average issue of

1,000 volumes to the sick, the deaf, mute and the disabled soldier and sailor. In all there were 568 publicity meets and lectures, 193 publicity articles and 144 popular lectures. Hundred and twenty-eight librarians and 231 teachers have been trained; and about 70 books published. There was also a Tamil lovers' conference and an exhibition of Tamil books.

The treatises on library science, about 26 in number, which have been issued by the Association, have been accorded a high place at the UNESCO; and in consequence, as Rajaji put it, Madras is as much known internationally in the field of library science as Pandit Nehru in international politics.

These are striking achievements, and it is impossible, whilst chronicling them, not to avoid the feeling that if only our Education Ministers and Vice-Chancellors had caught up a little of the zeal of these honorary workers, Madras would have occupied the pivotal place in education and educational standards. One result of the indifference of the authorities is the very large accumulation of the library cess which the Association had helped to impose and collect and which has remained unexpended.

No one can underestimate the value of a library or of its indispensability as the only means of preserving national culture and education. A university, according to Newman, is a collection of books; and as Carlyle has observed the empire of books lasts longer than a political empire. Valmiki went one step forward and vouchsafed eternity to them like mountains and rivers. Our ancients had a very high reverence for books and authors; who were equated with the most holy things on earth and in heaven. In a daily ritual, water oblations are offered to the epic writers and the epics, even *sutras* and *kalpas*. Kings fostered learning at all levels. As in Europe, libraries were attached to the monasteries, the several Adinamas in Tamil Nad. During the time of the Nayaks in Tanjore, who ruled from 1560 to 1654, a library of gigantic dimension was constructed at Tanjore which had even at the start 22,000 volumes in the several Indian and European languages, which, it

was estimated, took nearly 300 years to collect. Till recently, it did not attract State attention and patronage and was managed by a few scribes with a woefully inadequate remuneration. In fact, a Congress Education Minister was reported to have felt that it was a small affair. This library, perhaps one of the biggest in the world, both on account of its antiquity and the range of the subjects, deserves attention of the people; and both the State and the public should not stint financial patronage to unlock the treasures hiding in it, although much brisk work in that direction is already underway. International agencies like the UNESCO should be induced to interest themselves in it.

In the early half of the present century, quite a number of private libraries came into vogue, due chiefly to the initiative of well-placed members of the legal profession, both in the metropolis and the mofussal; but it is not a practical proposition in these hard days. The only alternative is to build up public libraries; and what is more important is to fill them with books of everlasting worth. The library audiences are expanding rapidly what with the yearly output of educated boys and girls by the universities. Another essential measure, which we are told was under consideration of the Madras Library Association, is the publication of choice books on all subjects on the model of the Everyman's Library and the Home University series in England. This may require enormous funds and enthusiasm, but the State can entrust the task to bodies like the Library Association, which can be even allowed to take the place of the text-book committees. As regards public libraries, there should be a periodical check-up by official as well as duly accredited non-official agencies of the books purchased and stocked, so that shoddy material might not get in to the exclusion of real works of art.

The library is an instrument of adult education. There is a separate organisation in Madras for that purpose. As Rajaji observed, it is worth considering whether such a body is necessary when especially both the radio and modern contrivances, like

audio-visual education, can very well do its work. Rajaji has advocated the encouragement of *Harikatha Kalakshepams* as the only means to educate the masses on right lines. There can be no two opinions about it, although their scope may be somewhat limited and they may not be useful for imparting knowledge on politics and sciences. It is however a fact that such intelligence and resourcefulness as the masses of our country still possess have been due primarily to the activities of religious groups and lectures. In fact, Val-

miki, the source of all poets and poetry in the country, envisaged the *harikatha* technique as the sole means of popularising his epic. He trained Rama's sons to recite it to the accompaniment of *thala*. After it had received the approbation of his co-ascetics, the boys were sent to Ayodhya and they sang it before the public on the wayside till they attracted the attention of the King, who later on commissioned them to give a demonstration in his court. The epic thereafter attained world celebrity.

WHAT IS AN "ADEQUATE" GOLD RESERVE?

By PAUL BAREAU

WHEN the problem of moving towards convertibility and freer trade is considered in Britain, voices are certain to be heard suggesting moderation and restraint in the speed of advance. The burden of their advice is "no irrevocable commitments or decisions until the gold reserve is considerably larger than it is at present."

What is an "adequate" gold reserve? At present it stands at over \$2,100 million. How does this compare with earlier totals?

If we go back to 1914 and the immediately preceding era we find that the Bank of England ran the gold standard with a reserve which seldom exceeded the equivalent of \$200 million and was normally within the range of \$100 million to \$150 million. In those days sterling was wholly free, available to make payments for any purpose in any part of the world. No one called it convertible, because even the possibility of its inconvertibility never entered anyone's mind. The Bank of England in those days carried the responsibility of maintaining the pound anchored to its gold parity. It carried an even greater responsibility—that of maintaining the whole gold standard system in reasonable balance—for without any question it was sterling which in those days provided the real medium of international exchange and

finance. The world in the early years of this century may have appeared to be on the gold standard; in fact it was on the sterling standard.

If a reserve of no more than \$200 million was sufficient to provide the apex of this enormous inverted pyramid of credit and international payments, why should a reserve ten times that size be deemed insufficient today to underpin the convertibility of sterling? There are many answers to that question.

The first, which does not advance the argument very far, is that world prices have risen considerably since 1914 and that consequently it needs larger reserves to underpin credit and currency. Another is that in 1914 the gold in the Bank of England was only part of Britain's reserve. The other and larger part was actually carried in the pockets of the people. A more important answer to this question is that in 1914 the whole world was, on balance, indebted to London. Britain's reserves were in large part represented by the money owed to the United Kingdom banks by the rest of the world. A slight pull on the Bank Rate lever was enough to send remittances and gold scampering back to London from every quarter of the globe. Those were the days when it used to be said that "a seven per cent Bank

Rate will draw gold from the North Pole."

Even more important was the fact that in those days the world, thanks in part to the wise and restrained commercial policy of Britain, was in reasonable economic equilibrium. Year by year Britain earned a surplus on its current trading account; but those surpluses were wisely invested abroad. There was no talk of a sterling gap despite the fact that Britain was the world's greatest creditor and exporting country.

Much has happened since then. Britain's creditor position is no longer there to cushion the impact of seasonal swings in the balance of payments. A lot of the valuable stuffing in that cushion—in the form of overseas investments—was sold to pay for victory in two world wars. The world, moreover, has got out of its former balance. There is no longer that natural equilibrium of trade and payments which made it possible to operate a system of international currencies and payments with a small gold reserve. The "swings" today are bigger, both on normal commercial account and also because they are accentuated by speculative movements.

The size of these "swings" is well illustrated by the recent fluctuations in Britain's gold reserves. By the end of the third quarter of 1949, soon after the devaluation of sterling in September of that year, the reserve stood at \$1,425 million. It rose continuously throughout 1950 and under the impact of Korean boom in Sterling Area commodities it reached a peak of \$3,865 million by mid-summer 1951. Then began a collapse which carried the reserve down to \$1,685 million by mid-summer 1952. Since then it has recovered to over \$2,100 million. In the light of these wide fluctuations it is hardly surprising that a reserve of the present level should still be regarded as inadequate.

The adequacy of the reserve should also be judged in the turnover of payments it has to underpin. The existing reserve of just over \$2,000 million has to lubricate an annual turnover of sterling trade of between

\$25,000 million and \$30,000 million. This reserve may be in United Kingdom ownership but it has to serve the needs of the whole Sterling Area.

Another point to take into consideration is that Britain's reserve must be strong enough to take the impact of substantial external debt payments. Once a year Britain has to pay the United States and Canada about \$180 million to cover the service on the moneys borrowed immediately after the end of the war. These funds, amounting to over \$5,000 million, were used to pay for essential imports urgently needed while Britain was slowly trying to regain the export trade that had been thrown to the winds during the war.

There is little in the way of concrete reproductive assets to show for the outlay of these dollars—only a reconversion to peacetime economy a little smoother, less disturbed by political and social friction than might otherwise have occurred. These debts do not earn their keep; but they have to be repaid and they absorb every year as many dollars as are earned by about three months' exports from Britain to North America.

Taking all these factors into account, it is not surprising that the dimensions of the reserve should haunt those who are responsible for the conduct of Britain's monetary affairs. This reserve has recently been climbing up; but even at the recent satisfactory rate of progress it would take a long time for it to reach a reasonable safety level of, say, \$3,000 million.

What other ways are there of increasing the reserve and the cushion of international credit that might safely support a convertible pound sterling? Mr. R. A. Butler, Britain's Chancellor of the Exchequer, and his experts, no doubt made a number of alternative suggestions on this problem to the United States Government during their recent Washington talk. These are among the many proposals that will be considered in Washington and other capitals of the free world during the coming months.

LIFE WITH AN ARTIST

By Mrs. D. P. ROY CHOWDHURY

"A thing of beauty is a joy for ever." It seems ever so paradoxical that an artist whose joy is to create things of beauty finds pleasure in the game of destruction. But this sort of diversity is found in Sri Devi Prasad Roy Chowdhury. He can be as hard as he is kind. His heart melts when he sees a person in distress and when he is not able to give some relief. This trait he might have inherited from his mother. Many a crook has taken advantage of this softness in his nature. More than once his kindness had been returned by an ungrateful gesture from the receivers. His sensitive nature rebelled against this attitude and for the time being it hardened his heart but it could not wipe out the natural disposition of the man.

In spite of the predominance of this trait in his character Devi Prasad is not what one would call a man of mild temper. He flares up if anything goes wrong. He is very conscious of his own honour and he can never excuse anyone who tries to stultify his name. He would do all that is in his power to make such a person bend down in humility and regret his own action.

Devi Prasad is a peculiar person. In his talks he is a thorough aristocrat, with a staunch faith in the purity of blue blood. But in his works he is with the proletariat. His "Triumph of Labour" depicts the struggle of the working man whose every sinew rises up in arms to fight against odds. In the "Victims of Hunger" the grim reality of starvation is portrayed in a way which makes one's heart cry out for the suffering crowd. The terrible carnage of the Calcutta famine which he witnessed with his own eyes, inspired the artist to execute this piece of work. We find the same sympathetic trend of his feeling for the poor in his stories such as the "Rikshaw Puller" and the "Dustbin."

Yet this same man is a firm believer in the distinction of classes. According to him the insignia of birth

is sure to manifest itself in each man's life. A man who is born in poverty, even if he is able to accumulate wealth, will seldom have the generosity of a prince who is born in the midst of luxury and for whom magnanimity of heart forms a part of his tradition. The latter's heart would bleed if circumstances did not allow him to act according to the dictates of his nature, while each act of charity of the former may be the result of deep calculation.

It grieves the artist to acknowledge that the class that was once responsible for the development of art and culture in our country is gradually on the decline. The clamour for equality, he says, has affected the condition of this class. The artist fears that the continuous suppression of their natural inclination will soon bring a change in their mentality.

Another peculiar characteristic of Sri Devi Prasad is that though he lives in the midst of a civilized society he is essentially a primitive man. He loves the wild beauty of the jungle and the natural way of living of those who are still out of touch with civilization. Whenever the pent-up atmosphere of the conventional life seems to suffocate him, he longs to run to the wilderness to invigorate his system with its fresh and uncontaminated air. But such opportunities are rare in his life. A man who is bound by duties at home and in the office cannot often indulge in such luxuries. He has to wait patiently for his chance after fulfilment of his obligations. When his mood prompts him to run away and his responsibilities make him linger, he feels the burden of family life and curses his own folly in having entered into matrimony. Yet I wonder whether a person with such strong emotions could have been happy if he had none to shower his affection on or to growl at, when he felt out of sorts.

The moment he is free he is ready with his paraphernalia which are certainly not small. Apart from its sombre beauty the jungle has yet

another attraction for the artist. He is a keen "shikari". He was attracted by this sport from his boyhood. His uncle's armoury at Tajhat used to entice him. But since children had no access to the place, he had to wait for his opportunity to steal the weapons in the darkness of the night. He accompanied his uncle in some of his shooting excursions. These were great occasions for the boy and he looked forward to them with a lot of expectation. Sri Gopal Lal Roy (the Rajah of Tajhat) his uncle, believed in shooting his beast, perched safely on the back of an elephant while his poor victim was driven towards his death by the beaters, giving the animal no chance of escape or aggression. A great retinue therefore accompanied them during these expeditions. Devi Prasad neither approved of this method of shooting nor its pomposity. Yet his love for shikar impelled him to join the party. Once, during these expeditions he shot a panther and his heart bounced with joy. But he dared not claim his bag for fear of being forbidden to touch a weapon in future. He knew his uncle was a jealous shikari and thought it prudent to let him usurp the credit of the hunt.

For a long time after my marriage I was ignorant about this trait in the artist's character. It remained dormant for an extensive period and was revived when our son grew big enough to possess an air gun and start shooting at birds. He began to incite his father to go for picnics where he could make free use of his weapon. I joined with my son in order to have the benefit of some fun and an outing. Picnic as such has no attraction for my husband. He cannot understand why people should go out of the way to have their meals when they could enjoy the same at home and with greater comfort. But any prospect of shooting was most alluring to him. Being aware of this weakness we tempted him with the bait. He fell into the trap and agreed to go. By this time he had purchased a double-barrel gun and a rifle and procured the licence. Our gardener, who perhaps felt the need of a few coins in his pocket as reward, declared most emphatically

that we could easily get ducks and birds at a short distance from the city. Vandalur, a place about 35 miles from Madras, was chosen for our first trip. We were told we might have a chance of meeting with a leopard if we could stay there overnight. This of course I came to discover later was a mere hoax to dupe the artist and drain his purse. Ours was a fairly big party and therefore the tempters were not successful in their premier attempt. But their continued perseverance had its effect. The artist fell a victim to their plot, went to Vandalur once again and came back disappointed.

Our next excursion was to Nagalapuram, a village about seventy miles from the city. Some interested fellows gave the artist to understand that its neighbourhood was infested with leopards. Since there was a traveller's bungalow where we could stay, it was decided that I and our son should accompany him with a few friends. We went with the intention of spending a few days there in consequence of which we had to take our servants and some essential articles. I and my husband had a small argument about what things to take and what not. I was in favour of taking the minimum amount of luggage. He proposed that we should take the water filter but I was strongly against it. I explained to him how difficult it was to carry the thing in the bus or in the car and at the end of it my wish prevailed. It was already dusk when we arrived at Nagalapuram. My husband and his guide went in search of game after partaking a light supper while we rested in the bungalow. A heavy downpour started shortly after the shikaris had left. About midnight we heard the noise of some bullock carts intermingled with human voices. Any noise in a strange place makes one alert. I was wondering what it could be when the servants who were sleeping outside called out "Madam, please open the door, Master has arrived." To be sure there stood the master with his merry band, drenched in rain and damped in spirit. Attempts were made to encounter the beasts on the two following nights but with no better success.

The only substantial result of this expedition was a shikar story written by the artist in which he represented his wife as the most fastidious of women where household matters were concerned, assigning to himself the role of the scapegoat of her attacks. This story consists of a number of amusing episodes and few could ever guess that most of the alleged facts depicted therein were the outcome of the artist's imaginative faculty. The story writer has the privilege and I do not grudge the fun enjoyed at my expense.

Gradually the shikar mania, if I may call it by that name, took a serious turn in Devi Prasad's life. His ambition was to bag a tiger and he was always on the look-out for opportunities for the fulfilment of his desire.

During World War II, when there was some scare over Japanese bombs, I with my son and the servants were sent to Renigunta, a railway colony about a hundred miles from Madras. It was almost a solitary imprisonment for me. I had no one to talk to and nowhere to go except for a walk in the evenings. I was feeling miserable and cursing the war for being the cause of my banishment, when one night we were suddenly awakened from our sleep by the sound of a horn followed by a loud knock at the door. As soon as it was opened, in came Devi Prasad much exhausted and badly hurt owing to some accident. A trail of heavy luggage came after him. Much of it consisted of his inseparable firearms. The school closed a month before its time by the order of the Government, and since he started immediately, he had no time to inform us.

An active person without specific work is a difficult person to live with. Devi Prasad did not know what to do with his time and kept himself busy with all sorts of impossible demands. Situated as he was in no mood to paint pictures. He did not like his guns and rifles to remain idle and was enquiring from everybody whether there was any place near about where he could make use of his weapons. Mamandur, ten miles from Renigunta, was declared as the ideal spot.

Soon all preparations were made to start. It was a place where no foodstuffs could be had. Since we went with the idea of spending a whole week, we had to make adequate arrangements for our food for that period. Our party consisted of not less than eight members. Their appetite appeared to have increased ten-fold with the knowledge that no eatables were available at that place. I, who had to provide for them all, found it extremely difficult to manage and was too eager to get back to Renigunta. The artist was unconcerned about my position. Every evening he collected his food and went to spend his night on the "machan" waiting patiently for the elusive animal. One night we heard a gun shot and ran to meet the shikari when his cart approached our bungalow but the expression on his face told us that the result was not satisfactory.

Devi Prasad's spirit of adventure was roused by these repeated failures. When the war was over and people could move about more freely from one place to another, the artist made the best use of every available opportunity to run to the jungle. This enabled him to get three panthers and shot two Bengali tigers, one of which escaped with his wound to die in his natural environment. Their skins are still hanging in our room to tempt the shikari to further attempts. In spite of his keen interest Devi Prasad is not very lucky in these exploits. It seldom happened that he did not meet a tiger in his quest but the cunning beast escaped from being his target by taking a position beyond the shooting range. Once he saw a tiger sitting under his "machan" for full three hours and heard him lashing his tail without being able to do anything to the great beast.

Many a time the life of the artist was endangered in these shikar expeditions. Yet the attraction of the jungle life and his love of adventure got the better of him and they did not allow him to remain quiet. On one occasion when he was about to start I discovered that he had a high temperature which he kept concealed from me till the last moment. I was on the point of post-

organ of the Government, and to take it from the capital and locate it at a distance is like plucking the heart out of the body. In the U. P. they committed the folly of removing the capital to Lucknow, leaving the High Court in Allahabad, and they have been regretting it since. The public outcry now is for the transfer of the High Court also to Lucknow, but the vested interests that have grown round the High Court at Allahabad are ranged in opposition to the public demand. Andhra Congress legislators have fallen into a mire of parochialism in their choice of capital, and to parochialism the Rayalaseema members have added the distinction of backwardness as a title to preference. It is all very sickening. The Andhra State will go to pieces if the backward make it a point of honour to hold their backwardness as a pistol against others to compel them to listen to them. There are recognised methods of overcoming backwardness such as irrigation and development projects, expansion of communications, industrial schemes and educational facilities, and it is legitimate that the backward should claim priority in the application of such methods for their benefit. But the location of the capital and the High Court should be determined by entirely different considerations. It is a simple matter of commonsense that the capital should be located in a central place with the means of easy communication from all dis-

tricts of the State, and that the site chosen for it should be liberally endowed with water and power facilities and abundant supply of food-stuffs. Mr. Justice Wanchoo's recommendation seems the best of all. Instead of wasting precious time over further wrangles, leaders like Sri Prakasam and Sanjeeva Reddi should copy the admirable precision and decisiveness of the Communists in this matter, and give a lead to serve as a basis of action without permitting fantastic local and regional aggressions full play as they are having. Of all the suggestions that have been put forward, the most fantastic is Professor Ranga's in favour of Tirupati as capital. Tirupati is politically an anaemic place and no robust centre of public life can emanate from it.

From all parts of the State people will have to visit the capital on business connected with the Government, and dispersion of the seats of the executive and the judiciary in different localities will impose on the public extra inconvenience and expense. The capital and the High Court should be located in the same place in the interest of the public. Public inconvenience for all time, drawing down on the leaders responsible the curses of the present generation and of posterity, will be an abiding achievement in the inauguration of the Andhra State if the Sri Baug Pact is not forthwith scrapped. —SAKA.

Newsprint made from heretofore useless sawgrass (mariscus) of the Florida Everglades had its first test in Tallahassee. The test, watched by a group of Florida newspaper publishers and ranking state officials, was greeted with cautious optimism, despite claims of the pulp producers that the paper could be made superior to and at less cost than standard newsprint.

A veteran Tallahassee printer said: "It has possibilities, but it has a long way to go." He pointed out that the type showed through from the back of the page to the front and that the ink tended to blur at high speeds. These were technical details and the developers said they believed that the wild growth in the humid swamps in many lands could be utilised to solve the problem of cheap newsprint.

The new type newsprint was produced at the Herty Foundation in Savannah, Georgia, from pulp produced from the vast expanse of sawgrass in the dense jungle-like Everglades section of southern Florida.—U. S. I. S.

WHAT I LEARNED IN ASIA

By ANEURIN BEVAN

(We give below a verbatim report of Bevan's first speech in London after his return from India. Bevan's best speeches frequently go unrecorded. This one contains very interesting reflections on his Indian visit.—Ed. S.)

SINCE this meeting was arranged, as the other speakers have already pointed out, the situation in the Far East has taken a turn for the better. And that may lead some people to be overoptimistic. And I therefore suggest—to use a colloquialism—that we cross our fingers, and see how things are going to develop, because although the ending of the Korean war would, of itself, be a magnificent event, unless it was followed up by a positive attempt at pacification in the Far East, it could be very serious indeed. In other words, if the present policy of military containment and preparation for an attack on the Chinese mainland went forward after a truce in Korea psychologically the situation would be worse than it is now.

I think we should understand that because what has been carried on for some time, there has been an argument inside the Soviet Union. Many people seem to think that no argument goes on inside the Soviet Union and that as a consequence of the inspiration which comes from the writings of Karl Marx, there's a sort of unanimity—a spontaneous unanimity of opinion. Because we only hear from the Soviet Union what they have decided and not the process by which they reached the decision, the assumption is that they had no argument about it. Now having been a member of a Cabinet for six years, I assure you that all cabinets argue, and that there is no such thing as the spontaneous generation of unanimous opinion. And therefore it can be taken for granted that there has been an argument inside Russia and that argument is fundamentally an argument about the intentions of the West. It's not merely an argument about Russia's intentions toward us. It's an argument about our intentions toward them. And that's true also about China. It's quite natural that the Chinese leaders have themselves

been having an argument. And it would go something like this: if they agree to a truce in Korea, would America, or rather, would certain elements in America regard that as evidence of weakness on the part of China? And would they consider this as a natural response towards the 'get tough' policy which was recently adopted by allowing Chiang Kai-shek to attack the mainland. Now if it transpires that all that happens from this was peace in Korea that it (the U. S.) continues the arming of Chiang Kai-shek and an encouragement to Chiang Kai-shek to prepare for the invasion of the Chinese mainland, then we would have driven the Chinese masses into spiritual isolation and resentment against the West. That's the danger. We should therefore regard the present overtures as exceedingly welcome but we should try and persuade opinion in the United States and here that a necessary condition for the consolidation of peace in the Far East is the immediate disbanding of Chiang Kai-shek's army on Formosa! (applause)

(As for Formosa), return it to the Chinese Government where it belongs and I'll say they will get it. There is no doubt in our minds as to which particular nation should have Formosa. The spokesmen of the United States have stated that Formosa belongs to China and whatever government is on the mainland of China that government also should be the government of Formosa. But what we want at this stage is that China should be relieved of the fear of the resumption of civil war. That is absolutely essential in order to build a permanent bridge between China and the rest of the world.

And when I was in India and Pakistan and Burma I talked to very large numbers of people in all walks of life. Rich people as well as poor people, although it was easier to talk

to the poor people. They were more get-at-able, and there were many more of them! (Laughter and applause). And I could not come across anyone who sympathized with American policy. (Applause) To them it made no sense. They could understand why the United Nations had decided to restrain aggression in Korea—that was understandable. That was logical. That was supported, by many nations in the Far East. But what they could not understand was that (during) the assertion of the disciplines of collective security the foremost nation insisting upon that discipline was preparing an act of aggression against China. That is what has confused the Far East. They say: "What is America up to? Is this an assertion of collective peace or is it a preparation of counter-revolution?" If it is a preparation for counter revolution then all over the Far East they see in that another attempt at the establishment of White imperialism in every Asian country. Great Britain occupies a very very powerful position in the Far East. Make no mistake about that. We aren't as rich as the United States. We aren't as big as the United States. But we have in the Far East a moral leadership such as no nation has ever possessed before. And we have got it as a consequence of the fact that we were the first great imperial nation in the world that voluntarily abdicated power and left India, Burma, Pakistan and Ceylon to found independent governments of their own.

Therefore we are ourselves deeply committed to see to it that the independence that we have enabled—I put it no higher than that that we enabled India, Pakistan, Ceylon and Burma to obtain, is not threatened from any other quarter. And so therefore when the Asians see that Chiang Kai-shek is a puppet in the hands of certain American elements they are themselves frightened that the chapter of imperial domination which they had hoped had come to an end was to be reopened again. And that is why no one I could speak to could understand the United States policy, except as an attempt at imperial domination of the Far East again. And so if everybody expressed the opinion that it is essential that if

peace is to be established and if it is to be perfectly secure, that Chiang Kai-shek should go. Chiang Kai-shek has had the opportunity of invading the mainland of China and it has been said there are invasion experts advising him. I suspect of course that Chiang Kai-shek is not too anxious. (Laughter). Indeed, indeed, might I suggest to Senator McCarthy that there is a sinister plot afoot. And no more eager hunter of sinister plots than Senator McCarthy. In fact if they are not there he invents them. Now I should advise Senator McCarthy to study the history of the Chinese Revolution, and especially its (last) phases because it might be that the Chinese are running short of weapons. And there are some sinister Communist elements in America who are wanting Chiang Kai-shek to invade China in order that the Communists can get weapons from him. (Laughter) Because, according to my information, given on pretty good authority, a great deal of the armament with which the Communists defeated Chiang Kai-shek, had been given Chiang Kai-shek by the Americans. (Laughter). And so it may be that the Chinese Communists may want to reopen the line of communications. At any rate, facetious as that may be, it's true to say that the ambitions of Chiang Kai-shek in China involve all of us, because Chiang Kai-shek (cannot) believe that he is going to win a military victory against the Chinese Communists. He knows that very well. He knows very well that if it was left to the Chinese Communists Chiang Kai-shek would not be there. But it's very much graver than that because Chiang Kai-shek therefore knows there is no hope of his political ambitions being realized except by involving the whole world in a third World War. Because Chiang Kai-shek knows that he didn't become the Prime Minister of China except by the Second World War because the Japanese had beaten him. Then when the Second World War came he of course became consolidated. So then here you have Chiang Kai-shek deliberately engaged in long-term diplomacy which might involve all of us in a third world war.

Let me ask my American friends

this. Despite what is said to the contrary I have many American friends. Do they seriously imagine that we in Britain are going to involve ourselves in a third world war in order to put Chiang Kai-shek back in China? I have come across no significant enthusiasm for Chiang Kai-shek anywhere in Great Britain, from the extreme left to the extreme right. And therefore if it be true to say that you have on the Island of Formosa a man who has no chance of seeing his ambitions come within touching distance of realization without a third world war is it not in the general interest of mankind that that man should be put where he belongs and his organization destroyed?

Let me ask my American friends this: how can they ask us to believe that the action in Korea is nothing more nor less than an attempt at the disciplines of collective security if at the same time they arm and finance a government whose interest is to destroy the system of collective security, and to have war with (Communist) China?

Therefore it seems to me that we are in a very very hopeful, but at the same time highly dangerous phase of the whole things. Let us welcome in the language of the resolution (of the "Peace With China" Council) the overtures that have been made and explore them as much as possible. But don't let us behave as though we believe those overtures are a consequence of Chinese Communist weakness. Let us rather believe that they are evidence of a desire of the Chinese Communists for peace.

I want to ask my American friends also this: we in Britain are a little bit more experienced than they are in some of these things. They really ought to start listening to us, because up to now, we have been right. And they have been wrong, quite wrong.

Why are we in Hongkong? Some people may say we ought not to be there. But the answer is the Chinese are not particularly anxious that we should not be there at the moment, because the Chinese Communists are not anxious that they break off all communication with the West.

On the contrary, the Chinese

Revolution is going through the same sort of development as the Russian Revolution did. And although I am not a very old man, I can remember taking part in meetings in the Central Hall, Westminster, more than a quarter of a century ago, when we were fighting for something different from this, although something curiously similar. What were we fighting for? That the British nation, at that time, give credits to Russia, should assist the Russian Revolution, should help the Russian people industrialize their country in order that they might be able to do it without too great political strain at home.

Now one thing we did succeed in doing. We did stop Mr. Winston Churchill from murdering the Russian Revolution. We did not succeed in stopping him and his friends from *starving* the Russian Revolution. Remember that one of the principle causes for most of the defects which stain the Communists in Russia stem directly from the fact that the Russians had to industrialize themselves with their own resources and no assistance at all from the industrialized West.

When I was in Russia in 1930, two years after the beginning of the first Five Year Plan, the evidence of political strain was seen everywhere. Because Russia had decided to industrialize herself at a *pace* which was inconsistent with the maintenance of ordinary forms of democratic administration. At the same time as the Russians were half starving themselves in order to buy machines, in Great Britain two million people were half starving because they were not allowed to make the machines. (Heavy applause).

Now I do beg of you to realise that. A great deal of the guilt for many of the things that, as I have said, stain the reputation of Russian communism, stem directly from the isolation into which we drove her in those years under the leadership of British Tory government.

Also don't let us misunderstand this—because I like to talk about things in such a fashion that I am not misunderstood—had we not done that there would have been no Hitler in Germany. And there would

not have been a second world war.

There are certain facts that people ought to have grasped by now. We are very fortunate because most of these things that are now happening and that are so portentous for all our lives, are all occurring in one lifetime. We haven't now got to read what happened two or three centuries ago and have it misinterpreted by knowledgeable scholars. It is not necessary. All these things that are disturbing the world and that have been fateful to mankind have all happened in our own lifetimes. And we all should be able to understand them.

And the one thing that is central in all this, the one thing that I found significant when I was in Southeast Asia a few weeks ago was that a rapid rate of conversion from an agrarian standard of life to a modern standard of life, unless assistance is given from outside, involves dictatorship inside. It is therefore complete nonsense to talk democracy to the Far East and starve them at the same time. It is necessary that we learn these lessons ourselves because, you know, we didn't do it democratically either.

Everybody talks as though democracy in Great Britain was a very very ancient institution. We didn't have adult suffrage in Great Britain until 1929. The fact of the matter is this nation didn't become a really democratic one until I got into the House of Commons! (Laughter and applause).

These great industries that we are so proud about, these great steelworks that the Indians and Chinese haven't got, these great factories which are responsible for our own high standard of life, were all made out of the wages that our grandfathers went without. Remember, we didn't do it willingly, that when the British governing class was accumulating the capital equipment that distinguishes industrial Great Britain, we were marching on London—from Wales (in the Chartists demonstrations of 1848) Oh yes! we were welcomed by the Duke of Wellington. So there, don't anybody in Great Britain feel uppish about it. And, of course, we pay the Asians

the high compliment that they can do what it was impossible for us to do: to industrialize their country when they are half starving, under the aegis of democratic institution without any of the roughness that accompanies political dictatorships.

That's why I say to my friends in America: for Heaven's sake don't make the mistake about the Chinese Revolution that we made about the Russian Revolution! Even if you give up the idea of destroying it militarily, don't try to starve it to death, because all you will do is to drive the administration of China into the same monolithic excesses that you witness in the Soviet Union. That surely is the lesson, isn't it? That surely is the lesson. That is what we have to bear in mind today and that is what we have to underline.

And therefore it isn't enough that we merely have peace in Korea, important though that is.

The safety of mankind is involved in enabling the Chinese to fulfil their revolution. Our peace, here in Europe, is involved in Russian Communism succeeding, not failing. We would like if they had done it differently. But if there is one thing that you cannot do with history it is to quarrel with it. All you can do is work with it. And the Chinese have established their revolution. And if we want that revolution to take a course consistent with the peace and happiness of mankind, what we have to do is to enable the Chinese Communists in our day to avoid some of the excesses that inevitably accompanied the industrialization of a peasant country if it is not helped from outside. That's why we want not only to carry these negotiations to a successful conclusion, but we want the opening of the freest possible trade between China and the rest of the world as early as possible.

These are the lessons which I have learnt in this short period and they are the lessons which are being learned in India at the present time.

Of course I know that there are many Americans who don't like the Russian Communists. But what is all this idea of having generalizations about nations? What is the good of having moral indignation

about nations? You can't be morally indignant about nations. All you can really do is try to understand what is happening.

When Mr. Acheson said that they could not recognize the People's Government of China because it was established "irregularly" I am beginning to think that Mr. Acheson hasn't read American history. I seem to remember that it was established very irregularly, and with considerable assistance from outside. When some of my American friends say that China ought to give up intervening—well, maybe, she did—but intervention has always been a quite regular occurrence. There were a number of Frenchmen who intervened in the American war, I believe. I seem to remember that there were more French soldiers in the last battle of the American revolution than American soldiers. Oh yes! There was a good deal of intervention.

What we have to learn in the

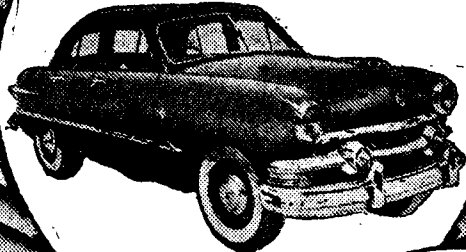
twentieth century: We have to learn how to maintain collective peace in the world and still enable people to change their governments. And if there is no democracy by which those governments can be changed, then we will have to facilitate the changes in some other way. Because if people are not permitted to change their government peacefully, and they still want to change their government, how can they do it?

That is what we will have to learn in Africa. You have no moral case against violence, if violence is all that is left to them when they want to change their governments. Where is it? Will anyone tell me where is the moral source from which you condemn violence if you deny people liberty? That is what we have to remember. Democracy has roots. It is born and flourishes in a definite kind of social and economic soil. And you cannot deny the soil and demand the growth of democracy in it. And therefore I am impatient of these

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liberal generalizations, which take no account at all of historical circumstances. That is what we have got to understand about China, instead of threatening reprisals, for heaven's sake let's have some imagination and try to envisage what is happening.

When hundreds of millions of people are living so near to the level of starvation that any slight reduction in the growth of food condemns hundreds of thousands to death, how do you expect those people living in those circumstances to cherish the ideals of humane conduct that we have only just started to learn?

Nothing annoys me more than the unctuous humbug and self-righteousness of a large number of our people who are enjoying the urbanities that they themselves never had the guts to create. No, there rests upon us, in this generation, an obligation to fight for peace, and we can fight for peace only by insisting that the lessons that I have been speaking about should be learned. And by telling our American friends: it really isn't necessary for American to repeat all the foolishness of Great Britain. We would rather, they prove that they are wiser than we were, and that they can deal with the Chinese Revolution more sensibly than we dealt with the Russian. That is what India wants us to do. That's what Pakistan and Ceylon and Burma want us to do. And when Ritchie Calder said just now that the Burmese have decided to do without American help, just think what that means.

We don't do without it, you know. When people in Great Britain get up in their pulpits and preach sermons about the excesses that are happening in some parts of the world, the fat is kept upon our bones by dependence upon assistance from outside. That is what is responsible for our standard of living in these circumstances under this government.

Therefore I should have thought myself that the time has come for the British people to tell the British Government that the British Govern-

ment should tell the American Government that we have had about as much as we want of this, that we are prepared to co-operate with the United States in the maintenance and pursuit of peace but not in the pursuit of war.

And in that I am confident that we are expressing the point of view of the vast majority of the American people. I am certain we are expressing the point of view of people all over the world.

Here at last there seems to be some evidence that the Iron Curtain is becoming friable. There we seem to see that they are groping towards new contacts with the West. And I believe that this is genuine. I believe that the Soviet Union is beginning to grope for these new contacts not because it is weak but because it is stronger. I never believed, and I expressed it two years ago, I never believed that the aggressiveness of Russia expressed an intention at military action. I thought that she was afraid to appear very weak. And now that she is stronger she feels she can afford to make the overtures. If that is the case, if it is the right interpretation, then for heaven's sake, let's go more than half way to meet her. Just as in the 1930s, Russia industrialized herself and could only do it by having a peaceful foreign policy, so China can only industrialize herself and have a peaceful foreign policy. China can't afford tensions at home and aggressions abroad. And therefore if China is engaged in industrializing herself there is no military fear from her. And if that is the case, let us co-operate with her, to lift the standard of living of the Chinese people.

And if they see that you are co-operative, if they know that the West is coming to them and helping them with all the accomplishments of modern industrial science then you will have established between the West and the East what has never been established in the history of mankind before, a sense of comradeship and a sense of fellowship in which war will be absolutely impossible.

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INTERNATIONAL TENSIONS

VISITORS to Russia speak of a certain relief that is being experienced by the Russian people in the wake of Stalin's death. Not that there is any diminution in the mass hero worship of the great leader that has passed away. Veneration for Stalin has been accentuated rather than dimmed by his demise. It is realised that but for his ruthless leadership, the phenomenal industrialisation of the country that enabled it to withstand the German attack when it came, would never have been possible. Yet Stalin's monolithic rule had about it an exhausting character, and by the strains it imposed, it kept the people in a perpetually tired condition. The whole fabric of Soviet government was built in accordance with the requirements of absolute dictatorship of one man. In order that the dictatorship may be supreme, the system of government laid pointed emphasis on the perils encompassing the country at home and abroad. There was historical justification for this strategy first in the period of the civil war and later on in the crisis of the German onslaught. But even when the civil war and the world war were ended, the attributes of an emergency war administration persisted, and the establishment of peace and security was registered by no corresponding relaxation of the rigours of wartime rule. For the sake of maintaining his authority undiminished, Stalin tolerated no opinions opposed to his own. All opposing opinions were suppressed and no point of view that failed to fit in with the dictator's general policy was

allowed the right of expression. Thus Stalin converted Russia into a country in which the tensions of wartime government were kept on indefinitely even after the war ended, without any hope of their ever being lifted. It was as if war or peace made no difference and the people had to live permanently in an atmosphere of rigour natural to war.

Stalin's death brought to the Russian people, for the first time in the past quarter of a century, some hope of a restoration of civil standards, with real practical enjoyment of the conditions and blessings of peace. Even the present rulers of Russia who for so long had been doomed to helpless servitude under an all-powerful master, seem to take to their new experience of liberty not only with relish but also some abandon. The release of the Jewish doctors, the amnesty, the downright condemnation of the methods in vogue for extraction of confessions are all clear deviations from Stalinist practice, and they seem to imply an effort to break the dreadfulness of the tyranny with which deviation of any kind used to be put down for ever so many years. This series of departures from established policy is like an avowal from Stalin's successors that the time has come for a change from the iron rule that had been imposed on the country for so long.

Evidence of this change is manifest in the more liberal Russian attitude to armistice talks in Korea. The importance of this attitude should not be under-rated, especially by those who still regard the policies of

the Kremlin with suspicion and misgiving. The fact remains that militarily it is to Russia's advantage to keep a large body of American troops indefinitely engaged in Korea. Such an advantage would not have been thrown away by Malenkov and Molotov if they had not decided to deviate from Stalinist policy in international affairs as they have deviated already in matters of home policy. It might also be an indication that the interests of China which call predominantly for peace, have begun to receive greater consideration at the Kremlin than hitherto. There are no doubt some American politicians who see in the recent Soviet moves a deceptive strategy having in reality as its aim the slowing down of the rearmament drive of the Western powers in Europe. The caution they plead for need not be a bar however to the fullest use being made of the overtures of the Russian leaders for reducing the tempo of international tensions and paving the way for a more salutary atmosphere towards peace.

City Transport

THE closure of the Madras Tramway Company has provoked labour leaders into angry protests and they have been demanding that the company should be made to pay. The closure could of course have been effected more gracefully and with a less rude jolt to the public dispossessed of their main means of transport and the workers deprived of their living. But it will do nobody any good to allow sympathy for the injured to exhaust itself in outbursts of vindictiveness. The real foundation for the present mess was laid sometime ago when the State Government bought the electricity supply branch, leaving the running of trams to be carried on by the company. The two should never have been separated. To run trams with power purchased from a different source of supply is, like running a newspaper

with the aid of a job press, an untenable enterprise, and it is bound to collapse with the uneconomic weight of it. In the case of Madras trams, in addition, recent taxation has been excessively heavy. It was patterned on the lunatic avarice of killing the goose laying the golden eggs. Other factors were the militant efficiency of the Communist-led workers' organisation and the excessively heavy scale of the management salaries. These seem to have succeeded in pushing up the expenses beyond the safety limit.

When a private company has to incur expenses in excess of income, it has to close down sooner or later, and artificial means of keeping it alive can only be temporary. There is, no doubt, the alternative of the State taking it over. But the greed of State authorities is in India greater than even that of private adventurers, and their problem is not the ease and comfort of the public but how much they can extract. The trams under private management have been the cheapest mode of transport. We doubt if, under State control, this advantage to the public will be allowed to survive.

We have heavy taxation and an advanced labour legislation. Both together are operating to the ruin of industry in many branches of the private sector, as industry in general has not advanced enough to sustain the labour laws and the taxation imposed on it. In the welter of the consequential ruin, unemployment grows and economic depression tends to spread. Even in such an industrially developed country like England, the importance of reducing taxation to enable industry to flourish is never overlooked, and this year's budget of Mr. Butler is full of concessions intended to provide an incentive to a more active enterprise in production. But our undertakings languish because of the wooden policies of the budget-makers who never seem to realise the need for equipoise between the condition of industry

and the demands of the State and of labour on its returns.

Uneconomic industrial undertakings could no doubt be kept alive by means of State control, but State control of such industries would mean subsidies. The system of subsidies means the existence of a State beyond its citizens' means, and public spending on subsidies promotes an illusion of unlimited resources, which must be destroyed if canons of sound economy are to have ever a chance. For social reasons certain sections of the community must no doubt be helped by their fellows through devices like subsidies, but the indiscriminate expansion of the subsidy system would under its weight bring down the whole of the national economy and make it crumble. Many subsidies are in England

being progressively cancelled, as it is now realised, in supersession of earlier views, that they are a luxury beyond the nation's power of affording.

The advent of more economical means of transport has reduced the trams into an untenable service. In city after city they are disappearing and it is everywhere realised that they are an outmoded means of transport. There is no justification for keeping alive at public expense this antiquated form of transport with excessively heavy capital and maintenance charges. With a little training the displaced workers could be turned into efficient bus drivers and conductors and it should be the aim of the Government to develop a bus service on the tram fare level adequate to the needs of the city.

Sotto Voce

MUSCULAR MONKERY

“EVERY *sannyasi* should work for his livelihood,” says a muscular modern specimen of the order. “The tradition of begging and dependence upon charity should end.” It all depends on what you call work. Does the man who uses up mountains of paper and oceans of ink manufacturing platitudes or puerilities do work? Is going to Hawaii “to convert the heathen” work? Is running charity bazaars and bringing the rural poor the esoteric gifts of Japanese rice-growing and Dutch cheese-making work? Is (to deviate into an expressive vulgarism dear to ovivore) teaching your grand-mother to suck eggs work? The breed of muscular monks has no doubt that all this is work. But why call it *sannyasa*?

We are oracularly informed that “a mere yellow garb will not do in new India.” As if it would have done abundantly in old India! It is true that the *sannyasin* of today is reminded at every turn that he lives in a hard, competitive world. He has to think and plan for his future as much as we poor householders do. He has to have a bank-balance. For when there are trams and buses it is hard to have to walk. Besides there is the saving in time to be considered; engagements must be kept and the good opinion of possible patrons must not be forfeited by producing the impression that you are a futile dawdler.

“Back to the village” is no solution either: there is practically no ‘village’



to go back to. The sense of belonging, of organic unity, has long ago departed. The ritual of *bhiksha* or even the ceremonial way of paying one's respects to the wearer of the ochre robe is all but forgotten. The *sannyasin* who has strayed into rural areas either tries to get back to the town as early as possible or casts anchor in some creek or inlet, there to become a local institution or a barely tolerated nuisance. In either case it is, to all intents and purposes, farewell to *sannyasa*.

If it were merely an institution, there might be no sense in regretting this; when the life is gone there is no point in trying to keep up the crumbling cage. But true *sannyasa* is life itself—or rather, the only true life. To rise from doing to Being, to realise the potential within the terms of the actual, to feel the flesh not as a prison but as the irradiation of spirit, to find perfection by forgetting the self—is that not the crown and consummation of the human adventure? Is not the very love of life implanted in us that we may transcend the limitations of life?

The spiritual athlete is very much of a lone wolf. The world has a duty to keep him alive, but otherwise it must come as little in his way as possible. In most countries where education is still regarded as the gateway to freedom it is accepted that the State can best promote learning by scrupulously respecting the autonomy of its hierophants while providing them with all the facilities which would make the disinterested pursuit of learning possible. Why should it be supposed that

the highest kind of learning—or rather, the only true knowledge, Brahmagyda—should justify itself by the calculus of utility?

That vagrants and idlers of every description are to be found wearing the garb of holiness is no new discovery of our times. If in the old days they found a meagre living by cadging on their more self-respecting neighbour it did not mean that their imposture was undetected. Charity, deriving its sustenance from the compassion which is but another name for love, spread its mantle over moral weakness as well as misfortune; and the pretender to holiness was often transformed by the resoluteness with which society took him at his face value. There is no surer way of making a dog bad or confirming it in its badness than to give it a bad name.

Our ancients, who kept unsleeping vigil for the Philosopher's Stone, would have thought it mighty foolish to throw out the baby with the bath water. They knew that the Sukas and the Jada Bharatas might be found moving with the freedom of the unconscious in every conceivable company. But they knew, too, that the *jivan-mukta*, while free to do what he pleased,—and therefore engaging, if he so chose, in that harmless pastime of bee-keeping or running free dispensaries—would not think it necessary to peddle tabloid culture in order to justify himself. Luckily for humanity our gimcrack civilisation seems unable to snuff out genuine spirituality, whether it don ochre or plain white.

VIGHNESWARA.

It is probably unsound to credit Fate with a sense of humour. We supply that, and it is too much to expect Fate to keep up with all the changes in taste and outlook which condition it. In eastern Europe, for instance, Fate is still going through the old routine of overnight demotion. Just as there is a slick, tidy incongruity between protesting about the lack of irrigation and falling, immediately afterwards, into a river, so there is, on the face of it, a similar connexion between being, as statesmen in the New Democracies periodically are, a hero one day and a hyena the next. But in those downfalls we no longer seem to detect Fate's rough logic. They have indeed a certain symmetry, but they are mechanical rather than whimsical, and, although we never quite know to what they should be attributed, it is certainly not to the irony of Fate.—THE TIMES.

TEACHING COLLEGES AND EXAMINING UNIVERSITIES

By P. KODANDA RAO

You have the University which visits, criticises and examines. * * * It indulges in an occasional massacre. But massacre is no remedy.

—Sir Brajendra Nath Seal.

A typical university in Europe and America undertakes teaching and research and incidentally examinations and the conferment of degrees. In India these functions are generally bifurcated. The typical affiliating university conducts examinations and confers degrees, while the affiliated colleges carry on teaching and research. The examining university has a higher prestige value and has an elaborate organization of a chancellor, vice-chancellor, syndicate, academic council, senate and a variety of subsidiary bodies. Its executive, the syndicate, is generally larger in size than the Government of the State, though the functions of the latter are far greater than those of the university. Is it necessary to have such an imposing structure for the limited function of examination?

Should teaching and examination be conducted by separate institutions as if they were two distinct and separable operations? Examination is an integral, a continuous and concomitant part of teaching, intended to help the teacher to adjust his teaching to the understanding of his pupils. It is not, and should not, be an independent operation, intended to test the memory of the pupils at a terminal crisis. The employer examines the candidate to test fitness for his job; the teacher examines with a view to improving the pupil, to educate the unfit to be fit. In education teaching and testing are integrated and inter-dependent elements.

It seems tragic that, in the name of higher education, there should be examining universities which examine pupils taught in teaching colleges and in the process manage generally to fail the majority of them! The failures in the University Inter-

mediate examinations have been characterised as "staggering" by the Radhakrishnan Report, and in the degree examinations as even worse. While in England the failures hardly ever exceed ten per cent, in India they are as high as 60 to 70 per cent, though the minimum number of marks necessary for a third class pass is only about 35 per cent! The frustration and the financial wastage caused to the pupils, their parents and the State are better imagined than described.

Various reasons have been advanced for this distressing feature, like over-crowding of classes, inadequate equipment and working hours and days, lack of tutorials, indiscriminate admissions. It should, however, be noted that, *notwithstanding these common factors, the passes in the "internal" examinations conducted by the teaching colleges are strikingly higher than in the "external" ones conducted by the examining universities.* In internal examinations, teachers examine the pupils whom they taught, whom they knew for some time and whose attainments they are in a position to evaluate. In external examinations, examiners examine examinees whom they never taught and whom they never knew. Indeed, every care is taken that the examiner shall not know the identity of the examinees! In internal examinations, there is the personal relation between the teacher and the taught; in the external ones there is only the impersonal relation between the examiner and the examinees. The divorce between teaching and examination in external examinations has led to disastrous results. No wonder that Sir Brajendra Nath Seal made the exclamation quoted above.

In view of the differential results of internal and external examinations, it is difficult to defend both as equally valid. One of them must be unsatisfactory and should be abandoned. And that is the system of

external examinations. It should go, not only because it unfairly fails the majority of examinees, but also because it implies a sickening distrust of teachers who taught. They are trusted to conduct the annual internal examinations for promoting pupils to higher classes, but their integrity is so heavily discounted at an university examination that external examiners have to be imported!

External examinations tend to demoralise the examiners, most of whom are teachers in other colleges and universities. Many of them spend a sizable part of their time and talents to canvass external examinership because they are paid for it. The same person who conducts the internal examinations as part of his regular teaching work and seeks no extra payment for it, will go out of his way to seek an external examinership because of the extra money.

It is any day better to pay the teachers the maximum possible salaries openly and directly than tempt them with extra perquisites like examinerships. Definite and higher salaries will tend to create security and contentment in the teachers, resulting in higher self-respect and better teaching, while perquisites, like external examinerships, will give them uncertain income and a certain loss of self-respect.

It seems desirable from the point of view of the pupils and the teachers and the efficiency of education that external examinations should be abolished in favour of internal examinations.

Even under a system of internal examinations, the annual terminal ones should also be abolished. They are only tests of memory after long intervals of study. Even teachers of long-standing often consult their written notes when they more or less repeat their lectures annually. In life the occasions when one has to depend on memory alone are few and far between. It is cruel that students alone should be subjected to the tyranny of memory tests, with disastrous and unmerited consequences to the majority of them.

As has been stated earlier, examination or testing is an integral part of teaching to improve the effective-

ness of education of the pupils and not to test their memory long afterwards. It is, therefore, desirable that subjects of study should be "atomised" as it were, so that each smaller unit may be taught and tested within a few weeks and be finished with finally. The Radhakrishnan Report recommended such compartmentalisation in teaching and testing:

Sections of the course, which are more or less self-sufficient, can be made the subject of periodical examinations spread over the three years' duration. * * * Examinations should as far as possible be subject-wise and time-wise. (p. 341).

Under the system, pupils may be allowed to accumulate credits at their convenience. Those who seek degrees may be required to accumulate a prescribed minimum of qualifying credits. Those who want knowledge and not degrees may not be so required.

If the system of examinations be reformed as suggested, each teaching college would confer its own degrees on its pupils, based on their evaluation by the college council and the teachers who taught and tested them through the years they were in the college. With the abolition of external examinations, the affiliating and examining university will have no work and may well fade away.

Each teaching institution, whether called a college or university or by any other name, may have its own convocation to confer its degrees or diplomas.

The Mysore Education Reform Committee recommended that the present external examination at the primary stage should be abolished and that teachers should watch and gauge the progress of their pupils on the basis of scientific tests, and determine promotions from one class to the next higher class. There is no reason why the same procedure should not be adopted in the secondary and other levels and kinds of education. Whatever be the nature of the scientific tests, they should be applied to the pupils by their teachers and not by external examiners. There is bound to be some abuse under any system but it will be less in the case of internal examinations than of external ones.

THE ADVENTURERS

SO long as there are intrepid roisters and magdalenes with a flair for daring in their hearts, the world will continue to be a puzzle to moralists. A moralist is one who attempts to calibrate the scale of good and evil, to solve the human equation by establishing some sort of measure of the good life, on which to base his schemes of intentional change. But the moralist who works at this task seriously, and who, along with this high purpose, has some of the salt and humour of existence, is bound to discover certain qualities in man which irreducibly resist classification in either good or evil categories, yet are of the essence of being human. For some such reason, we suppose, Nietzsche invented the category, "beyond good and evil," and by similar cause other men have abandoned the project of becoming moralists altogether. Where in your system, a by-stander may legitimately ask a moralist, is the place of a sense of humour? Have you a region for adventurers to explore, and is it large enough for them to get irretrievably lost? You cannot make them happy unless you do.

We have words of neutral moral tone such as "curiosity" to cover some of the qualities that moralists often neglect, but "curiosity" has hardly the muscularity to account for the irrepressible questing spirit in men who are determined, say, to cross the sonic barrier. This will to see where sight has never gone—how shall we define it? These men who come alive only when they are plighting their troth with some new unknown—how shall we interest them in our codes of good and evil?

There is something locked in every man—and surely not locked in his "genes"—which some day bursts forth in the determination to have an hour, to reach a height, to hear a sound and see a vision which has never belonged to anyone else. It is in some small respect like, perhaps, the moment when a baby first walks. It is a moment glorious, unique. The fact that countless million babies have walked before—have owned this moment—makes it not one whit less

wonderful. There are other wonderful things each child and man grows up to, some of which we know of before they happen, while others hold their secret to the last, final impact of discovery. Old tribal customs of "initiation" doubtless represent folk wisdom of the importance of these events—customs which, incidentally, are entirely abandoned among civilized peoples, condemning them, perhaps, to a kind of eternal and collective immaturity.

It is not that we should learn something new and strange from adopting tribal initiations, but that the idea of discovery in ordeal needs to be restored to civilized culture. The lack of this idea, we think, may be responsible for any number of distortions and excesses which the adventurous spirit undertakes as substitutes. Sometime, somewhere, a man has to give evidence to himself that he is a man. Too often, this venture takes the form of doing what other "men" do, and is, therefore, a spurious demonstration. What does it mean to become a man? As we see it, there is very little difference between becoming a man and becoming a god—a half-god, at least. We are told that in past years in India—perhaps still today—the young Brahmin was obliged to spend an entire night in the jungle, alone, unarmed, in silent reflection. A tiger may walk by, but the youth must not fear. He must prove his worthiness as a Brahmin, his harmlessness as a human being. He must become a living testament to the law of life—that he who fears not, harms not, is recognized as a friend by all that live.

This is a way—or symbolic of a way—of entering into the common pantheism of nature. The youth gets his touch of life without intermediaries. He has been alone with the Alone, has in those long hours felt the rhythm of the earth and heard, if he listened closely, the music of the spheres. The theory is—or was—that a man born a Brahmin would be equal to the challenge of this ordeal, and the meaning of this, we suppose, is that when a man is able to stand entirely alone, yet feel his confraternity with the stars, the

earth, and the wild creatures who move about him on silent feet, then he can never be lonely again, for all life belongs to him, and he to it.

It is a hunger for this private, inalienable touch with life itself, we think, which drives the adventurer on. To the outward evidence of this hunger, the moralist must bow, whether he understands it or not. For in it there is a bit of the divine madness which the heart intuitively respects. It is as though a man says to himself, "I could be at home on a star, if I could get there; and, who knows, perhaps I can!" Sometimes this attitude manifests as a way of going through life, instead of as a single, grand project. We have all met men in whom the spirit of adventure is a mood of approach to even ordinary affairs. They never want to do things the "old way." The annoying thing about them, apart from the time they waste and the mistakes they make, is that occasionally they do discover a better way of doing things. But, characteristically, the "tried and true" is somehow an affront to their integrity.

How different, these, from other people who are forever troubled lest they prove odd or freakish, lest they depart from custom and established ritual! The lovers of the established and the familiar always take their adventure in wholly tamed and capsuled dosages—they are fed "communism," or they become the conscripted variety of heroes when the security of their native land seems challenged by a foreign power. They are the unimaginative moralist's delight, for how easy it is to plan for people who are already insistent upon doing the proper thing!

A world with nothing but adventurers in it would be, perhaps, a sorry place, but not as bad as a world with no adventurers at all. For since adventure has been divorced from philosophy, the adventurer has become a kind of secular priest in whom resides the responsibility of reminding his fellows that they are missing great things. He does not know this very often, and would probably be a bit contemptuous of the idea, yet nothing is more reasonable. In an age of specialization, every specialist becomes a species of

priest, undergoing some particular region of experience more intensively than others and reporting on it for the benefit of all. Inevitably, distortion results, since no man can do the work of others for them without developing an abnormal sense of importance—they can't get along without *me!*—and this does not help him much in obtaining the appreciation of others. The general result, in psychological terms, is described by Ortega in his *Revolt of the Masses*, which is the portrait of a society in which the spirit of adventure has died out almost altogether.

Sometimes the moralist, feeling the blood of adventure run out of society, may be tempted to seek an adventure or two of his own. But adventure comes no more from "studying" than humour or mercy. It is one of the first things, and not a product of criticism or of synthesis. One wonders, however, if any man should attempt the labours of a moralist without having, himself, a natural flair for adventure. For if he does not have it, he is bound to compose treatises which leave out of serious account all matters in which he has no personal interest, and for which, therefore, he recognizes no "social" need. It happens, however, that adventure, as we have defined it, is not a social need, but an individual one. Adventure is a lonely enterprise by which a man declares his independence and his capacity for uniting with experience without the guarantees of our modern over-stuffed and upholstered civilization.

Of the essence of adventure is the capacity to be unafraid. How is this gained? Probably as many envious sighs of soul have wondered after the answer to this question as timid lovers have wept without telling their love. To be without fear is sometimes, as psychologists glibly assure us, a lack of imagination, an inability to see the horrors lurking around the bend. But it may also be an intimation of immortality. Socrates had this kind of fearlessness. Socrates feared death so little that he shocked his devoted disciples by his indifference toward what was about to take place as he drank the hemlock. He knew, we may say, that nothing evil could happen to what

goodness was in him, and he was ready for only the goodness to survive. This, we suppose, was what Plato meant when he said that the philosopher is one who learns how to die easily. The philosopher has faith in the order of nature—transcendental nature.

So the adventurer, the fearless man, is ready for his leap. He makes a bargain with destiny. He leaps, and if he slips, then that becomes part of his bargain. He has a trust in the general decency of things, even things which are beyond his experience, for he feels that he knows even these in principle.

Fear, then, is a distrust of life; or it may also be defined as an inner suspicion that one has not played fairly with life, and is likely to be called to an accounting. It follows that the timid man can never turn into an adventurer by a sudden and anxious thrust into the unknown. A certain insouciance is called for, and this he does not possess. Without it, he will surely come to grief. He has the project, then, of learning to trust life. This will be difficult for him, seeming so terribly impractical—as difficult, say, as for the prudent man to decide that he and his wife should have a baby, when quite sure that he cannot possibly afford it; or as difficult for the same prudent man to abandon his life insurance, in evidence of his new belief that a just man will not sow disaster when he leaves this existence.

One does not contract for romance at will, nor is the spirit of adventure on tap and made to flow according to nicely reasoned philosophical conclu-

sions. For adventure, in more ways than one, is a love affair with life itself. The wide-eyed wonder of the child, his irresponsible enthusiasms, his unblighted joy in the simple things of life—these, as much as anything, illustrate the spontaneous response of the unfearing quality of human beings to the texture of existence. If we would promise ourselves never to belittle or grow too old for these immediate pleasures, and never to let our "experience" shadow the endless discoveries of childhood, we might be further on our way to becoming adventurers than we suspect.

An inquiry concerning the spirit of adventure touches all these things. We come into existence from pasts we know little of, save from what we manifestly bring with us. Our natures are variously mixed, each having a combination uniquely his own. The yearnings of the soul arise within us, and when we know them not, they make for themselves strange disguises, learning to speak alien lines. And then, like as not, we blame ourselves as sinners, wonder at our follies, and ask the Lord to destroy the gnawing unrest which steals away our contentment.

But what if we are truly adventurers turned into pastures made only for sheep and cows? We can at least make an attempt to find out. For even if we meet with disappointments, our lives will be the richer for having tried. And once having moved in this direction, the shining mountain, the measureless sea, the trackless forest, will always have a friendlier aspect, until, finally, we learn to walk alone.—MANAS.

Old Chinese saying like "noodles are not rice and women are not human beings"; "a wife married is like a pony bought; I'll ride her and whip her as I like" vividly describe the position of women in old China. The new Marriage Law unequivocally provides that the arbitrary and compulsory feudal marriage system which is based on the idea of the superiority of man over woman and which ignores the interests of the children shall be abolished; that bigamy, concubinage, child betrothal, interference with the remarriage of widows and the exaction of money or gifts in connection with marriage shall be prohibited; that the free choice of partners, monogamy, equal rights for both sexes and protection of the lawful interests of women and children shall be put into effect, so that husbands and wives may live in harmony, participate to the fullest extent in productive labour and rear united, democratic families.—People's China.

THE CONCEPT OF SOUTH-EAST ASIA

By CHARLES A. FISHER

DURING the past decade the term "South-East Asia" has figured increasingly in the literature of international affairs but there is still a surprising lack of agreement over its exact meaning. Many writers apparently continue to use it as a synonym for the whole vast area stretching from Pakistan in the west to Manchuria and Japan in the north-east, which S. K. Datta once called "Asiatic Asia" and geographers have more usually referred to as Monsoon Asia. The very existence of these alternatives is, however, an argument against using the term South-East Asia in this way and, in the writer's opinion, there are very strong grounds for restricting its meaning to cover simply the area lying to the east of India—Pakistan and to the south of China, i.e., Burma, Thailand, Indo-China, Malaya, British Borneo, Indonesia and the Philippines. For, clearly, this area, and this alone, seems entitled on purely geographical grounds to be regarded as South-East in relation to the rest of the continent and, more important, there is an obvious need for a collective term to embrace these seven lands which have so much in common with each other.

Lying as it does between the Indian sub-continent (South Asia) and the Sino-Japanese realm (East Asia) which together constitute the two great cultural and demographic foci of the continent as a whole, South-East Asia has always been in some degree overshadowed by these neighbours. In a sense, indeed, that very fact lends it a measure of unity, for its civilizations are essentially derivative and, indeed, colonial in origin, and the region as a whole may not unfairly be regarded as transitional, both in its physical and human characteristics, between India and China. If, ethnically, its peoples are in general more closely related to the Chinese, Indian strains are nevertheless present, while, conversely, except in Annam, the Chi-

nese element in South-East Asia culture is far less evident than the Indian, though both are usually recognizable.

Perhaps the outstanding feature of the human geography of South-East Asia throughout historic times has been the much lower density of population which it has supported, in comparison with the two neighbouring sub-continent already noted. In the main this must be attributed to the great difficulty of entry overland, through the mass of lofty jungle-covered plateau in the north, to the predominantly mountainous character of South-East Asia itself, and to the prevalence of tropical diseases which are endemic in such conditions. So far as available records can be trusted, the population of South-East Asia has never exceeded a third of that of either the Indian sub-continent or China proper; and today its average density of about 90 to the square mile compares with 275 for India, 285 for the former eighteen provinces of China, and over 500 for Japan.

This state of affairs, both past and present, taken in conjunction with the political fragmentation of South-East Asia which has been fostered by its physical division into a maze of islands and peninsulas, goes far to explain the extent to which it has fallen under the shadow of both India, China and, in more recent times, Japan. Thus, during the early centuries, of the Christian era, nearly the whole of South-East Asia, apart from Annam which formed part of Imperial China, came under the influence of Southern Indian colonisation. This has left as its memorials not only the glories of Angkor and other monuments, but also the Buddhist religion of the mainland and the surviving Hinduism of Bali and Lombok. Likewise from India, through the intermediary of Gujarati spice traders, came Islam which, after the 13th century, established itself in the greater part of Malaysia

but achieved no lasting foothold in the Buddhist lands farther north.

In the meantime, however, commercial ties had been slowly developing between many parts of South-East Asia and the Chinese empire. At least from the 8th century A.D. onwards there are records of missions arriving in China from Java and elsewhere in the Nan Yang ('southern seas'), bringing with them specimens of their countries' produce. Although these were apparently intended to promote trading relationships between the lesser lands of South-East Asia and the great empire to the north—a design in which they were usually successful—the Chinese frequently chose to interpret such missions as evidence of submission and to regard the goods brought by the foreigners as tribute. Thus there grew up an established tributary relationship between many countries of South-East Asia and Imperial China. By an extension of the Confucian family code into foreign affairs the former lands came to be styled the younger brothers and China the elder brother and, notwithstanding the severance of these links by the European powers in modern times, this attitude is by no means forgotten even today.

Despite these very ancient links of both its great neighbours with South-East Asia, however, it was not until the area had begun to pass under European control that really extensive Chinese or Indian settlement took place within borders. To be more precise, although the Dutch found many Chinese, as also a handful of Japanese, in Indonesia even in the early 17th century, it was not until the latter half of the 19th century, when the completion of the Suez canal led to rapid economic development in South-East Asia, that Chinese began to pour into almost every part of the region. Meanwhile, and more especially in the present century, Indians, though on a smaller scale, have emigrated to those areas, notably Burma and Malaya, which were under British influence or control. Taken as a whole, this migration, which has provided South-East Asia with a population of over eight million Chinese and nearly two million Indians at the present day, must be regarded as

second only to the great European exodus to the Americas during the same period. And, like it, the incentive was primarily economic. The relatively unoccupied pioneer lands in both cases provided far greater opportunities than the congested home-lands of the peoples in question. Just as the youth of Europe was advised to "go west," so to the Southern Chinese and Indians opportunity beckoned towards the south and east respectively.

The resultant plural societies, which are a feature of every country in South-East Asia, form yet another distinctive characteristic which marks out the latter as something different from either of its great neighbours. Yet the parcelling out of the region, with the solitary exception of Thailand, into a series of western-controlled dependencies, each subjected to different methods of administration in accordance with the particular colonial philosophy of the respective metropolitan power, served steadily to obscure the overall unity of South-East Asia as a whole. Indeed, it was not until the Japanese overran the entire region after 1941, thereby depriving the West of invaluable supplies of rubber, tin, and both vegetable and mineral oils, and creating a vast series of problems, many of which still defy solution, that the West first began to think in terms of South-East Asia as an entity.

The primary problem at this juncture was, of course, to expel the Japanese from the area, and it was with this in mind that SEAC, which first publicised the new regional name, was established. Of necessity SEAC had initially to be based outside the region, since the latter lay entirely in enemy hands. Unfortunately, the habit has consequently grown up of regarding Ceylon and often, by association, both India and Pakistan as well, as integral parts of South-East Asia, and this has undoubtedly led to much confusion and muddled thinking. More recently, several writers have attempted to perpetuate this use of the term on the grounds that, under the aegis of the Colombo Plan, a new economic alignment is developing between South and South-East Asia. Thus, for example, Mr. Woodrow Wyatt

(*Southwards from China*, Hodder and Stoughton, 1952) has stated that the formerly accepted definition of South-East Asia in its narrow sense is out of date since it is impossible to dissociate the countries to which it refers from India, Pakistan and Ceylon. While one may in large measure agree with many of his conclusions, this particular argument would appear to lead logically to such absurdities as including the United States in a definition of Western Europe or the Soviet Union as part of Eastern Germany.

The usage should, however, be criticised for more fundamental reasons than this. In the first place the problems of South Asia are by no means the same as those of South-East Asia. Thus, whereas in South Asia the outstanding problem is posed by over-population, only a few parts of South-East Asia are so affected and the region as a whole could undoubtedly support many more people without fundamental changes in techniques. Indeed, although its immediate preoccupation is with economic and political rehabilitation after the disruption and devastation of Japanese rule, which South Asia did not experience. South-East Asia may well in the near future come to regard the existence of so much relatively sparsely peopled land as its greatest source of weakness. Already since 1945 the Japanese have again several times raised the matter of emigration to such under-developed lands as eastern Indonesia and, with mounting population pressure in India, Pakistan and China also, it is by no means impossible that Japan's lead may later be followed by others of South-East Asia's neighbours.

This, in turn, leads to a further criticism of the extended use of the term "South-East Asia" to embrace South Asia as well. Granted that the ties between India, Pakistan and Ceylon on the one hand and South-East Asia on the other are both strong and of deep historical significance, it still remains as open question whether they will prove tougher and more permanent than those which bind the latter to East Asia.

In the days before the war, when the modern concept of South-East Asia had not won general acceptance,

two alternative names for the area were sometimes used, viz., Further India and the Far Eastern Tropics. Both of these terms enshrine important elements of truth, and both implicitly suggest that South-East Asia, on account of its inherent weakness, must be thought of in relation to one or the other of its Asian neighbours.

Such is clearly the case today. The ties binding South-East Asia to India (and to a lesser extent to Pakistan) are based largely on personal respect for India's leaders and a common experience of breaking free from political dependence on the West. In this respect India is, in effect, the elder brother to the newly-independent States of South-East Asia and has effectively championed their cause both at the United Nations and elsewhere. Thus India has taken over the role which was formerly, though hardly disinterestedly, played by Japan as champion of "Asia for the Asiatics" (the term "Asians" had not then come into general use) until the experiences of 1942-5 revealed her true intentions.

Certainly today there is far less affection in South-East Asia for Japan than for India, but, thanks to the rapacity of many Chinese middlemen, local feeling towards China is even more hostile throughout the region. Thus, on grounds of sentiment alone, the alignment of South-East with South Asia appears to be eminently secure.

Unfortunately, however, this is by no means the whole story and two other factors weigh heavily on the opposite side of the balance. Economically speaking, the interdependence of temperate and tropical lands, at least in the present stage of Asian development, affords a firmer basis for trade between South-East and East Asia than anything existing in the relationship between the former and India. This interdependence, which has in some degree underlain the economic geography of the Far East from the days of the early tribute-bearing missions to the time of Japan's short-lived Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere, is likely to be exploited still further in future. Certainly, so long as Japan is cut off from trade with Chinese she has no option but to pursue such

a course, and it is by no means unlikely that China herself, once industrialized, will follow a similar policy. And, if such should indeed prove to be the case, the presence of a vast Chinese commercial community scattered throughout South-East Asia would be a formidable asset, quite apart from its even greater potential significance should an attempt ever be made to create by force a new co-prosperity sphere under Chinese auspices.

In short, the conclusion seems inescapable that the alignment between South and South-East Asia, desirable though it undoubtedly is from the standpoint of all free men,

is by no means assured for the years that lie ahead. On the contrary, the possibility of new association with East Asia, with all the formidable consequences which that implies, cannot be ruled out. Indeed the dominant theme in the oriental history of the second half of the 20th century may well be the struggle of both South and East Asia for paramount influence in the area which lies between them. Greater East Asia we have known in our lifetime; it remains to be seen whether Greater South Asia can capture the minds and energies of men sufficiently to prevent a further relapse into barbarism and exploitation.—(N.N.F.)

WEEK-END IN PONDICHERRY

By D. N.

THE first thing that one does on getting out of bed is very important and is said to influence one's thought, word and deed for that day. Ask any old woman and she will reel off a list of things one should look at first in the morning and things one should not. Getting out of the right side of the bed also counts in giving a good start to the day. Whatever be the truth in this psychology cum superstition hokum, there is one event that gives by far the worst start to the day, and that is the customs checking as you enter French territory on the way to Pondicherry.

It was a chill October morning, and my eyelids were heavy with sleep, when the passengers in the train were asked to get down and carry all their things to the shed where the customs checking took place. It is a long drawn-out affair, taking nearly three hours, during which the checking inspectors rifle through your bags and beds and trunks, pulling out neatly stacked clothes and punching your pillows to see whether you are smuggling some precious thing into Pondicherry. Policemen hovered around the shed and a friend of mine whispered to me that a plain-clothes man was in the crowd with us. At the end of the ordeal I packed my things once

again and got into the train a sadder but a wiser man. It was past seven when the train steamed into Pondicherry.

The town has an extraordinary atmosphere. I have no spiritual preoccupations nor am I addicted to liquor. So the reader need not attribute my reactions to the atmosphere of Pondicherry as being influenced by the Aurobindo Ashram or by the fact that there is no prohibition there. I was in Pondicherry that weekend on an important excursion with two friends, all the three being new-comers to the town. We had heard from someone that the streets of Pondicherry ran straight cutting each other at right angles. This was quite true. Along the narrow strip of beach runs the Marina but the comparison stops there. There are hotels and parks along the Beach Road, but no brisk and gay crowds, no trumpeting of the car horns, nor the odour of petrol smoke. The hotels are of the expensive kind, and are equally desolate. I missed the cashewnut-sellers and the mobile canteen and the charming young girls that one always sees in Madras. About the liveliest thing on Pondicherry beach was the revolving light-house, a yellow stubby tower. At nights, the beams from the lamp sweep the otherwise unilluminated

Beach Road, giving one the vicarious thrill of acting in a Hollywood man-hunt film as he walks in the alternating light and darkness. A long pier juts out from the beach, a couple of furlongs into the sea. The condition and appearance of the pier did not inspire much confidence, but yet we tramped out over the rattling planks along the trolley tracks. We could feel the whole pier vibrate as the waves buffeted the rusty twisted iron pillars. A launch that was moored to the pier, was bobbing up and down. In last December's cyclone, this pier was washed away, according to the papers.

To a depth of six or seven streets from the Marina, the town has a marked foreign look accentuated by the numerous boards with French inscriptions and the French names of streets. This area, even during business hours, is plunged in a calm that borders on lethargy. Sentries guard the entrances of the various government offices. We caught glimpses of a few Europeans in shorts, as they cycled along and quite a few women in rickshaws.

The rest of the town presents the familiar appearance of any South Indian town. The busy bazaars, the shouting, spitting and milling crowds, Brahmin's coffee hotels with beeda stalls outside, beggars and jay-walking cattle are there. There are many visitors shopping enthusiastically, buying toilet paraphernalia and pens that are so temptingly cheap. Scattered all over are the liquor shops that draw so many Bacchanalians from "dry" Madras. Of Pondicherry's underworld and night life we could see no more than some boards that advertised rooms for hire with pictures of half-naked women nailed to them. I felt that social vice was more conspicuous in Madras than in Pondicherry.

Gaining entrance into the premises of the Aurobindo Ashram is no easy thing. The sage's samadhi lies in the shade of a huge tree in the courtyard. We sat in the shade for a while watching the inmates of the Ashram, who were stepping briskly but silently, looking full of business. The Ashram's staff of gardeners must be

congratulated for I have never seen such a delightful garden. They can easily get up an all-the-year-round flower show. Old women, clad in white, are always in attendance at the samadhi, arranging the floral offerings of devotees and lighting sticks of incense. Well-built young men and women who were dashing up and down, seemed to have forgotten the human beings of the outside world. There was no spark of human recognition in their eyes as they passed us. A number of children, their fresh faces, vying with the flowers, were flitting about like butterflies. A little later we filed past the Mother, who for some strange reason reminded me of the Ancient Mariner. It must have been her glittering eyes and skinny hands that caused it. She was a very old lady, wearing bright coloured clothes. It was obvious that the Ashramites adored and worshipped her.

That evening we saw the Ashramites at games. There were excellent facilities provided for a number of games and undoubtedly a high standard of play must obtain there. Some physical culturists were busy at the gymnasium. To my astonishment, I saw the Mother playing tennis (singles). After games they all assembled in the quadrangle where an instructor conducted a vigorous drill for nearly half-an-hour. It is extremely interesting to watch young and old take part in this. At the end of the drill, the lights went out and a sudden silence fell upon the yard. For full five minutes they practised deep breathing after which they dispersed. Thus the day is spent cultivating the mind with education, the soul with meditation and the body with exercise and food.

On the train that night I pondered over the sequestered existence of the inmates of the Ashram and the cultural radiation that shone on their faces. The culture of India seems to exist in isolated pockets. Our masses are entirely unaware of the glorious inheritance of ours. Diffusion of culture is possible only when our millions are educated and their mental awareness broadened.

CREATIVE MARXIST?—II

By V. SUBRAMANIAN

THE principal features, according to Stalin, of the Marxian dialectic are that the dialectical method holds that no phenomenon in nature can be understood if taken by itself isolated from surrounding phenomena and that "dialectics holds that nature is not a state of rest and immobility, stagnation and immutability but a state of continuous movement and change. The dialectical method regards as important primarily not that which at the given moment seems to be durable and yet is already beginning to die away but that which is arising and developing even though at the given moment it may appear to be not durable, for the dialectical method considers invincible only that which is arising and developing."

An illustration can be provided from Stalin's reply to anarchists. In the eighties of the last century, the Narodniks asserted that the main force that could undertake the task of liberating Russia was the petty bourgeoisie, because it constituted the majority. The Marxists on the contrary said that it was a decaying class though then in a majority. The proletariat, though a minority then, was the real liberating force, because it was steadily growing and gaining in strength. Which is a growing element? This can be anybody's guess. The break-up of the bourgeoisie, predicted often, was not realized after the prediction. The Marxian answer is that no system or element disappears until all its possibilities are exhausted. Marx himself confessed that he had underestimated the capacity for development of capitalism, when some of his premature predictions failed. Nor has Stalin provided any infallible method of deciding which is the growing element. As many non-Communists have often explained, the value of the dialectic in this case is really emotional. A growing element, according to the inflexible laws of the dialectic, is bound to succeed. Hence it gives the partisans of that element a confidence and strength, born out of an inexorable fate work-

ing on their side, not unlike the Mujahid's faith in Heaven or success or the Calvinists' trust in God being on their side when they jump into the armageddon.

Stalin has said: "Contrary to metaphysics dialectics does not regard the process of development as a simple process of growth where quantitative changes do not lead to qualitative changes but as a development which passes from insignificant and imperceptible quantitative changes to open fundamental qualitative changes." This idea is buttressed by quotations from Marx and Engels. Stalin does not develop the idea further. It is clear however that a rigid literal application of this postulate to evolution has resulted in the flat assertion of neo-Lamarckian or Michurinist theories by Lysenko.

"Contrary to metaphysics dialectics holds that internal contradictions are inherent in all things and phenomena of nature for they all have their negative and positive sides, a past and a future, something dying away and something developing," Stalin has said. No reasons nor examples are given to substantiate this assertion.

Stalin then goes on to apply the principles to social phenomena. Since all things are to be judged in their proper context, there is no "eternal justice." Each system is just in its own time and place. The slave system was an improvement on primitive Communism, as feudalism was on the former. A bourgeois democratic Republic was all right in 1905. Secondly, it is the growing force that matters and it is the proletariat that is the growing force. Thirdly, development proceeds by disclosure of internal contradictions and hence we must not cover up the contradictions of the capitalist system but disclose and unravel them. Lastly, it is the qualitative change that finally effects development and here it is the revolution. (As stated by Stalin and earlier Marxists, this does not logically follow. One can, instead, argue, with Fabians, that quantitative changes, themselves

small, slowly change the character of the capitalist system till by imperceptible degrees, it becomes a collectivist system.)

This is followed by Stalin's interpretation of Marx's philosophical materialism. Applying the principles, again to social life, Stalin draws the following conclusions. The laws of material development are not accidental, but knowable by experiment. Hence the proletariat should guide itself by the laws of development of society. Socialism is converted from a dream of a better future for humanity into a science. Since material is primary and consciousness secondary, the spiritual and political life of a society is rooted in its material conditions. (What is asserted as an 'economic motive' in earlier Marxism vaguely becomes, as a result of this simple argument, a logical corollary of the premise that consciousness is either related to matter or basically material.) Hence the party's activities must be based on the concrete conditions of material society. The utopian socialists failed since their idealism was not based on the immediate needs of society.

Stalin warns against assuming that social ideas, theories, and institutions are of no significance. The older social ideas have no effect. The newer social ideas and theories, which arise only after the development of the material life of society, have a vital force. Stalin's caution has a particular significance in the light of criticisms of Lenin's policy in 1905 and 1917. The critics said that the proletariat, according to orthodox Marxian dialectic, would ultimately be victorious of its own accord, by developing its own philosophy of struggle. Lenin said that left to itself the proletariat would develop trade unionism for the time being, but it was only the bourgeois intelligentsia that could provide it with the socialist philosophy. When it was urged that this was not in conformity with Marxism, Lenin and Stalin had a long explanation to give. Lenin said: "The duty of social democracy is to divert the working class movement from this spontaneous trade unionist tendency to come under the wing of the bourgeoisie and to bring it under the wing of social

democracy." "Scientific socialism," says Kautsky "can arise only on the basis of profound scientific knowledge. The vehicle of science is not the proletariat but the bourgeois intelligentsia." But, of course, there would not be any scientific socialism without capitalism and the class struggle. It is also true that, in spite of capitalist society and class struggle, Marx and Engels would not have developed scientific socialism, but for their scientific knowledge. (All this amounts to saying that growing ideas are not a direct reflection of the social conditions on human consciousness.) In a later passage Stalin, quoting Lenin, says that the working class spontaneously gravitates towards socialism but 'spontaneously' is not to be equated with 'consciously'. It does so in the long run after many mistakes. Conscious social democracy from bourgeois intelligentsia shortens the agony. Because social democracy defines the cause of misery, the working class assimilates it easily. Let us quote Stalin again: "What is scientific socialism without the working class movement? A compass which if left unused will only grow rusty and then will have to be thrown overboard. What is the working class movement without socialism? A ship without a compass which will reach the other shore in any case, but would reach it much sooner and with less danger if it had a compass." The idea is essentially Lenin's and Stalin quotes profusely from Lenin.

Stalin's treatment of historical materialism or materialist interpretation of history follows the beaten track. What are the material conditions that affect men's consciousness? Not geography but their relations in the process of production. It never stays at one point but changes continuously. "Whatever is the mode of production of a society, such in the main is the society itself, its ideas and theories, its political views and institutions. Or to put it more crudely, whatever is man's manner of life, such is his manner of thought. Hence the clue to the study of the laws of history of society must not be sought in men's minds, in the views and ideas of society but in the mode of

production practiced by society in any given historical period."

Productive forces which are mobile develop first, and men's relations change more slowly in conformity with them. This introduces the contradictions in the system. For example, private ownership of the means of production is in glaring contradiction to the social character of the productive process itself, and hence the crises of capitalism.

Then follows a historical account of the periods of primitive Communism, slave labour, feudalism and capitalism. The new forces of production are implanted when the old system is still in operation and those that introduce them are rarely aware of the social consequences. Men in each system of production enter into social relations, without their own volition. To quote Stalin again: "But having developed productive forces to a tremendous extent capitalism has become enmeshed in contradictions which it is unable to solve. By producing larger and larger quantities of commodities, and reducing their prices, capitalism intensifies competition, ruins the mass of small and medium private owners, converts them into proletarians and reduces their purchasing power with the result that it becomes impossible to dispose of the commodities produced. On the other hand, by expanding production and concentrating millions of workers in huge mills and factories, capitalism lends the process of production a social character and thus undermines its own foundation inasmuch as the social character of the means of production demands the social ownership of the means of production." These contradictions are solved by the proletarian revolution and the social ownership of the means of production.

In all this theorizing, Stalin follows Marx, Engels and Lenin very closely. There is, of course, one entirely original orientation, which only Stalin could have given to the theory. This orientation is similar in certain respects to Hegelian principles, but it has its new content as well. Let us quote the relevant portions from the interview between Ludwig, the German biographer and Stalin.

Ludwig: Marxism denies that individuals play an outstanding role in history. Do you not see a contradiction between the materialist conception of history and the fact that you do after all admit that historical personalities play an outstanding role?

Stalin: No. There is no contradiction here. Marxism does not at all deny the role played by outstanding personalities or that men make history. In *Poverty of Philosophy* and in other works of Marx you will find it stated that it is men who make history. But of course men do not make history according to the promptings of their imagination or to whatever enters their heads. Every new generation encounters definite conditions already existing ready-made, when that generation was born. And if great men are worth anything it is only to the extent that they correctly understand these conditions, know how to change them. If they fail to understand these conditions and want to change them according to the promptings of their imaginations, they find themselves in the position of Don Quixote. Thus precisely according to Marx it is wrong to contrast men to conditions. It is men who make history but only to the extent that they correctly understand the conditions they find ready-made, and only to the extent that they know how to change those conditions. That at least is how we Russian Bolsheviks understand Marx. And we have been studying Marx for more than one decade.

Ludwig: About thirty years ago, when I was at the University, many German Professors, who regarded themselves as supporters of the materialist conception of history, taught us that Marxism denied the role played by heroes, the role played by heroic individuals in history.

Stalin: They were vulgarizers of Marxism. Marxism never denied the role played by heroes. On the contrary it admits that they played an important role, but with the provisos, I have just made.

Earlier in the conversation Stalin said: "As regards Lenin and Peter the Great, the latter was but a drop in the sea—Lenin was a whole ocean."

Hence it is clear why Stalin alone could have stressed the role played by heroes. It was Lenin's leadership and its concrete achievements that could have given this new orientation. Lenin himself could not have done it for obvious reasons. Earlier, Hegel the father of the dialectic also realized that the great hero, who

ranged himself on the right side, by understanding the inner go of events who filled himself with the time spirit could change the course of events definitely. Hegel's typical hero was Cardinal Richelieu. Stalin's characterization of the role of the hero is not much unlike Hegel's. Yet it is definitely new in the sense that the inner go of things refers essentially to material conditions, without any "idealistic bias."

Stalin is remarkable again for what he omits as much as for what he expounds. An intellectual giant like Lenin, or a giant of prodigious indus-

try like Engels, could have extended the application of the dialectic to the sciences without too many absurdities. Stalin, in spite of being christened the greatest scientist in Russia by sycophants, makes very few references to the applications of the dialectic in the sciences. It is difficult to say whether the omission is deliberate, or not, in view of the fact that, in practice, science was regimented into conformity with Communist theory during his regime. But the absence of such dabbling definitely gives to Stalin's tract on dialectical and historical materialism cohesiveness and plausibility.

RAILWAYS IN INDIA & U.S.A.

AS India celebrates her first century of railway progress, it is interesting to note that in many aspects of their railway development, India and the United States have had to face and overcome the same problems. Great distances had to be spanned, broad and mighty rivers crossed. Both nations offered extremes of climatic conditions and geographic obstacles. Growing populations and expanding industries made demands that the rail systems often were able to meet only with great ingenuity.

Although separated physically by half a world, India and the United States today have railway systems with many interesting aspects in common. Indian technicians have studied in the United States, and American engineers have consulted with their Indian counterparts, to their mutual profit.

Indo-American railway contacts started as early as 1899 with the purchase by Indian railways of 48 locomotives from the Baldwin Locomotive Works of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The same company again supplied India with 265 locomotives during World War II, and another 450 between 1947 and 1950.

In one important aspect, however, the American railway picture differs from the Indian. The railroads of the United States, now 123 years old, are privately owned. Literally millions of citizens own shares of stock in the numerous individual railway companies. The U. S. railroads are owned and operated by nearly 700

companies, employing more than 1,237,000 workers. The system comprises more than 225,000 miles of track, some 43,000 locomotives of all types, and nearly 2,000,000 passenger and freight cars.

There are four kinds of locomotives in use on the U. S. railways—steam, Diesel, electric and Diesel-electric. The Diesel-electric, widely used in the United States, but not yet introduced in India, is essentially an electric locomotive which supplies its own power instead of drawing it from a central generating station.

There are also several kinds of passenger cars. They include coaches and sleeping, parlour, dining, club, lounge and observation cars. Equipment in a typical U. S. passenger car includes tight-lock couplers helping to provide smooth starts and stops, rubber insulation to serve as a buffer against transmission of noise and vibration, fluorescent lighting, running water, and telephone service. Some trains are also equipped with radios. A recent innovation is the all-aluminium train. Lighter than other trains its cars are low. Another type of car has a dome which permits passengers to sit up high whence they can see in all directions.

An important aspect of the American railways is the unceasing drive to improve equipment and operating practices. In this, managements, labour unions, equipment manufacturers and research organisations are partners.—U.S.I.S.

COUNTERING ASIA'S MILITARY REVOLUTION

By ANDREW ROTH

IF President Eisenhower appeared to greet the Sino-Soviet peace moves over Korea with somewhat more friendliness than his Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, it was at least partly because he is also General Eisenhower as well as President. Any sustained relaxation of military pressure in Korea may enable him to fulfill what appears to be his most firmly-held objective in the military sphere.

For upwards of six months President Eisenhower has been searching for a plan to counter-balance Communist success in channeling the Asian Revolution into a tremendous new military power for Asian Communists. The military aspect of the Asian Revolution has had two tremendous results which have remade the international balance of power. The first has been the rapid transformation of Communist China to near military parity with the United States. The second has been the virtual secession of quasi-neutralist India and Pakistan from the Western military camp. The third important military factor in Asia—Japan—still remains in the balance.

For many months Western strategists, and particularly Americans, have been troubled and infuriated by the unequal situation which has evolved on the periphery of Asia. The leading Western powers have been strained severely both in production and manpower to maintain their end of the struggles in Korea, Indochina and Malaya against the Asian Communists of North Korea, China, Indochina and Malaya. At the same time the Soviet Union's armed forces have been completely uncommitted, its only substantial contribution being in the form of planes and other armaments and an unknown number of Soviet military instructors to the Chinese Communists.

The extent of President Eisenhower's irritation with this situation can be guessed from an examination of the Asian "order of battle" which

President Eisenhower must ponder. In Korea, the chief Asian battlefield, there are some 2,000,000 men locked in stalemated battle. On the Communist side there are about 1,000,000 men: 800,000 Chinese and 200,000 North Koreans, according to American military intelligence estimates, with another 200,000 Chinese in reserve in Manchuria.

Opposing this the U. S.-U. N. forces have some 700,000 men on the ground. South Korean troops (ROKs) total 425,000 men, organized in 14 divisions. The U. S. has seven divisions (around 250,000 men); the British Commonwealth has a division (25,000 with its "tail"); the Turks, Siamese, Filipinos and other U. N. detachments make up another 10,000. Another 250,000 (mainly American) are accounted for in the U.S.-U.N. air and naval forces.

The disturbing fact for American strategists is that the Chinese, with Soviet support, have been able to restate and increase their forces in Korea, while steadily improving their equipment. Thus, the Chinese—North Korean ground forces increased, according to American intelligence estimates, from 600,000 in July 1951 to 900,000 in May 1952 to the estimated 1,000,000 in January 1953. Between July 1951 and May 1952 it was estimated that their armour doubled and stocks of ammunition were built up steadily, despite the persistent attacks of U.S.-U.N. bombers against North Korean lines of communications. The U. S.-U. N. artillery can probably fire five to ten times as great a volume of shells as the Communist side (except in mortars and light artillery) but, as recent Congressional investigations have disclosed, U. S. factories are not producing as many shells as field commanders sometimes like to fire. The volume fired, despite this rationing, is indicated by the report that one division fired \$35 million worth of shells in a fortnight without advancing a foot.

The U.S.-U.N. forces have had almost undisputed naval superiority until now, because the Chinese have not been supplied with submarines by the Soviets—or, if so, have not put them into operation. The situation is not nearly so one-sided in the air. Even last May, when the Chinese were estimated to have 700 MIG-15s, this was more than twice the number of modern jet-fighters that the Americans had. Wrote *The Observer's* Military Correspondent, Chester Wilmoth, on June 15, 1952:

The decision not to bomb the Chinese airbases beyond the Yalu may have been primarily political in origin, but it is strongly endorsed by the United States Air Force on good military grounds. Its strategic arm is not strong enough to take the losses that would inevitably result from sending piston-engined bombers against jet-fighters. This caution was an admission also that the best American jets (the F-86s) are inferior as interceptors to the MIG-15s.

The MIG-15s are rated as faster and more manœuvrable than the F-86s, the U. S. equivalent; but the American plane's guns (radar-controlled) are considered superior to the Soviet plane's gyroscopically-controlled guns. U. S. pilots, with their World War II experiences, have a considerable tactical advantage over the Chinese pilots who have to buy their combat experience the hard way. Despite this British intelligence considers American assertions of seven Communist losses to every one on the U.S.-U.N. side to be "claims" rather than certainties. If these claims are accurate it would make more impressive the rate at which the Chinese Communists are being supplied with Soviet jets. American sources estimate that the Chinese air-force numbers almost 3,000 aircraft, including 1,500 jets. Thus, according to U. S. estimates, the Chinese have doubled the number of MIG-15s in less than a year, despite heavy losses.

II. Operation "Disengagement"

The Washington correspondent of *The Times* informed its readers on February 17 that "the word heard most often in Washington in the last few days has been 'disengagement',

and the two most immediate objectives of American policy are to disengage American troops in Korea and French troops in Indochina."

The word 'disengagement' is none other than refined Washington terminology for the crude phrase "let Asians fight Asians" which candidate Eisenhower gave to Communist propagandists as a free gift in his election speech of October 2, 1952 in isolation-minded Illinois. Said he:

What we must do, first of all, is to make certain that those South Koreans, of whom there are twenty million, can be prepared to defend their own front lines.

There is no sense in the United Nations, with America bearing the brunt of the thing, being constantly compelled to man those front lines. That is a job for the Koreans. We do not want Asia to feel that the white man of the West is his enemy. If there is to be a war there, let it be Asians against Asians, with our support on the side of freedom.

What was originally believed to be largely an opportunist appeal to "bring the boys home" sentiment, has been demonstrated to be that solid core of President Eisenhower's thinking on Asia. Within a month of his inauguration it had become doctrine. The *New York Times*, in its highly informative 'Review of the Week' on February 22, commented that President Eisenhower's "broad strategy for the Far East began to emerge in clearer outline last week.

The basic conception underlying the strategy appears to be this:

The West has been put at a great disadvantage by its direct military involvement in Asia. A major portion of its military strength is tied down against the Kremlin's Far East satellites while the Soviet forces remain unengaged and free to strike in any direction. This jeopardizes the West's position in Europe; gives the Communists first-rate propaganda ammunition on the theme of Western 'imperialists' killing Asians, and encourages rather than discourages the Communists from making peace in Asia. (because they can, by keeping the war going, keep a substantial por-

tion of American forces pinned down.)

Added C. H. Brandon, the Washington correspondent of *Kemsley's Sunday Times* that same day:

The master plan of diverting American troops from exposed peripheral positions to a highly mobile strategic central reserve should serve two purposes—relieve the mounting public pressure to 'bring the boys home', and, more importantly, correct the present faulty military balance. (Roughly one-third of American effective combat strength is committed in Korea.)

This disengagement, which is estimated to take two years, is being planned in such a way that no vacuum will be left either in Korea or Indochina. The latter theatre is considered by the new Administration's planners to be more important strategically than Korea. However, in Indochina, where there is no clear front line, disengagement would seem impossible without a decisive victory for the Vietnam (Baodai) forces.

So important does President Eisenhower think this plan that he has made it a vital part of the discussions with almost every foreign leader who has visited him. At the end of the Butler-Eden visit to Washington in March, the official communique quoted Mr. Eden as agreeing to the advisability of disengaging American, British and French troops and replacing them, as soon as possible, with indigenous troops.

Three weeks later, in talks with French Premier Rene Mayer, President Eisenhower showed himself willing to pay heavily—to the tune of \$300,000,000 this next year—to speed the application of this doctrine in Indochina. As head of NATO he had heard, endlessly repeated, the French plaint that they could not pull their weight in Europe or risk the rearming of Germany while the Indochina conflict was draining their lifeblood. The war in Indochina was costing France twice what it was receiving in aid from the U. S. Almost half their officers and non-coms were being drained off to the Indochina conflict and, each year, they were losing more officers

in Indochina than were graduated from the academy at St. Cyr. What apparently impressed General Eisenhower was the announcement of the French Minister of State for Indochina, M. Letourneau, in the spring of 1952, that the French bloodletting was being staunched by allowing that of Baodai's military supporters to flow. M. Letourneau disclosed that whereas the proportion of purely French casualties to total casualties in 1946 was 80%, by early 1952 it had been cut to 17% as a result of the recruitment of Vietnamese troops.

Even before President Eisenhower took office the U. S. had encouraged this recruiting of Baodai Vietnamese to fight Ho Chi Minh's Vietnamese. In 1952-53, the U. S. contributed roughly \$500 millions to the cost of the Indochina war. During M. Mayer's visit, President Eisenhower promised to up the American contribution to some \$800 millions, in order to finance recruitment of an additional 54 light, commando-type battalions of Vietnamese.

This was but the first of many payments which will be required if Asians instead of Westerners are to fight Asians in large numbers. It is estimated that it will cost an additional \$3,000 million to increase the number of Asian military forces loyal to Western objectives to 1,500,000 in two years. Present Washington plans count on these increases to come in Korea, Japan, Formosa, the Philippines, Siam and Vietnam, with a little in Malaya that is to be financed entirely by Britain. The rest of non-Communist Asia including the vast storehouse of military manpower in India and Pakistan, has been "written off" for the time being as too "neutralist" or otherwise engaged to fall in with Western plans to combat Communism militarily.

President Eisenhower was clearly deeply impressed during his Korean visit by the speed with which the Koreans can be transformed into effective fighting men. The building up of the ROK (Republic of Korea) army, after its smashing in 1950 by the North Koreans, has made it unnecessary for the U. S. to increase its troop commitment in Korea, despite the virtual doubling of the Communist forces. By the end of

1952 the ROKs had been built up to 12 divisions, holding the bulk of the line, and by April they had 14 divisions, with 2—300,000 still in training camps and rear areas. If the ROKs can form an additional 6 divisions—as Gen. J. A. Van Fleet, former U. N. Commander in Korea has claimed—this may enable the U.S. to withdraw the bulk of its 7 divisions to rear areas. The great immediate obstacle apparently is to find sufficient able officers. The long-range problem is that such an army cannot be supported by the ravaged Southern half of Korea and must be financed and supplied by the U.S. indefinitely.

The successful use of Korean military manpower has tended to blind Washington to the *exceptional* aspects of the Korean situation. The Koreans are a hardy people, used to sustaining the rigours of their own climate. Furthermore, for five years before the Korean conflict exploded there was a substantial two-way flight of political refugees with the leftwingers going North in comparatively small numbers and the rightwingers and small farmers coming South in larger numbers. This was accelerated as the turmoil of the see-saw battle devastated the country. The result was a large number of rootless and unemployed refugees, many of military age. On top of this the Korean political climate has squeezed out the moderates. The fanatically anti-Communist South Koreans, under Syngman Rhee's shrill leadership, have long strained at the leash and, to hear them talk, would like to go to war with the Soviet Union in addition to the enemies they already face. This makes for an excellent fighting spirit, although it requires political supervision if Syngman Rhee is not to decide on his own when World War III is to start.

Because Korea has raised 425,000 men, it is ridiculous to think that the Philippines and Siam can or will raise large contingents. Certainly, with roughly the same population as South Korea, they *could* theoretically recruit more men into their armies than the less than 50,000 which each now has. But in neither country is there the anti-Communist

fervour which Syngman Rhee possesses, nor the tough fighting qualities that the Korean foot soldier has. The presence of token Filipino and Siamese contingents in Korea has been a tribute to the opportunist international politics of the Siamese dictator Pibul Songgram and the Philippines' corpulent President, Elpidio Quirino, both of whom want to qualify fully for American funds. But it is quite another matter to force a large army on the precarious governmental structures of Siam and the Philippines. As a general, Pibul Songgram presumably would have increased the Siamese army long since if he felt he could. Similarly, President Quirino would presumably want to increase the size and effectiveness of his armed forces to cope with the small insurrection of the Communist Hukbalahaps. In actual fact, President Quirino has forced the resignation of the one man who has attempted to increase the army's anti-Communist effectiveness. In both countries you have the sort of corrupt politics which made it impossible for American military aid to be useful to the Kuomintang Chinese government between 1945 and 1949.

It is, of course, largely for internal political reasons that Americans, including military men who should know better, talk of the Kuomintang forces as a "formidable" threat to the Chinese Communists. The Kuomintang did so poorly against the Communists after 1946 when they outnumbered the latter 4 to 1 in manpower and were the recognized government and in receipt of heavy American arms, shipments and large contingents of advisers. At that time the Communists had no aviation and virtually no tanks. Today, the Chinese Communists outnumber the Kuomintang regulars by at least 10 to 1 in manpower. Even the 600,000 men claimed by the Kuomintang seems less impressive when examined closely. Of this total, only 300,000 are infantry men. Many of these are well-trained, but, as the *New York Times* commented on February 1: "Not all are combat-ready, however, and very few have ever been tested in battle. Potential replacement and reserve strength is limited since the total population of Formosa is under 10 million." Al-

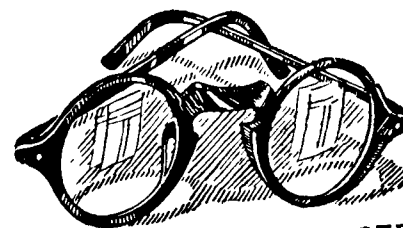
though Formosa has been allocated \$200 millions in military supplies for this year, shipments are lagging particularly in planes; Formosa has under 275 planes, including transports, most of them obsolescent. Perhaps the most objective analysis of Formosa's potentialities was made to the Economic Mobilization Course given to 400 military and civilian leaders in New York. Said Lieut. Col. Marvin Heath on March 27 of General Chiang Kai-shek:

He could establish a beachhead on the China coast, but whether he could penetrate inland to any extent is questionable. It is also questionable whether he would receive any support from Chinese civilians if he made the penetration. Therefore, it seems that for the present his best course is to adopt hit-and-run tactics.

Japan then remains the principal, if fleeting, hope of executing President Eisenhower's new strategy. "Western observers are agreed," said the *New York Times* (February 22), "that unless Japan is rearmed there is no possibility of counterbalancing the Communists' potential strength in the Far East with Asian forces alone." Japan has 9 million men of military age who would make some of the finest soldiers in Asia, if it were possible to expand its present miniature force of 110,000. Most of Japan's rightwing political leaders

are agreeable to rearmament but insist that the United States foot the whole bill, a rather formidable cost, and appear to be in no hurry. Their energies appear to be more taken up with internal squabbles over Cabinet formation. At the same time the leftwing parties, and particularly the leftwing Socialists, have combined a strong propaganda against rearmament with demands for higher living standards. All seem to agree that Japan cannot itself pay for both rice and guns.

Even if Premier Yoshida is returned to office and persuades the United States and his own Diet (parliament) to a substantial increase in the armed forces at American expense, this will meet with considerable external opposition from all those who have suffered in the past at the hands of Japanese imperialism. President Eisenhower and his advisors appear to have overlooked the fact that it will be almost impossible to use, say, Korean and Japanese troops on the same front. Even the fanatically anti-Communist followers of Syngman Rhee might prefer to shoot a Japanese anti-Communist rather than a Korean Communist. In short, President Eisenhower will find it difficult to counter the Asian military revolution without fully comprehending the politics of the Asian revolution.



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INDIAN COMMUNITY PROJECTS AND POINT FOUR

By K. G. SIVASWAMY

[Sri K. G. Sivaswamy who visited the Middle East as a member of the U. N. mission on Community Projects between December 1952 and February 1953 examines in this article Indian Community Projects on the basis of his recent experience.]

COMMUNITY organisation and development follow a uniform pattern under Point Four U. S. assistance to under-developed countries. There are countries inhabited by tribes, who have to be trained in mutual aid by devoted workers. There are countries again where it is not possible to establish co-operative and local self-governing institutions owing to the ignorance of the people. Rural departments of State in these countries have not become effective instruments for awakening the farmer to adopt improved methods in agriculture and educating him in preventive measures for the preservation of health. Consequently, U. S. technical assistance has taken the form of maintaining village level workers, a special staff of social organisers, agricultural and veterinary technicians and a health staff, village welfare committees, group circle committees, and State development and advisory committees. In the absence of permanent community organisations, an extension staff in these countries has to sell seeds, manure and implements. Community participation has also to be promoted by an outside staff inducing the people to undertake one work after another, until the people realise loyalty to their own organisations and are able to supply proper leadership. But in countries with centuries of settled agricultural life, with independent small holders, long-standing village community life, and long-established co-operative societies and village panchayats and maturity of development for managing these institutions, the Point Four pattern may not produce the desired result of raising the village community to higher levels of economic and social organisation. The existing co-operatives and village panchayats may get weakened

by the direct supplies of credit and agricultural requisites, through an imposed State staff, and the creation of new committees and leaders in the village. The provision of a special technical staff independent of the staff of rural departments such as the Agricultural, Co-operative, Health and Education, guided by a superior staff of officers working under a separate department will create confusion in central direction, duplication of service, and divided responsibilities in administration. The village level worker, having no organic relation with the co-operatives and village panchayats, the technical agricultural staff not having the advantage of working through agricultural co-operatives for supplies and sale, and the sanitary and health staff equally suffering from the disadvantage of having no people's organisation to spread their services, the results may not be commensurate with the output of work of these workers and staff.

Community Projects in India seem to have no scheme of utilising the existing staff of the rural departments, and absorbing the temporary staff provided under the project either in the State departments or co-operatives and village panchayats. They cannot be called pilot projects as no State can afford at any foreseeable time to maintain this staff in non-project areas for all the population.

The idea of the appointment of social organisers independent of the technical staff is an American idea of having one set of offices for psychological awakening of the people and another set to work on this awakening for spread of improved practices in agriculture and living. It is dangerous to create the impression in public servants that some

other department is responsible for popularisation of technical improvements and that their work ended with their circulars and talks.

Neither the planting of western standards through family, youth and child welfare and recreational services would take root, as these are all expressions of increased productivity of a country and should grow out of the latter.

Poor farmers who are struggling from crop to crop will be more responsive to a scheme of long-term credit for purchase of milch animals and motor-pumps for irrigation than to lessons in home-economics. home-keeping, nutrition and better housing. Adult education on social or economic progress which needs material resources for its achievement through set lectures will fall flat on a community having no resources and subject to insecurity of living. While confusion already exists in state direction by the addition of a rural welfare department to the existing specialised departments,

it is only accentuated by adding one more department for Community Projects.

In spite of these various defects some advantages are bound to arise in the working of Community Projects. People's contribution to match the State grants in the case of felt-needs will be evoked. The enthusiasm of the project staff may leaven the activities of the rural staff of the State departments. Extension work by a special staff will quickly spread improved practices in agriculture. Preventive health education to the extent promoted by making the people do things rather than by lectures will create new habits among the villagers. But it is essential that from the very commencement existing community organisations should be fully used and strengthened, and a clear demarcation of the staff to be absorbed by the state and the co-operatives and village panchayats, and to be disbanded after the three-year period, should be made.

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PLEASE CALL OR PHONE (8177)



By V. P. SATHE

THE Indian producers for the first time seem to be obsessed with the idea of capturing the international market. They are out to do anything for selling their pictures abroad, especially in the U. S. They are prepared to import foreign technicians, produce pictures in colour, enter into partnerships with foreigners and produce English versions of their pictures in the hope of their getting released abroad.

While all these efforts are commendable in a way, it is worth studying the exact prospects these pictures have of being released abroad. The prospects are bright in Egypt, Turkey and other countries of the Middle East and Far East. With a little effort, buyers can be found for South America, Mexico, France and other countries. As for the countries behind the so-called "Iron Curtain," it is easy to sell pictures for the people's democracies as they have their representatives in India to negotiate directly with our producers. In fact, the Soviet representative has offered a good price for *Do Bigha Zamin* immediately after seeing the rushes. The Soviet Government is likely to buy some more Indian pictures, provided, of course, the pictures are progressive and realistic enough according to the Soviet standards.

The greatest difficulty that the Indian producers will have to encounter is in the U. S. In spite of the assurances that the Hollywood barons gave to Chandulal Shah when he visited Hollywood, it appears that they are not at all interested in giving any encouragement for exhibition of our pictures in New York and other places. All efforts to secure

their co-operation so far have failed miserably. And now the film magnates of India have given up hopes; they feel that unless our Government insists on reciprocal import-export basis, there is not the slightest chance of Indian pictures being shown abroad. One of the spokesmen of the industry went to the extent of saying that if Hollywood barons are not prepared to give facilities for releasing Indian pictures in the U. S. the import of all Hollywood films should be stopped at once. As on the American attitude would depend the success or failure of this craze for the international market, the issue is really important and deserves to be taken up on Governmental level.

Picture Of The Week

If slick direction, pleasant music, smart but sober and aesthetic presentation could make a picture good then *Dard-E-Dil* is a good picture. The craftsmanship and aesthetic taste of that ace director Nitin Bose is evident in every foot of his latest creation. And yet the picture is far from satisfactory for the simple reason it has nothing at all to tell.

It passes one's comprehension how Nitin Bose could have selected a story which has neither a social significance nor a thick plot that could sustain the audience interest. It is another triangle drama, a very synthetic triangle drama at that. Both Nitin Bose and scenarist Benoy Chatterji have been responsible for creating triangle-dramas in the past. *President*, *Dushman* and *Lagan* were all synthetic stories revolving round the eternal triangle. Yet, thanks to powerful dramatic situations and intelligent screenplay,

they were successful in holding the audience almost spellbound.

In *Darde-Dil* both these masters seem to have lost the grip on their art. Known for his strong melodramatic screenplays in the past Benoy Chatterji has evolved in *Darde Dil* a screenplay which not only lacks melodrama but visual action, the very core of a motion picture. The story runs briefly like this. Premnath who in childhood saw a child being beaten, has since then an attack whenever he sees any one being slapped or beaten. So he is what is called a psychological case. Well, he meets Meenaxi, daughter of his father's friend, at the hospital. Later he runs away to a hill station and meets Nimmi who has come there on the recommendation of Meenaxi to take up a job as tutor to Murad's daughter. Nimmi, who is the best friend of Meenaxi falls in love with Premnath. He also reciprocates her feelings but is in honour bound to fulfil his father's last desire. So he runs away again and marries Meenaxi. The triangle comes to the fore when Meenaxi comes to know of Nimmi's love for Prem; and at least now one expects dramatic fireworks. But it is resolved in a tame manner with Nimmi committing suicide.

The Bengalees seem to have a very fatal attitude to love. Otherwise there is no justification for the suicide of a girl just because she lost her lover to her best friend. This fatalistic attitude might have been proper twenty years ago; though the critic even at that time condemned it as reactionary. It is more so now when the era of adolescent love seems to be over. Yet, it must be said to the credit of Nitin Bose and Stars Nimmi and Prem that they have put life into that suicide sequence, and Nitin with clever intercutting has heightened its tempo to a crescendo of poetic tragedy.

But neither the stars nor the technicians could put life into a story which can hardly be called a story. And that is the most painful thing about this picture which, in spite of several songs, is only ten thousand and odd feet long because of the paucity of incidents. Nimmi has done well and so has Prem, though

Dilip would have been more apt for that role, and had Nitin selected Nargis for Meenaxi's role the triangle would have been more intriguing and lively.

Rai Chand Boral's music appealed to me very much; that is perhaps because I am his fan. His song tunes has softness, melody and tilt which one seldom finds in so-called hit songs.

A pretty picture on the whole, *Darde-Dil* is severely lacking in that "Dard" which puts life into motion pictures.

Personality Of The Week

While the speeches and meetings in which the films are the main target of attack are largely publicized, those meetings held to honour a producer of motion pictures do not get even a slight mention in our newspapers. Perhaps, the news agencies do not think that such meetings have any important news value.

That may be the reason why several meetings held in Bombay and Poona in honour of Acharya Pralhad Keshav Atre for producing a very faithful and moving screen version of one of the most popular Marathi books *Shyamachi Aai* written by the late Sane Guruji, the well-known Gandhian Socialist leader, have not been reported in the press. That however does not detract in any manner from the magnificent achievement of one of the most versatile personalities of our time.

Dark, hefty, over six-feet in height, Acharya Atre began his career as a school teacher. He was the headmaster of a high school in Poona and has edited Marathi text books for primary and secondary schools. As a litterateur, he began his career as a poet, and in poetry he specialized in satire and humour. After writing some short stories, he tried his hand at plays and was eminently successful both in his serious emotional dramas and farcical satires.

From a playwright, it was but natural that he should become a screen writer. To his credit are some of the best screen comedies ever written. His comedies however did not attain the same success on the Hindi screen as they did on the Marathi screen; the reason for it was that his robust humour and

subtle wit could not be translated from one language to another.

From a screen-writer he became a producer and he has been producing pictures for over a decade now. First, he made pictures in Hindi as well—pictures like *Cherno Ki Dasi*, *Vasantsena*, *Raja Rani*, *Tasveer* and *Dil Ki Baat* which he directed as well and in which he introduced the popular lyricist Santoshi and music director C. Ramachandra together for the first time. But later he confined himself to production of Marathi pictures, and though some of his pictures were successful, as a director he did not achieve much fame. Known for his flair for comedy and farce, he has surprised his critics by handling so deftly such a poignant emotional story as *Shyamachi Aai*, a semi autobiographical novel glorifying the mother. As its theme is universal it is but natural that this film should be considered good enough for transcription into Hindi. But its success in Hindi would depend upon the authenticity of the atmosphere as presented by Atre; the characters are part of Maharashtrian family life and unless they retain their life-like character the story would lose all its charm in the Hindi screen.

Thus while the Hindi version of *Shyamachi Aai* might help Acharya Atre to stage a come-back on the Hindi screen, he himself seems to have become reconciled to the production of Marathi films. His interest in life however is not confined to films alone. He is a journalist bringing out a popular Marathi weekly, *Navyug*. He takes avid interest in literary, social and political

activities as well. At one time, he was the chief of the Congress Municipal Party in Poona, now he is a critic of the Congress. He fought both for a Corporation and Assembly seat on the Socialist ticket in Bombay. While he won the Corporation seat, he lost the Assembly seat by a narrow margin. During the elections he was one of the principal speakers of the Socialist Party. He has always been a popular orator; in Maharashtra thousands of people come to hear him speak and his opponents are always afraid of his sarcasm and public exposures. He can also act; he has acted both on the stage and the screen and acquitted himself creditably.

In every sphere of his activity he has met with failures and set-backs especially in the film world. Thanks to his unbounded enthusiasm he has, however, overcome all the hurdles so far. And who knows some day he will win due recognition on the Hindi screen as well!

News Of The Week

—A Naya Sansar unit led by producer-director K. A. Abbas has left for Ootacamund for the outdoors of *Rahi*.

—Bimal Roy, the famous Bengali director (*Maa* and *Do Bigha Zamin*) has been elected President of the Indian People's Theatre Association.

—Kishore Sahu has returned from Jaipur and Agra after shooting outdoors of *Mayurpankh* in Gevacolour.

—The outdoor shooting of Raj Kapoor's *Ajanta* (for which he was to go to Kashmir) has been postponed owing to the release of *Aah*.

CINEMA REVIEW:

GUMASTHA

COURAGE wins plaudits when it is acute, and when it endures is just taken for granted. How about the chronic heroism of clerks, that very necessary community that has exchanged fickle hope for assured meagreness? It has never won the Mahavir Chakra (civilian) and never will, though it is as tangible a quality as recklessness in battle. This is no sentimental thought. My admiration for the tribe is sincere and based on long knowledge of every sort of clerk, from the thinly disguised office superintendent and personal assistant to the most candidly designated of juniors. It is easy to ridicule the addiction to petty forms and rules, the obvious limitations of the clerk at his desk. But consider his grit, his unexpectant devotion to work, his willingness to survive a wearing life and enjoy it! That is magnificent, to say the least, magnificent and heartening for it revives one's waning faith in humanity. I went to *Gumastha* willing to applaud—here at least, I thought (reading the advertisements), was public and pictorial recognition of the clerk as a hero. And I left the show in silence with my hands in my pockets.

I do not know how many realise it, but between the director, the screenplay writer and Nagiah they have conspired to present a travesty of a clerk, drowned in self-pity and an apprehension of the semblance of respectability. Had the depiction been intentional, one could have appreciated this singular portrayal of a human drudge, but the story, the dialogue and the settings all make it very clear that this was not intended. Nagiah as Ranganathan is meant to represent the clerk as a conscientious hero, not in triumph but in travail. Imagine a hero so constantly scared of what people might say that he is reduced to habitual inactive lament! Imagine a hero whose only anger is towards his suffering wife! And imagine this paragon possessed of such exquisite integrity that he can find justification for needless borrowings when

already hopelessly in debts, for his utilising a bribe with certain mental reservations, and even for killing his little daughter, but must nurse a feud against his sister through a life-sentence in prison (remember the infanticide) because he is not sure (in spite of her protestations) that her child was born in wedlock! No clerk worth the name was ever so feckless or chicken-hearted.

All this is underlined in red by the militant independence and strong personal loyalties of the clerk's younger brother, who defies a world full of calumny and adversity, sells pickles, and gets rich. But who cares for Nagiah's failure as clerk or hero? *Gumastha* is not just the story of a clerk—the title does little justice to its scope. It is also the story of the clerk's wife and son, of his brother and the pickle business, the sister's wedding and widowhood and the wedding of her daughter, of the death of an old man, a young man and a child, of a host of other vivid people who come into the picture somehow, anyhow. Even the pamphlet gives up the attempt to tell the story half way through and says "See the rest for yourself on the screen!" Thousands (among them many clerks, no doubt) have gone home from *Gumastha* (and will go home) vaguely satisfied with its unrelated profusion, for people go by their overall impressions of a picture and do not stop to analyse them; people have such an uncritical and warm sympathy for any representation of lower middle-class poverty and indebtedness. Moreover, all the melodramatic tragedy in *Gumastha* does not affect one's enjoyment of the comic interludes, for one knows that the story will end happily—legitimacy always triumphs, in the end.

What I liked most in the plentiful, uneven leavening to *Gumastha*'s heavy dough was T. N. Sivathanu, as the affluent father-in-law of the clerk's sister. In spite of pronounced mannerisms, his was a masterly portrait of a good-natured yes-man and yes-husband, always prepared to fol-

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low his wife's lead and the line of least resistance with emphatic gusto. This character has much in common with Nagiah's clerk—both are spineless. Only, Sivathanu's characterisation is incomparably superior; a rich, human and delightful study of a weak but most likeable man.

By now I have come to realise that it is futile expecting a sustained story or telling, artistic restraint from those responsible for the screenplay and direction of Tamil pictures. It is unfair carping over details when such heavy and confused delineation is the rule, but still *Gumastha* would have been better if obvious flaws had not been ignored. Looking at the spotless, smooth attire of the clerk's poverty-stricken family, I was suddenly conscious of a stitched rip in my own shirt. And the story depends, for its climax, on a bridegroom entering details of his nuptial experience in his diary, on the night of his marriage—he dies early in the morning. This diary is lost, and found by an odd chance some fifteen years later, just in time to prove the legitimacy of the daughter by the experience at her wedding. Without going into the probabilities of all this, surely a less indecent denouement could have been devised, one less erasing of the pleasant impression created by the diarist in the brief period before his death? Even K. Ramaswami's brave attempt at sapient humour failed at times (at other times, it succeeded) due solely to cheapness of the dialogue and songs, particularly the Anglo-Tamil dance-songs that he and his partner (M. Saroja) indulge in. Is it sheer poverty of talent that is responsible for so much cheapness in dialogue and song? But before answering or controverting this question one must face a much more disturbing one, suggested to me by observing that these dance-songs seemed to get more or less across to the audience. Is it possible in art as in life, cheapness per se has the most immediate sales value in our country?

"TEEN BATTI CHAR RASTA"

One expects a certain quality in a picture directed by Shantaram, and usually gets it. With an inter-provincial extravaganza like *Teen Batti*



Portrait of a pensive hero

Char Rasta, it must have been easy to step up the contrasts, attempting further humour, till the picture degenerates to a dizzy burlesque. Shantaram has known just where to stop, without losing the opportunity to exploit the multitude of tongues and cultures that the story offers. Here is good fun, from start to finish.

Sandhya, as the plain-faced poor girl in the rich man's house, against the glittering and varied background provided by his five daughters-in-law, plays a difficult role with understanding and assurance—as has been widely acclaimed. But I think it is Dewan Sharar as the rich man that steals the show. His benevolent, eccentric, old idealist is really clever—unlike the rest he gets no help from costume or setting for his portrayal.

The message of the fundamental oneness of all parts of the country is pleasantly and casually conveyed, without being preached. It is Sandhya's love story (in spite of a tepid Karan Dewan) that provides the theme of the picture, rather than this message. However, it is this combination of romance and idealism that makes *Teen Batti Char Rasta* unique among Indian pictures. There have been pictures featuring a grea-

ter idealism; there have been stories centering around a more poignant romance, why, even two or three love-stories in a picture. But, I ask, which other production can hope to please such diverse and avowed opponents of our films as A. I. R., Tandonji and C. R.? It is ironic but true that *Teen Batti Char Rasta* provides the only realisation of their dreams that they can hope for. It placates A. I. R. by kowtowing to its cultural supremacy—the poor heroine's

sole claim to recognition is as a radio singer. Tandonji must find the unifying influence of Hindi in its many-tongued household, and the acceptance of that language as the lingua franca, gratifying in the extreme. And as for C. R., surely no one else has adopted his scheme for unifying India by provincial exogamy so wholeheartedly as the producers of this picture? But perhaps he is no longer interested in such exogamy. —Z.

ANDHRA STATE AND HYDERABAD DISINTEGRATION

PRIME Minister Nehru's announcement in the House of the People of the Government's decision on the report of Mr. Justice Wanchoo heralded the triumph of authoritarian parochialism plus its pressure and wirepulling tactics over justice and fairplay. There is something fishy about the rejection of Mr. Justice Wanchoo's recommendations, especially the one relating to the temporary location of the capital of the Andhra State, in view of the fact that the recommendations of other commissions, like the Finance Commission, have been accepted almost *in toto*. The Government of India might try to escape by saying that Mr. Wanchoo had been asked simply to report on the implications of the decision to create an Andhra State and not to make any recommendations. Apart from the fact that Mr. Wanchoo made a large number of recommendations, one would be inclined to question the wisdom of the Central Government's action in taking a decision before knowing its implications. Would any sensible and responsible Government embark on a policy of putting the cart before the horse? If the purpose was merely to know the implications of the decision, it was not necessary to employ a Chief Justice for the purpose; they could have as well got them by making a revised study of the report of the Partition Committee.

There was, thus, no point in appointing Mr. Justice Wanchoo to

enquire into and report on the financial and other implications of the creation of the Andhra State unless it was for the purpose of getting a fair and just verdict of an impartial judicial authority on the conflicting claims of both the parties on the various issues arising out of the proposed separation. When two parties put forth conflicting claims, it is only a judge that is competent to decide on which side justice leans and the only way to assure that a fair deal has been given to all is to accept and implement his recommendations, whatever they are. If his recommendations are rejected, it can only mean that the Government have been influenced by considerations or motives other than those of justice. For, to try to sit in judgment over or, what is worse, to reject or in any way amend judicial findings in any dispute between two parties is an insult both to the judge and justice; it reduces judicial enquiry and settlement of disputes by arbitration by a judge to a farce. Subjected as they are to political pressures of all kinds from all corners, Governments are not expected to retain that sense of values and of justice required to arrive at just conclusions. From this point of view, it is outrageous on the part of the Central Government to have rejected or not accepted all recommendations of Mr. Justice

Wanchoo except the one relating to a common High Court.

Rejection of Mr. Wanchoo's recommendation that the temporary capital of the Andhras should be located in Madras City has destroyed the Government of India's reputation for impartiality, as also public respect for judicial findings. It appears as though Andhras have been victimised for the offence of their having persisted in demanding a separate State in open, though passive, defiance of the "tribal" opinion of Mr. C. Rajagopalachari about the conception of linguistic states. The Centre's approach in this matter betrays a grudging, if not a vindictive, mentality violently prejudiced against Andhras. I have good reason to believe that the democratic necessity to concede the principle of linguistic redistribution of states against his conviction and inherent disinclination has disturbed Mr. Nehru so much that he has come to hate the very word "linguistic" and to disfavour the association of all those who lend their support to any demand smacking of linguism, even though it may be otherwise quite justified. The deepening of his dislike for linguistic states into a prejudice is a psychological development, which has become a political factor to be reckoned with by all those who are favourably disposed towards linguistic states. Swami Ramanand Tirth, who put forth a strong plea for the disintegration of Hyderabad State on a linguistic basis at the Congress session, is the first victim of Mr. Nehru's linguistic prejudice. A time-honoured convention was broken when Swami Ramanand Tirth, Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Congress session, was excluded from the Congress Working Committee. He was given to understand that Mr. Nehru did not want to burden his executive with protagonists of linguistic states. Again, when a Socialist delegation met Mr. Nehru recently to plead for the merger of some Marathi border villages of Hyderabad with the Bombay State, Mr. Nehru wanted to be first satisfied that the demand was not linguistic. A member of the delegation confided to me that Mr. Nehru had told them, "Look here, I hate the very word 'linguistic.' Suppose I

grant all other demands in your list, will you give up the demand for the merger of the villages with Bombay."

Had Mr. Nehru extricated himself from this linguistic complex and bestowed a little more objective thought on the matter, he would have discovered that if the Andhras' demand for a linguistic state is tribal and parochial, Rajaji's objection to the temporary location of the capital in Madras City is also essentially tribal in character and betrays a most reactionary parochialism. It was in Rajaji's power to dissuade sectional leaders from raising a hue and cry over the recommendation of Mr. Wanchoo. He could have himself appealed to the good sense of the broadminded Tamils. The man of cold logic, who never bowed down to blackflag demonstrations in the past, cannot be said to have been swayed by the exaggerated mob feeling in Tamil Nad against the temporary location of Andhra capital in Madras City unless he himself shared the linguistic passion. It was not as though Mr. Wanchoo's recommendation was a rash and thoughtless one. Mr. Wanchoo anticipated possible objections to the temporary location of the capital in Madras City, and, answering them, said that it presented no "insuperable difficulty." But Rajaji's parochialism could not digest the logic of this sane recommendation. Forgetting so soon that he had waxed eloquent over the impropriety of a debate on the Khosla Committee report on the ground it was a confidential document, Rajaji allowed himself to be drawn hastily into a discussion in the Assembly on Mr. Wanchoo's recommendation at a time when his report was still a confidential document. Rajaji has also done considerable philosophical research in the process of piling up arguments against Mr. Wanchoo's recommendation. He argued that Andhras would do well to have difficulties to start with by having their capital in a desert-like place, because, according to him, difficulties foster a sense of unity and make the people work hard! If his theory on the beneficial nature of difficulties is valid, he could have as well applied it to the advantage of his co-linguists by

agreeing to the temporary location of the Andhra capital in Madras city, a prospect over which he and his lieutenants appeared to be having nightmares.

It is also interesting to note that Mr. Rajagopalachari, according to Mr. Nehru's announcement, has no objection to the location of some of the Andhra offices in Madras City; he has also so far raised no objection to making the Madras High Court a joint High Court for the Andhra and residuary States. If these do not create any problems, it is difficult to understand what insurmountable difficulties would arise if the Andhra capital is temporarily located in Madras City. The truth of the matter is that Rajaji's objection to the temporary location of the capital in Madras is based essentially on a narrow linguistic sentiment, his attachment to the city and his sadistic pleasure in irritating Andhras by opposing all demands suggestive of any remote claims to the city. In order to succeed in this mission, he has spread panic and built up a case artificially on the airy foundation of invented fears, administrative problems and inconveniences. It is a pity that the Government of India,

who refused to be coerced into taking a decision in favour of the creation of the Andhra State by Sri Potti Sriramulu's fast, even disregarding warnings about possible repercussions in Andhra in the event of his death, have been now coerced into going to the extent of rejecting a judicial recommendation by Rajaji's alarming accounts of the horrors likely to follow the acceptance of the recommendation, which have now proved to be fantastic and insincere.

The rejection of Mr. Wanchoo's recommendation in regard to the temporary location of the capital will have serious and most unpleasant consequences. Both for the temporary and permanent capitals, Andhra State will have to find crores of rupees. It will have either to tax the people who are already taxed heavily, or turn a beggar. If the capital is allowed to be located in Madras, no such expenditure need be incurred, since they can have their permanent capital in Hyderabad City, when that State is disintegrated. Besides, the inadequacy of facilities for meeting the administrative needs of a new State will cause irritations and impair the administration.—K. S. S.

ITARSI JUNCTION

By N. S. RAMASWAMI

THERE was a strange air of expectancy as the Grand Trunk Express hurtled across the plains of Madhya Pradesh into the gathering twilight. Every stunted shrub, every forlorn tree appeared to be on the eve of a memorable revelation. The sensitive traveller, not possessed of "negative capability", was at a loss to explain the invisible, but obvious, excitement that pervaded land and air. Every fluttering of the breeze, every movement of the fugitive leaf appeared to tell of some impending event, but the traveller, vainly seeking for a clue, was merely distraught. The sensation multiplied manifold as the train drew into Amla station with a great metallic clang. There seemed to be some tantalising dark-

ness at the core of the sunshine which still illuminated the weary landscape. The station buildings lay aloof and secluded as if unwilling to obtrude themselves on some far greater pageantry, whose invisible but definite oncoming every aspect of nature foretold. The train resumed its journey with the purposefulness of a man going to keep a valuable appointment.

There is a grand passage in Wendell Holmes in which he contrasts the claims of the mountains and the sea as spectacles. If he had happened upon the Vindhya mountains in the magical hour of twilight, he would not have hesitated in indicating his preference. For, it was the Vindhya mountains that lay just ahead of

the train as it made its way across a seemingly interminable plain, which had, as it appeared, agreed to subjugate its own personality to that of its magnificent neighbour. If the Vindhya had been a *prima donna*, its arrival on the stage of the traveller's consciousness could not have been conceived with greater ingenuity. The theatre seemed to be holding its breath as it waited for the great artiste.

Now the mystery was solved. Looking out from the train, the traveller could make out the outlines of a massive mountain, a faded blue in colour, but already terrible in aspect. Every moment brought the creature nearer and nearer until at last the train was making its way, coweringly and shaken as it seemed, across its passes.

The mighty Grand Trunk Express was an infinitely little thing, an object of no account, as it felt its way across the majestic mountain. On both sides there towered fearful crags; in time these fell away into abysmal Tartarean depths. There was a great clangour as tree dashed against tree; there was a perfect fusillade as if ten thousand armies were clashing with each other in the darkness. The noise was deafening, but the spectacle was not of this world. When one of the passengers got down at an intermediate station, Hinganaghat (or it might have been Hoshangabad), he appeared to be on his way to the North Pole or the Sahara; so unearthly did it seem.

From mile after mile the Vindhya mountains lay outside the train, grim and menacing. In vain did the battered traveller attempt to withdraw his gaze from the frightening spectacle outside. As the train, puny and insignificant, entered a tunnel, he was recalled with startled abruptness to a sense of his duty, for the Vindhya would not be

denied their due. That terrible night they were guilty of nothing less than a continual and successful assault upon the feelings.

It was, therefore, with inexpressible relief that the traveller beheld the train entering the illuminated brightness of Itarsi junction. He sought to make terms with normalcy by purchasing a carton of biscuits; surely nothing could have been better calculated to dispel the frightening vision of the Vindhya as they lay couched just on the other side of Itarsi, determined on another assault on harrowed feelings. But, this was only a respite. The Vindhya claimed him once again as the train reluctantly drew out of Itarsi on its way to Bhopal. As the traveller lay tossing on his bed while the Grand Trunk Express hurtled towards Bina, Jhansi, Gwalior, Agra, Muttra and at last imperial Delhi, the Vindhya lay on his consciousness as if in bodily presence.

It was a bright day when the traveller, homeward bound, returned to the Vindhya. It was difficult to recognise in the pleasant and homely protuberance the dreared and frightening Vindhya of a month back. The cliffs did not appear so towering or the depths so frightening. Every tree and every shrub breathed an air of friendliness. The ogre had turned genial fairy. As the train whistled its way merrily towards Nagpur, the ranges of the Vindhya fell away one by one until at last they again seemed a speck of pale blue. They appeared to make a gesture of valediction when the train, taking a curve, steamed away from the friendly spectacle. When shall the traveller see the Vindhya again!

It now appeared a brutal assault on the feelings when, at Amla station, a vendor offered *thair sadam*, speaking in Tamil for all the world as if he were at Mayavaram.

B. C. G. vaccination is potentially dangerous, and there is no convincing evidence that it gives protection against tuberculosis. Its widespread use will give a false sense of security and make it less likely that the conditions that cause tuberculosis will be dealt with.
—British Union for the Abolition of Vivisection.

IF PEACE BREAKS OUT

By P. G. KRISHNAYYA

ONCE again the horrible phrase "peace scare" is being heard in some places. Key stocks have slumped in Wall Street and, as Sylvia Porter, American economist has reported, there is mirthlessly agitated speculation about a "Malenkov depression" in some corporate board rooms. Nothing could be more damaging to America's world status than these intimations that the prospect of a Korean armistice and some semblance of global stabilization has frightened the U. S. to death. Any pillars of society who are murmuring such nervous words deserve to be on the Kremlin's payroll. For they are helping to promote the caricature of America that Communist propagandists have been drawing for years.

The worldwide hopes that have risen in recent days may prove exaggerated or premature. We won't know the answer until far more tangible developments have taken place. But we must be as prepared for the outbreak of peace as for new and unexpected explosions. If influential Americans succumb to the feeling that any relaxation of world tension means a new kind of doom, we will make a desolate spectacle of ourselves in a war-weary world. For the benefit of Tass' local correspondents, let us swiftly note that the soberest words we have read on this point come from the house organ of finance-capital itself, The Wall Street Journal. On April 8 that newspaper took pained notice of armistice panic-mongering with this sharp comment:

"War itself is a terrible thing but we find more terrible yet the fact that there are men walking about who talk of peace as if it were terrible."

The truth is that the "war party" in the U. S. is a small, scattered battalion. There are some backward businessmen who are terrified by the readjustment that even limited tranquility would entail. There are a few legislators whose political investment in Chiang Kai-shek's cause is so great that any easing of the Asian

conflict looks like disaster to them. There are some earnest men who honestly believe that any *modus vivendi* achieved without the full liberation of all enslaved peoples is an ignoble deal. But in the unhappy moral choices that confront us, most of humanity, here as elsewhere, instinctively prefers even a prolonged truce to atomic war—on the rather ancient theory that while there's any life there is hope for anything.

Real perplexities will undoubtedly be created by any honourable agreement in Korea or anywhere else. They will constitute a formidable challenge to the Eisenhower administration. There will be widespread anxiety about economic dislocation. Equally serious may be the pressure for a quick, total let-down and the dissipation of all our national strength—the fatal folly of the post-war years. In the twilight zone ahead of us, the Federal Government will be required to plan and to act more energetically and decisively on the home front than ever before. But whatever happens, no problems are insoluble, no uncertain ties overwhelming if we function as a mature nation. If there is at least a glimpse of peace on the horizon, it should be heralded as the moment for which millions have prayed. The challenges of such an era are the kind that free men should rejoice to meet. If the end is in sight in Korea, possibly this is also a time to reaffirm the grim glory of that bitter campaign. It will be cynically said that this has been a futile inconclusive struggle; only the other day *The Daily News* once again dismissed the U. N.'s stand in Korea as a costly, useless adventure conducted at American expense. (*The Daily News* never counts South Korean casualties.) History, we believe, will view it differently, indeed, whatever respite the world achieves in the coming months may be largely attributable to that frustrating and bloody ordeal. For it was in Korea that free nations—for the first time—drew a line and joined collectively to resist an aggressor before he had set the world

afire. We may never fully appreciate how big a chapter that was in the education of Georgi Malenkov.

What is Malenkov depression? Sylvia F. Porter, an able economic interpreter, has this to say:—

If it finally is peace in Korea.... What then happens to us? And to our economy in general? There's no point in ducking the challenge. Our economy is rushing along at a record-smashing pace primarily because the Government is spending so many billions on defence, because industry is spending so many billions on expansion and because you and I, the nation's consumers, are spending so many billions on everything from autos to zippers.

Major cuts in any one of these three types of spending could bring on the long-anticipated recession. That's why there's a "peace scare" in Wall Street now. That's why there is chilling debate over a "Malenkov depression." So what happens if there is a truce?

Let's put first things first. It's utter nonsense even to think that a truce in Korea will lead to an immediate slash in armament spending. The defence build-up might be more gradual and less feverish; spending might be so spread out that a balanced budget would shift from a distant possibility to a distinct probability. But for a long time, military strength will be a national policy, military training will be part of the education of our young men and this sort of spending will remain a primary prop.

Peace in Korea well might bring a psychological let down though. Just as there was an inflationary shock when the Korean war came, so there may be a deflationary shock on a Korean peace business may pull back on expansion plans; your attitude may become more cautious. These are at least possibilities. Then of one thing you may be virtually certain:

Tax cuts will come. And the impact of tax cuts may be electrifying, for a \$10 tax reduction for you and me would be equivalent to a \$10 raise in pay—would be even better than a wage raise for in the period we are discussing, prices would be stable or lower. A \$10 tax reduction

for corporations would be equally stimulating.

And if tax cuts were not sufficient to keep the "readjustment" relatively mild, these weapons also would be at hand:

1. A great programme by Federal and State Governments for public construction. We could spend \$6 billion a year for 10 years on roads alone, \$2 billion a year for a decade on schools, \$one billion a year for the next 10 years on hospitals. Throw in all the rest—slum clearance, reclamation, etcetera—and you can grasp the strength of this weapon alone.

2. A vast programme by industry to penetrate existing markets. As a mechanical measure of the size of markets in our own homeland, there still are 11,000,000 houses with no inside toilets, nearly 7,000,000 with no inside water facilities.

3. Major efforts by business and labour to develop new inventions, create new wants. Air conditioning can be to the mid-50s what automobiles were to the mid-20s. And price reductions—made in time—can have as deep an effect as tax cuts on our ability and willingness to spend our pay cheques.

4. A determined drive by Government, business and labour to promote the investment of American funds in other lands to develop new markets for us and and new sources of supply for us. With peace, trade among nations could be resumed, expanded to new heights.

And this is just a sampling of "offsets" we can use.

Anything approximating peace would put a period on inflation but it need not bring more than a slight, short adjustment. If we have a "Malenkov depression" it'll be by default and be our own fault.

McCarthy-Malenkov Era

American papers are carrying the following interesting story from European sources:—

In German and foreign diplomatic circles in Bonn they are repeating a very bitter and very fearful parody prediction that the Stalin era has ended and the Eisenhower era has begun.

"The Stalin era has ended," they

are saying, "and McCarthy-Malenkov era has begun."

The name of McCarthy (Senator of Wisconsin) is mentioned even more frequently and acidly these days than the name of Malenkov.

One German politician, an old war horse who was a veteran at the time of the Weimar Republic, summed up the reason very succinctly:

"Those who think that the future moves of Malenkov are the greatest mysteries in the world today are mistaken. There is a parallel riddle, just as dangerous and just as pressing: 'What will McCarthy do next and where will it lead?'"

Europeans are astonished and disheartened and dismayed by what they have read of the United States Government's conduct of its diplomacy in the past few weeks—the spectacle of McCarthy puppetizing the State Department almost as effectively as Edgar Bergen puppetized McCarthy's namesake.

They are astonished and they are disturbed at the fantastic sequence of events in Washington in the past few weeks which several have summed up to this correspondent as: 1. President Eisenhower's inability to provide the Congressional leadership to fight McCarthy in the open; (2) McCarthy's night of the 'long knives', and (3) the spectacle of seeing what they can only construe to be a deep-seated actual cringing 'fear' of Russia inherent in the 'security' inquisitions on American career diplomats. "The bright and hopeful era of American world leadership so accurately and vividly described by Mr. Adlai Stevenson during the autumn election campaign seems to have degenerated with McCarthy's demagoguery into one of the most shameful spectacles in the history of any modern state," one British official said.

"We cannot understand what you people are trying to do to your foreign service," a French career diplomat said with disbelief.

"The West German capital is probably the most gruesome observation post in the world from which to watch the spectacle of the incredible streak of mass masochism now sweeping America—a self-torture which is helping to destroy the

dignity America built up over the last decade," was the way one German parliamentarian described the present investigations of the State Department.

And you ask why, as though you didn't know.

And the German replies: "Remember Hindenburg."

You ask what a dirigible has to do with it.

And he replies: "Not the dirigible but the man" and reminds you: "It is 1932 all over again when the respected, almost exalted honour of the great soldier was usurped and stained by a group which later invented a system of security and justice known as the 'Gestapo.'"

"Surely, there's no analogy," one objects, "between Weimar, 1932, and Washington, 1952."

"Oh, now you'll tell me, 'It can't happen here,' " he replies and you look at his arm and know that if he pulled back the sleeve of that coat you would find a serial number, tattooed there to signify he was an alumnus of Buchenwald, as far back as the 1932s. "That is just the way it started here 21 years ago."

"The first step—Himmler was an expert at it—is to discredit all the key members of your civil service. It is to rant and harangue the little lie into the big lie until it is accepted as the big truth. Today they are after your 'Chip' Bohlen and the key people in your civil service. Tomorrow they will go a step further."

"And the next day, you will be reading perhaps that there was more to Eisenhower's accepting a medal from Red Russia than met the eye. Or that his postwar trip to Moscow as a guest of Zhukov was highly suspect. Give them time and the people will become infatuated with the sport and their support will grow. Hindenburg, they say, should have slapped down Hitler in the beginning. But, then, that is another story....."

The old man had been talking for half an hour as we sat in the Bوندstag looking out over the Rhine, mist-shrouded in the spring sunlight.

"Remember Hindenburg," he repeated, very softly, as though to

himself. "And, further, that power cannot be compromised and that when the night of the long knives begins no man is immune nor his reputation so pure he can survive. This is a lesson you must learn from history."

And, looking at the old man, one would like to dismiss what he said as mere nostalgia for the days of Weimar or the fantasies born of brutality in Buchenwald. And that would be possible if one did not have to read the newspapers next day.

Bowles To Write A Book

Chester Bowles of Connecticut, retiring U. S. Ambassador to India, has written to a Hartford newspaper man saying that "it may well be that I shall decide to devote my time permanently to the field" of American foreign affairs when he returns to this country in May.

"My first priority is to help in any way that I can to develop a better understanding of the dangers and opportunities that we face in India and in Asia," Mr. Bowles wrote in response to questions airmailed to him by a political reporter for *The Hartford Courant*. The reply dated March 22, said:

"I have been privileged to serve America in a far distant crucial part of the world. I have seen enough in India and the rest of Asia to appreciate the fact that our security and the future of our American democracy are very much at stake."

Mr. Bowles, who is now in Indonesia, wrote that "during the next year I intend to devote a great deal of time to writing and speaking on the subject of foreign affairs, and particularly on the problems and potentialities in Southeast Asia."

"Believe it or not," he added, "nine publishers have written over the last several months asking if I would be interested in doing a book. I have finally settled on one and I hope to have it finished by midsummer, which as you can see will mean a lot of concentrated work when I get back."

Mr. Bowles said that on his return to this country "there will be some consultations in Washington. I have had a really surprising number

of requests to speak for all sorts of audience from one end of the country to the other. I don't know how many of them I will be able to accept, but I do hope to do a lot of speaking around the U. S. beginning next fall. I think that these requests show a very healthy interest in India, which I think is a very good thing for our relations with India and the rest of Asia."

One of the questions submitted to Mr. Bowles concerned his possible candidacy for the Democratic nomination for Governor in Connecticut in 1954. He was Governor in 1949 and 1950 and was defeated for reelection in 1950 by Governor John Davis Lodge, a Republican.

"Beyond this period of speaking and writing," Mr. Bowles said, "my own plans are quite indefinite. I will always, of course, be interested in our governmental problems in Connecticut, which I feel are so basic to the strengthening of our democracy."

"Whether my interest will take an active form or not is a question which I simply cannot answer at this time, nor do I expect that I will be able to answer it for a great many months to come."

Mr. Bowles said he "understands that the Connecticut budget has hit an all-time high and that the Lodge Administration is planning to increase the sales tax and various business taxes. I was glad to hear that there was continued interest in reorganization (of the State Government) and that there were some chance that something might be done this year."

The retiring Ambassador said that he planned to meet Adlai E. Stevenson, Democratic Presidential nominee in 1952, in Indonesia, on April 8 or 9.

"We are leaving on April 10 for two days in Singapore and Malaya to get some first-hand impressions of the way the struggle against the Communists is going in Malaya."

Mr. Bowles wrote he would be in Saigon, the capital of Viet Nam, on April 12, and then would go to Hong Kong, Formosa, Japan and possibly to Korea. He said he hoped to be back at his home in Essex, Connecticut, on May 4 or 5.

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SIDELIGHTS :

THE controversy between Sri Morarji Desai and the *Times of India* has developed into a battle-royal between the Dalmia group of newspapers and the Express group of newspapers. The *Indian Express* published the other day a special statement of Sri K. Gopalaswami under a thick triple column heading, "Pulling down Nehru sole aim of Dalmia and *Times*." Sri Gopalaswami served the *Times of India* for 25 years "both during its British and Indian periods" and he was its first Indian Editor. We are told that as Editor of the *Times of India* he was getting a salary higher than that of the Prime Minister. There could be no question of under-payment for such services as he might have rendered as Editor. On the contrary he was rewarded for them on a scale which it has not been even Pandit Nehru's good fortune to reach.

Now he accuses Dalmia of interference with editorial freedom, "blatantly insisting that the man who pays the piper has the right to call the tune." We are informed that, as laid down by Seth Ramakrishna Dalmia, "the political assassination of Prime Minister Nehru by constant denunciation of the Government of India and all State Governments is the fundamental aim of the *Times of India*." In proof of the allegation certain confidential instructions and correspondence that passed between the Editor and the Management are quoted in Sri Gopalaswami's special statement.

Journalists in responsible positions are expected to honour the confidences bestowed on them in the course of their duties while holding such positions. At the call of a higher duty a lower duty may be violated, and it is permissible for an Editor, suddenly confronted with an affront to professional dignity, to decline to honour offensive directives and take the public into confidence about the circumstances of his revolt. But the revolt should be immediate,

with no interval in which the profits of obedience to the resented insulting order, are pocketed. If, at the moment when Sri Gopalaswami received from Dalmia the obnoxious instructions which he has now published, the Editor in him had risen in wrath and denounced the traducer of editorial freedom, he would have been hailed as a heroic champion of the liberties of the press all over the country. But he quietly submitted to the indignity and the public heard nothing about it until now, long after he was relieved from service. Now we find him ranged on the side of the enemies of Sri Dalmia. One can of course take one's loyalty anywhere after termination of a contract of service, and at different periods one may serve two masters between whom there is no love lost. But it is a matter for shame for the press, that one of its leading lights who over-reached even the Prime Minister in income, should violate the loyalty for which he was so highly paid, not for a higher principle, but in the interest of one of the sides in a feud between press barons. This sort of sharp practice, under a make-believe of righteousness, to make the best of two conflicting worlds, is sickening.

In the matter of raising up, or pulling down leaders like Nehru and their Governments, there is little to choose between one chain of newspapers and another. All chains are tarred with the same brush. To one imbued with the authentic spirit of journalism at its best, the nurture of one daily newspaper so as to elevate it into a high exemplar of trustworthiness and freedom, an instrument of reliable public and national service, is an exacting enough responsibility. But to those who regard the running of newspapers as a trade, there is no limit to the ambition of possessiveness, nor is there any restraint on the score of standards where profits are concerned. That is why the chain newspapers symbolise the transference into the press of some of the most ugly features of competitive commerce. They have

no sanctities. They are prepared to trade on the sacredness of leaders, but Mammon is the super-deity, and at Mammon's shrine they will without compunction sacrifice Nehru or any Government.

The struggle between the *Times of India* and the *National Standard* should not mislead anyone. It illus-

trates the degradation of journalism in the country under the direction of the chain-owning merchants. The aim is revenue. The pretension is press freedom. The more covetous the aim, the loftier the assumption of rectitude, the more spurious the pretension. Sri Morarji Desai should not tumble from the *Times* into the lap of the *National Standard*.—SAKA.

THE RAILWAY CENTENARY—II

By H. RANGACHAR

THE existing railway system is mostly what the British builders and administrators made of it. A brief review therefore of the main features of it and of the important aspects of their policy will not be out of place, as it will be useful in providing the necessary background for the consideration of the present condition of railways and the problems confronting them.

A criticism often made is that the railway system of the country was solely designed to meet the military requirements of the expanding British empire and its consolidation. It is no doubt true that the most important consideration was a military one. But as the official records clearly show, economic and commercial considerations were of almost equal importance. "Great tracts are teeming with produce they cannot dispose of, others are scantily bearing what they would carry in abundance, only if it could be conveyed whither it is needed", observed Dalhousie in his Minute already referred to. The economic considerations were those of colonial imperialism, as to what would best subserve the interests of Britain by making available raw materials for her industries and a market for her manufactured products. "England is calling aloud for the cotton" which India produced and railways would not only facilitate its transport but also open up a vast market for British goods. This is repeatedly stressed in the despatches of the period. Thus, though military considerations played a dominant part, economic considerations also received attention. The import of "capital and skill"

from England has also met with some adverse criticism. It should however be clear to any student of economic history that the large outlay of capital required could not have been raised locally. Subsequent attempts made by the Government to attract Indian capital did not generally prove successful. Out of about £86 million raised up to 1869, less than one per cent was subscribed in India. Even independent India has not been able to finance her railway or other developments without foreign capital and had to resort to loans from the World Bank at rates of interest approximating to those on the guarantee loans.

As for skill and technical talent it was necessary also to "import" it but its perpetuation down to the day of independence was unjustified.

The rates of interest on loans and the terms given to British companies under the guarantee system, specially in the earlier stages, have been more favourable than the conditions of the money market at the time justified. The Government of India have on some occasions protested against these to the Secretary of State for India. The railway companies domiciled in England had been in a position to exercise influence on the Secretary of State and get advantageous terms, despite the opposition of Government of India. There have also been instances in which unjustifiable delay resulted in higher rates of interest having to be paid. With due allowance for all these, it cannot be said that in the context of the magnitude of development involved, the additional burden on the Indian tax-payer has been high.

The cost of railway construction has also been animadverted upon. The outlay per mile according to estimates in the early stages of construction, was £900 for single line and £15,000 for double line, broad gauge. The average cost of construction was about £20,000 per mile excluding the cost of land which was given free. The capital cost varied widely from one railway to another. The cost on the East Indian Railway was £25,000 and on the G. I. P. Railway £20,000 while in the Madras Presidency, it varied from £8,000 to £12,000 per mile. The nature and standards of construction also account in some part for this wide variation. The works and track of the E. I. Railway were substantial and have proved economical in the long run. As pointed out by R. C. Dutt in his *India Under the Victorian Age*, the higher rates of interest in some cases, insufficient control by Government and indifference of companies were the factors which contributed to the higher costs of construction, in early stages particularly.

It may be noted in passing that railways have not always profited from this early experience. In the programme of new construction and rehabilitation of railways launched in 1924, the capital expenditure was incurred on "too lavish a scale" and under a "deficient sense of proportion" as observed by the Wedgewood Committee in 1937. There were instances in which cost of new construction exceeded the original estimates by more than 100%, while excesses of 30 to 50 per cent were not uncommon. The Railway Retrenchment Committee of 1931 observed that "the railways in the first flush of having unlimited funds at their disposal commenced new constructions on too optimistic estimates." "Railway estimates appear to have a habit of falsifying themselves to an inconvenient extent," observed the *Railway Problem*, published by the Servants of India Society, Poona, in 1924.

It should however be added that in the light of subsequent developments, the physical assets and the additional capacity then provided have been justified though it cannot be denied that with greater care and control waste could have been avoided and

capital expenditure reduced substantially. In the absence of carefully prepared projects and estimates, of continuous vigilance and control, technical and financial, there is always the great risk of waste and excessive expenditure in undertaking and pushing through large works as recent experience, particularly in the river valley schemes in independent India, has shown. Though there have been instances of extravagant expenditure in railways also, they have not been frequent or numerous. The railways system of India now represents assets well worth more than the capital spent on them.

It should in fairness be said that the Government of India, particularly during the early and formative periods, took care to guard the interests of the country in the matter of railways. The provision in the terms of guarantee for the purchase of railways by the Government at fixed periods and the exercise of this option in all cases obviated the difficulties which other countries have experienced in taking over and nationalising concerns financed by foreign capital and worked by foreign companies.

In the actual administration and operation of railways, particularly in later periods, there have been justifiable grounds for criticism. The greatest defect of the administration of Indian railways under the British has been the failure to enlist the goodwill of the people of the country. The latter looked upon the railways generally as an institution for the exploitation of the country in the interests of Great Britain. There were many defects in the administrative policies of railways. The railways, with a few exceptions, were managed by private British companies with headquarters in Britain and had no close contacts with the people they had to serve. The superior posts on railways were all held by British officers who also had not that contact with the people and the knowledge of their requirements which were necessary for a commercial institution serving the public. Indian talent and capacity were discouraged and all superior posts were till recently monopolised by the British. The efficient working of rail-

ways of independent India by Indian personnel, against heavy odds, has demonstrated their capacity to manage such big undertakings. The third class passenger who was by far the largest patron was neglected and got a "raw deal" from railways both under the company and State management. The rates policy pursued by railways justified the criticism often levelled against them that they favoured unduly foreign manufacturers and trade. No attempt was made to encourage the manufacture of locomotives, vehicles and other equipment needed for the railways. On the contrary, the policy was one of discouraging any such enterprise in consonance with the policy of colonial imperialism of retarding the development of heavy and large-scale industries. Latterly, the companies did not follow progressive policies of improving and modernising their plant and equipment.

The brief review of the salient fea-

tures of Indian railways during the pre-independence period shows: (i) The country has in its railways a valuable property which has been built at a fair capital cost on the whole; (ii) Generally the policies pursued by the British administration in regard to the construction, ownership and development of railways were in the interests of the country and facilitated nationalisation on attainment of independence; (iii) The administration and operation of railways by the companies and the British Government of India were in some respects defective and not quite in the interests of the country. They failed to secure the goodwill and support of the people of the country.

The changes that have occurred in the administration and working of the railways since independence, their present position, their problems and the plan for their development and rehabilitation will be dealt with in the next article.

NEW HOME FOR INDIAN STUDENTS IN LONDON

A fine new building has arisen to grace London's University quarters. It is the headquarters of the Y. M. C. A. Indian Students Union and Hostel in Fitzroy Square. Built and furnished at a cost of £125,000, its foundation-stone was laid by the former Indian High Commissioner in the U. K., Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon, and on March 24 the building was declared open by the present High Commissioner, Mr. B. G. Kher.

A feature of this five-story building is its Mahatma Gandhi Assembly Hall. Students and other Indian nationals in London and British friends crowded in this hall for the opening ceremony. Presiding over the distinguished gathering, which included Lord Swinton (Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations), was Sir Ewart Greaves (chairman of the management committee).

Mr. Kher, in declaring the building open, spoke of the great responsibility of Indian students coming to

Britain for higher education. It was not enough for a student to possess intellectual ability and shine in the classroom or the examination hall. It was even more necessary that he should display those social and moral qualities which were the hallmark of men of true culture and humanity.

Mr. Kher recalled that his predecessor, Mr. Krishna Menon, had laid the foundation-stone of this hostel, and that the Government of India had made a contribution towards the cost of construction.

The new building contains hostel accommodation for 56 students, each provided with a room equipped with modern amenities. Special attention has been paid to the provision of public rooms so as to enable the hostel and union to fulfil its function as a meeting place for East and West. In addition to the Mahatma Gandhi Assembly Hall, there is a spacious dining hall, a lounge and common room, a television and discussion room, a social room and a games room.

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.

Panchayat Elections

A better method of creating factions in villages could not have been thought of by the Madras Government's than the method of conducting elections to the minor Panchayat Boards. People are penned in a large enclosure from 9 a.m. to 3 p.m. Non-voters get in to have some fun or to support their favourites. A lot of time is generally taken to eliminate them. The voters, old and young, the diseased and the decrepit, women in the family way and woman with babies tucked to their breasts all are made to squat on the bare floor with their throats drying up and their heads burning. A small scuffle for space or a wild rumour of fire in a distant corner disturbs the congregation and steps have to be taken afresh to restore peace. Voters are made to lift up their hands, sometimes twice or thrice, for the same person in order to ensure proper counting and satisfy the contesting candidates, who demand a recount, hoping that their frowning eyes would turn many a voter to their side. Officials are no exception to this treatment and so they wisely refrain from exercising their vote despite the displeasure they incur.

Villages are small units and contestants are generally very influential. The people are obliged to them in one way or other and so cannot openly side one and discard the other. They fear that the gulf between the parties would widen after elections and that they would be victims to open outbursts of the rival party.

I am aware of cases when elections were stopped at the eleventh hour by Government stay orders or due to fear of disturbances or shortage of police force to control the situation. Bitterness is growing in such places and the people have no peace of mind. I cannot understand what prevents the State Government from adopting the secret ballot which is the best and safest way of conducting elections.

M. KRISHNAYYA.

Rapur.

New Developments In Russia

When Malenkov succeeded Stalin, nobody thought that there would be any appreciable change in the policies of the Soviet Government. So, when the report was received of Malenkov's and Chou-En-lai's peace overtures, it caused surprise. Still more surprising is the report

that the Soviet doctors, arrested recently, have been acquitted of the murder and conspiracy charges, a procedure adopted for the first time in Soviet history. Is it prudent to conclude from these and other activities of the new rulers that we are seeing the beginning of the end of the tyrannical regime?

After Stalin came to power, he liquidated his opponents, his party and everything that was a potential danger to his dictatorship by "revolutionary gradualness." The abominable judicial system of utterly baseless indictments and false confessions—a system which was conveniently used to put an end to political opponents—was an off-shoot of Stalin's regime. Stalin also virtually liquidated the Communist Party (B) of the Soviet Union. Till 1924, in spite of the civil war, the war of intervention, famine, and other difficult conditions, the C. P. S. U. (B) annually held its Congress. But after Stalin's coming into power the interval between successive Congresses was increased by one year each time. The last of such Congresses, whose intervals were increased by revolutionary gradualness, was held in 1939. It was the XVIII Congress of the C. P. S. U. (B).

After 1939 for a period of eleven years, including six years of war and five years of "peaceful reconstruction," no Congress of the C. P. S. U. (B) was held. This gave rise to the speculation that the party which gave birth to Stalin was crushed and "liquidated." But the XIX Congress was held within a short notice—when nobody expected it—in November 1952. Stalin who did not feel it necessary to convene the Party Congress (from which he was expected to obtain approval for his "government's" policies) for eleven years during which period the most spectacular fluctuations in Soviet policies occurred, could have had no reason to convene the Party Congress in 1952. Certain conclusions can be drawn from this fact. In this connection another point to be borne in mind is that no attempt was made to obtain approval for the major shifts in policies of the Government, at least posthumously. Malenkov was the chief rapporteur to the Congress, instead of the usual Stalin.

The death of Stalin early last month was an unexpected one. Some people could not believe that Stalin had died on the day on which he was said to have died. All these unexpected happenings during the past six months in

Soviet history drives me to the conclusion that change of administration did not really take place in March, but sometime before November last year. We have incidents in history, though rare, where for so-called security reasons, the heads of states have been represented by dummies. I shall give two instances, one from old Andhra history and the other from the recent history of World War II.

When King Prataparudra was arrested by the Delhi Sultan to prevent chaos in the country, Prataparudra's Chief Minister, Yugandhara, used a washerman to act as king—practically deceiving the people—during the king's absence. The likeness of appearance between the king and the washerman was utilised for state security. During World War II a man exactly looking like Roosevelt was used as a dummy for a day or two when Roosevelt was away on a battleship for some conference. The fact was published by John Gunther in his biography of Roosevelt.

Is there anything wrong in presuming that the strict censorship which Stalin enforced in 1927 when Lenin died, might have been used against Stalin himself? And the Soviet citizens saw the body of Stalin only after it was embalmed. Scientists alone can tell when the body was embalmed.

One of the most heartening developments after the coming in of the new regime is the possibility of peace in Korea, agreement over Germany, unification and thorough revision of the judicial system. These should be welcomed, but must be taken cautiously. Edmund Stevens reports that Malenkov is for consolidation of internal position, before making an external assault. This is a statement which should be considered seriously. Malenkov wants some time for the stabilisation of his dictatorship and the peace moves may be intended to achieve the recess he wants.

A. UMA KANTHA SARMA.

Nandalur.

Andhra High Court

It is strange that some Andhra advocates should seriously suggest the continuance of the status quo of the present Madras High Court even after the formation of the new State. No doubt their reasoning is based on two fundamental factors which cannot be easily brushed aside. First, they fear that immediate removal of the High Court will not be conducive to the efficient and proper administration of justice and secondly, great hardship will result due to inadequate housing conditions.

When it is thought feasible for the new State to function efficiently, burdened as it will be with the gigantic task of building its capital from scratch, one

wonders whether shifting of the High Court ahead of schedule would so much impair "the efficient and proper administration of justice" as one is asked to believe. Viewed in this light the argument that "thousand houses of varying sizes would be needed, with the facility of protected and ample water supply, electricity and modern sanitary arrangements" for the functioning of the High Court is, to say the least, irritating. Moreover it is too late in the day to ask the Andhra public and the legislators not to be influenced by the India Government's decision ruling out Madras City even as temporary capital of the new State. It is enough for them to know that while their State will be starting with initial bankruptcy their litigants cannot be allowed the pleasure or the privilege of visiting the city beautiful and by their spending enrich the residuary State and its lawyers.

The Andhra legal luminaries who point out existence of common citizenship and the sentiments attached to it forget that it cannot be a one-sided affair. There is no response from the other side and it is quite clear that the great lawyer-statesman and Chief Minister of the undivided State, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, has yet to tell his Tamil compatriots that the acceptance of a common High Court will not adversely affect their rights of full ownership of the city.

D. V. S. TIRUPATI RAO.

Loyalty Of Government Servants

Mr. P. P. I. Vaidyanathan, District Collector, Ramnad, while addressing a gathering of government servants, stated that "in a democratic state, loyalty of the government servants was not held in doubt and that it was taken for granted." This statement of the Collector is not correct. So long as a government sees no reason to doubt the loyalty of its servants, it does not unnecessarily probe too much into the matter. Once the government has its own reason to doubt the loyalty of its servants, it does make an enquiry. The Republican administration in the U. S. A. has ordered a loyalty test to be conducted in all the important ranks of its civil services. A direction has been issued that any association on the part of a servant, however remote and slight it might be, with the Communist Party, should be held to be a distinct disqualification entailing his removal from the service, notwithstanding the disavowal of the affected party. A similar attempt at 'loyalty check' was also sought to be made in the U. K. Civil Services some time ago, but was subsequently given up as unnecessary. Even in our own country, not infrequently do we hear that the services should be

purged of the personnel who, according to critics, have not suitably changed with the attaining of independence. In the recent negotiations between the P. S. P. leaders and the Prime Minister, there was a stipulation that the constitutional guarantees given to the services should be withdrawn, so that they could be removed even on slight suspicion.

It is unfortunate that the District Collector should have equated the loyalty of government servants with that of the leader of the opposition without realising the underlying fallacy. At best, the leader of the opposition is required to be loyal only to the constitution of his country and to the oath he takes on the floor of the legislature. It is not enough if a government servant as a citizen is loyal to the constitution alone. He has to be loyal to the various rules and regulations governing his conduct. More than that he has to be loyal to the government of the day and to the policies of that government—a kind of loyalty the leader of the opposition has no obligation to be under.

T. RAMASWAMY AIYANGAR,
Chief Convener,
Madras State Government Servants'
Association, Madurai.

Newspapers And Govt. Advertisements

"Sidelights" in your issue of the 28th March makes a classical contribution to the controversy regarding Government advertisements in newspapers. Indeed it should be an eye opener to many a layman as much as to the righteous President of A. I. N. E. C.

The main issue apart, you have referred in your article, a trifle appreciatively, to Mr. Pothan Joseph's biting sarcasm against Sri Morarji Desai, when he twits him with having been a Tahsildar under the British Government. The implication, no doubt, is that as a former employee of that Government, Sri Desai cannot now refer to the inglorious history of the "Times of India" as that Government's ally in its aggressive subjection of the country. It is a pity that Mr. Joseph who should have known the affairs of the Bombay Congress in the 'twenties intimately has forgotten a few facts about Sri Desai. The latter, who after a brilliant academic career was directly appointed a Deputy Collector, gave up the position voluntarily to join the non-co-operation movement. Mr. Joseph distorts this fact, no doubt to achieve a masterly piece of biting sarcasm.

T. S. KRISHNAN.

Congress And Democracy

It is positively harmful to the larger interests of the nation to go on watering down our conception of how true demo-

cracy should function. One undemocratic act of the Congress Ministry which functioned immediately after the grant of provincial autonomy under the British rule was the abolition of the District Educational Councils constituted under the Elementary Education Act of 1920. These councils exercised a healthy check in the proper assessment and distribution of grants. A promise was held out that a reorganised machinery would be introduced. But nothing was done. Popular control over departmental administration was removed.

The handing over of the District Boards to special officers, though for a temporary period, is analogous to the section 93 administration of a province under the British rule or the President's rule under the present Constitution. This one-man administration is resorted to only where there is maladministration or administrative deadlock. But for no fault of their own, the District Boards are divested of popular control. The Chief Minister says that all that we want is fairness, justice and a tolerably good administration, and that nothing would be lost by temporarily entrusting the powers of the District Boards to the permanent servants of the Government. We could as well have continued under the alien rule.

R. SRINIVASA IYENGAR.
Coimbatore.

Semmagudi

Sri Semmagudi R. Srinivasa Iyer is the recipient of one of the presidential awards to vocal musicians this year. He was born in a family with musical tradition and brought up in an atmosphere of music. Young Sreenivasan studied music first under his cousin Narayanaswami Iyer and then under Sakka Rama Rayar. During his apprenticeship under Sakka Rama Rayar, he got an opportunity to come in contact with veterans like Konnerirajapuram Vydianatha Iyer and Ramanad Poochi Iyengar. But it was when he accompanied Maharajapuram Viswanatha Iyer that he became acquainted with the technique of vocal performances.

He was not gifted with a natural resonant voice, and due to the unscientific methods of voice cultivation prevalent in the South, Sreenivasa Iyer had to suffer difficulties for a few years after his apprenticeship. In spite of those troubles, he was immersed in what may be called pure "Nadopasana." That helped him to exercise control over his voice to get the best out of Carnatic music. Even though he has to battle with his voice in picturing to the audience the high imageries of his mind, he dares to do it.

V. S. NAMBOOTHIRIPAD.

SWATANTRA

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ISSUED
WEEKLY

APARTHEID

THE victory of the Nationalists in the South African elections will mean a further extension of Dr. Malan's doctrine of *apartheid*. Dr. Malan expressly fought the elections on this issue. That does not mean, however, that the United Party which opposed Dr. Malan, stood out boldly for a policy of equality in race relations. In the election campaign it disputed the Nationalist charge that it favoured equal franchise for the native. It admitted that it was as much opposed to African participation in the government as Dr. Malan himself. This hesitation on the part of the United Party to own responsibility for admitting non-whites to the franchise is quite understandable. In South Africa the coloured population outnumbers the whites by four times. A common and equal franchise would pass on the advantage of numbers to the non-white majority which might bring into operation before long an all-black Parliament. The Nationalists foresee this contingency and seek to avert it at any cost. The United Party is as much opposed to any reduction in the political power of the whites as the Nationalists, but it speaks with a veneer of liberalism and advocates spontaneous segregation to the utmost possible degree.

The labour question is the crux of the basic difficulty of the rulers of South Africa. They cannot do without African labour. Dependence on African labour has driven them to put upon it every conceivable screw of oppression so as to deprive it of the political and economic advantages of indispensability. The United Party, on the other hand, has put

forward a plan for bringing in annually 50,000 immigrants from the European countries to provide the nucleus of a labour force for the progressive displacement of Africans. The threat to African interests offered by the United Party is thus even graver than the worst effects of Dr. Malan's *apartheid*.

If Dr. Malan had lost in the elections the defeat of the policy of *apartheid* would have been announced with a fanfare of trumpets, but its main objectives would have been pursued under more polished but none the less effective guises. This has now been averted, and the reality of the system of government in vogue in South Africa, has been presented to the world in a manner that cannot be glossed over. The blunt truth is, as Dr. Fisher, the Archbishop of Canterbury has been impelled to put it, that what passes for government in South Africa is nothing less than a "sort of slavery" to the whole of its non-white population. Dr. Fisher's indictment of *apartheid* is very forceful and he is quite convinced that it "will be no solution and that it must end sometime in disaster." But he is rather pathetically helpless in his envisagement of what should be done to avert the disaster. "We can only pray," he says, "that South Africa may begin to learn before it is too late." The whole evidence of history points to the rejection of prayer as an adequate means for the solution of international race and other tensions. Nobody has suggested, when disaster was dreaded from Russia, that the nations affected should pray and do nothing else. As against an

anticipated threat to peace in the case of Russia, we have a whole series of already perpetrated atrocities in South Africa. If the United Nations' concern for peace and human welfare is integral and not piecemeal and spasmodic, it should give priority of attention to South Africa, where standards of government provide the gravest challenge to every modern conception of decency and human rights, and we have no doubt on this issue a new basis of unity could be built up between Russia and the Western nations breaking up the non-cooperation of so many years in the past.

Press Facilities

THE Deputy Minister for Railways announced in the Council of States the other day that in the Southern Railway free platform passes were issued at the place of publication to newspapers giving a minimum freight of Rs. 2,000 a year, and at other places they were issued at the concession rate of Rs. 10, which is half the rate charged to the public. What has the freight of a newspaper got to do with the rights of press correspondents to free access to railway platforms? It is a vulgarity on the part of the railway authorities to assess the importance of newspapers and journals on the basis of the revenue paid by them. Importance is derived by tradition, standards and quality, and is quite different from money earned or paid. As the service of the press is essential to democracy, it is realised all over the world, wherever the system of democratic government prevails, that press correspondents deserve every facility which it is in the power of Governments and other authorities to give, to enable them to discharge their duties efficiently and adequately. Recognition of what is due to the press extends even beyond national frontiers, and we have delegations of journalists travelling from one country to another, with every possible courtesy and consideration paid to

them by the Governments concerned. It is only in India that journalists are looked askance at by administrators, and nowhere more so than in Madras State. No wielder of power in the country has hurled so many damaging and insulting diatribes against the press generally, or treated newspaper correspondents more superciliously, than our too proud and self-centred Chief Minister. There must be a break from the spirit and temper of the bureaucratic regime of the British period, if our new democracy is to gain power and strength, and one real test of it is the treatment meted out to representatives of the press. Newspaper work is as important as Ministers' work and often infinitely more taxing. It is the duty of the State and railway administrations to do everything in their power to facilitate the work of the press and its representatives all over the country.

Bad Record

THE *Times of India* sacked on 28th February with a month's notice its Bangalore correspondent, Sri A. Nanjunda Rao, who had put in 25 years' service. It was stated in a curt letter intimating the dismissal that it was "consequent on the reorganisation of the *Times of India* News Service." The evident insinuation that Sri Nanjunda Rao could not be fitted into the proposed reorganisation is belied by a tribute of appreciation to the value and quality of his work received from the Editor only a short time earlier. No question of retrenchment due to shortage of means could arise in the case of a prosperous paper like the *Times of India*. The dismissal was therefore little short of an act of callous cruelty at the expense of a devoted employee who certainly deserved better treatment. When the record of a newspaper is besmirched by a black deed of this type, no value can be attached to heroic poses put on by it in espousal of press freedom and other great causes.

Sotto Voce



PIGMENTED PROSELYTISERS

SOME weeks ago Sri Rama was officially demoted in this godly State of ours. Under the Britisher the King of Kings Who reigns in the impregnable city of the heart enjoyed an equivocal status. Rama Navami was a 'partial' holiday; only a man born a Vaishnavite could, if he were in Government service, take a day off. It was left to our swaraj dispensation to discover that Rama Navami could not be a Government holiday because there were no customary ritual observances requiring a man's presence at home. The Ramabhaktas were reduced to speechless silence by this revelation of our *ativarnashrami's* attachment to ritual.

Meanwhile another Congress Government has been no less original in making up its tale of holidays. May 28th is to be a public holiday throughout Bihar, being "the thrice sacred day of birth, enlightenment, and Mahaparanirvan of Lord Buddha." That there are no professing Buddhists to be found in Bihar and that Buddhism abhors "ritual" in the Hindu meaning of the word, are apparently not, in the opinion of the Bihar Government, more important considerations than the need to follow the Nehru line in religious politics. If the Prime Minister could think it necessary to impress the world's imagination by reverently carrying the caskets containing the relics of Sariputta and Mogallana, could dutiful Bihar do less than

do its bit to add a new god to the neo-Hindu pantheon?

The benighted *Sanatani* has no doubt claimed the Buddha as an avatar. But, while he has been observing Rama Navami and Krishna Jayanti for millennia he has, for all practical purposes, allowed oblivion to claim the memory of one who preached Nirvana as the supreme bliss. That was the Indian way,—not to revile your opponent but reverently to relegate him to the periphery of your consciousness. The deep-seated pessimism of the Buddhist creed is fundamentally alien to the Indian ethos. Those who accuse Hinduism of world negation forget that some of the noblest achievements of the human spirit have been inspired by Ramabhakti and Krishna-prema.

But *bhakti* and *prema* have nothing to do with the *ad hoc* piety of politicians. It reminds me of the degenerate Roman Emperors who forsook Zeus and Pan and the other half-remembered Hellenic gods for the exotic cult of Isis and Osiris. Claiming semi-divine honours for themselves and confidently looking forward to apotheosis, these Romans who exchanged gods as if they were brass pots were digging the grave of not only such genuine religion as there was still left among the masses but also of their civilisation. "The Nazarene has conquered," sighed Julian the Apostate with his dying breath. Will our neo-Buddhists discover too late that their arcadian adventures in religious mummery

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after a meal.



ICP 64

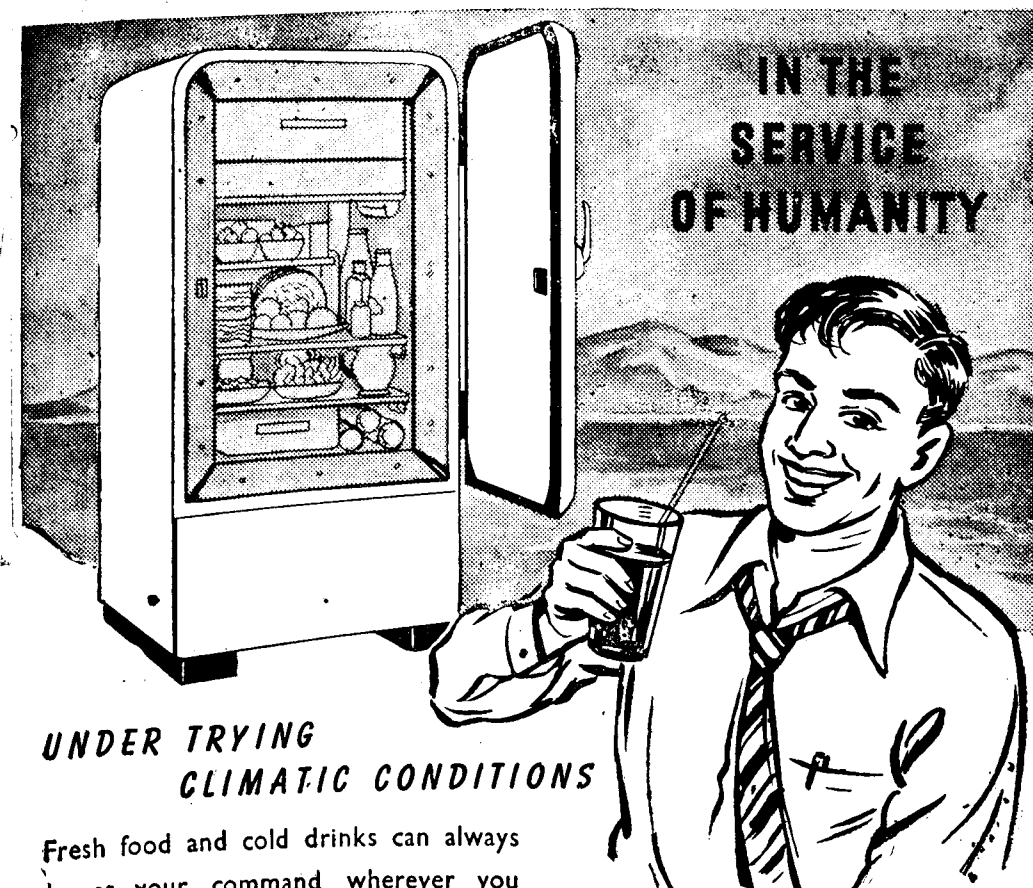
have opened the floodgates on irreligion?

The Buddha was born at Kapilavastu. He attained enlightenment at what has since come to be known as Bodh Gaya. And he passed into Nirvana at Kusinagara. It is being sought to found a new Buddhist imperialism with these three centres as operation bases. The Bodh Gaya temple has been for centuries in the custody of a Hindu Mahant; this arrangement did not in the least offend the sentiment of the Buddhist pilgrim or prevent his paying his devoirs to the great teacher in the traditional way. But the temple is now to be handed over to a board in accordance with the Government's decision that Buddhist irredentism must be humoured.

At Kusinagara a Chinese monk who for fifteen years has performed satyagraha on a tree-top has been persuaded to come down and take possession of the Buddha's tomb. His penance in part consisted of pouring boiling ghee on different parts of his body—a costly *katharsis* which, one hopes, will not become too popular with non-violent resisters. As regards Kapilavastu, the Buddhists have long regarded Nepal as their own. And Mao's China in its current operations on the Nepalese border is no doubt evolving its own brand of piety.

The Buddhists of Ceylon who have no difficulty in reconciling their persecution of the Indian coolie with their devotion to the Lord of Compassion, are lifting up their eyes to the northern horizon. They are talking of reconquering India for Buddhism. And Ambedkar is ready to welcome them with *purna-kumbam*. Has not secular India said that anybody may preach "the good tidings?" But, halt, Mr. Nehru is having second thoughts. He has seen in Nagaland that the foreign Christian missionary has not lost his famed enterprise or patriotic fervour. But the white padre is in no hurry to go. Meanwhile is the brown or yellow *bhikkhu* to be invited to keep him company?

VIGHNESWARA.



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FROM DURHAM TO NEW DELHI

By P. G. KRISHNAYYA

THE new U. S. Ambassador to India is a tall, reedy Carolinian with the requisite touch of gray at the temples, a ripple of the South in his diphthongs and an inclination to boast that he owns only one pair of striped pants, "the minimum essential for the job." But Allen is a career diplomat whose qualifications are not confined to his wardrobe. He brings to his new assignment long years of experience in the trouble spots of the world and a philosophy that is both the heir of America's pioneer past and a promise of America's bold future. "We in the U. S.," he says, "are always glad when the other peoples of the world agree with us. But we do not want them to reach this agreement because they have been pressured to join us, sullenly and reluctantly. We are anxious to make progress in foreign affairs, which means to make progress in international collaboration. But I repeat, we must be aware that all countries are not going to think precisely as we do. And we must especially have an understanding of countries that have recently achieved their independence."

Allen developed this conviction in China, Greece, Egypt and Yugoslavia. He expects to pursue it in India, which he regards as the key nation in the Far East.

The prospect excites him, since he sees in the transfer of sovereignty from Great Britain to India, without war or bloodshed, the most dramatic event in global affairs during the past 200 years. But he is not so naive as to minimize the delicacy of his role. "I've had some experience with new and revolutionary governments," he explains. "I recognize their sovereignty and their great sensitiveness toward anything that looks like a reduction of that sovereignty. It will not shock me at all to find India highly sensitive in its attitude. I respect it. India is its own master, and when it speaks, it speaks for itself. We may not always be satisfied with the line India takes but I am satisfied that, whatever the line, it is taken independently."

Although this approach is bound to antagonize Joe McCarthy, it will probably soften India's mourning for Allen's predecessor, Chester Bowles, who changed the climate of Indian opinion from chill disapproval of the U. S. to warm admiration before his recall by the Eisenhower administration.

Allen's policy, as firm as it is reasonable, is certainly not untried. He exercised it for three years in Belgrade and returned to Washington confident that the Tito regime ardently supports the concept of collective security for nations threatened by Soviet aggression. "This will astonish you," he observes with relish. "In spite of all the causes of friction between two such sharply different political systems, public reaction in Yugoslavia toward the U. S. on all levels, is as friendly on the whole as in any country of Europe. There is not the slightest feeling of neutralism in Yugoslavia. You never run into the feeling that the U. S. is trying to get Yugoslavia to go out and fight America's battles, as you do elsewhere in Europe. The Yugoslavs feel, we are going to fight our own battles, but we would like some help."

The ebullience of Yugoslavia's outlook, Allen believes, is perfectly natural in a nation that has survived a brief but intense period of domination by the Soviet Union.

"The Yugoslavs," he says, "are the only people in Europe to have broken through the Iron Curtain and regain their independence. I would advise other countries flirting with Russia to consult Yugoslavia before succumbing to temptation."

There was no silver spoon in George Venable Allen's mouth when he was born in Durham, N. C., 50 years ago. His father ran a small whole-sale feed store, later became a hosiery salesman. The diplomat, who has two brothers and three sisters, describes his childhood as "pleasant, but hard-working."

This was literally true. His mother died when he was seven and the

senior Allen married her younger sister. Their home was high in affection, low in financial resources. Young George started to earn his keep when he was 12. At various times, he delivered newspapers, worked in cigarette factories, took a summer hitch in a bank. After his graduation from Duke University, he taught school in Buncombe, a county that has achieved immortality through the loquaciousness of a legislative representative who kept assuring his colleagues, "This is for Buncombe," a phrase that was eventually and irreverently reduced to "bunk."

Twice Allen put in a stunt as a reporter, covering police stories. What makes him unique among public officials is that he has never tried to ingratiate himself with the press by recalling, "I was a newspaperman once myself."

"I decided on diplomacy when I was 17 and a college sophomore," he explains. "It was just after the Versailles Conference. I had a history instructor who was enthusiastic and lucid on this subject."

"I conceived the notion that the 19th century was the century of nationalism, the 20th the century of internationalism. I even toyed with the idea of seeking a career in the League of Nations. But, by the time I finished school, it was perfectly clear to me that, if I wanted to be active in foreign affairs, I'd better stick to my own country."

Allen took his Phi Beta Kappa key to Harvard, where he collected an M.A., and the coveted Charles Sumner Prize, then dipped cautiously into federal service as an editorial clerk in the Census Bureau. In 1930, he was stationed at Kingston, Jamaica, as the American vice-consul.

After three years in Shanghai, he reported back to Washington. Small town boy had made good. A friend offered him a blind date for an evening of bridge. "You won't believe this," Allen says, "but my friend's name was Miles Standish!"

Allen didn't feel obliged to play John Alden. For six weeks he rushed Standish's girl Katherine Martin. Then their engagement was announced. On the following day,

Allen was told to report to Patras, Greece.

"It was the first time I was ever in charge of a post," he says. "I simultaneously informed the department I was getting married."

He did on October 2. The Allens sailed for Patras 24 hours later. Fortunately, Mrs. Allen has been conditioned to gypsying. Her father and her grandfather had both been in the military. The Allens now have three sons: George Jr., 17; Jack 14; Richard 7.

Allen jumped from Patras to Athens to Cairo then back to the U. S. for eight years of desk work in the State Department specializing on the Near and Middle East, attending conference at Moscow, Potsdam, San Francisco (he was one of the midwives for the United Nations) and Berlin.

At the height of the Iranian crisis, the American minister fell ill and had to be flown out. Allen replaced him, reaching Tehran two days before the Russians withdrew their troops in compliance with the U. N. directive. Allen, the youngest envoy in the service of his country, displayed spectacular suavity.

He sipped cocktails with the Iranian Prime Minister and played tennis with the youthful Shah. ("Oh, the Shah beat me," Allen insists. "But we were a pretty good doubles pair.") But the American diplomat was familiar with American tradition: he had the situation well in hand.

Three days before the Iranian Parliament met to vote on granting the Soviet the oil concessions for which the East and the West were frantically competing, the Soviet Ambassador called on the Iranian Prime Minister and pointed an ominous finger at him. "Your opposition," said the Russian, "is endangering not only your country but your person."

This warning proved so effective that Allen received word only 30 ballots could be mustered against the USSR. The American was scheduled to address the Iranian-American Cultural Relations Society in a public garden that night. He did not cancel the engagement.

For 50 minutes, he spoke in a scholarly fashion on the role of government in the development of political science. Then he drew out a single typed sheet and read it in a calm, clear voice.

An economic proposal between two powers was of no concern whatsoever to the U. S.. Allen told the 300 guests. But the U. S. and every other member of the UN was concerned when economic proposals were accompanied by threats of force. The American people supported the rights of the Iranian people to make their own decision about Iran's natural resources.

The audience, which included the Iranian Minister of Education, was electrified. The U. S. would stand by. A jubilant Parliament rejected the Russian bid, 95 to seven. It was a triumph for Allen, the U. S., and the democracy of the West.

Democracy is very real for Allen. He has compared the "Liberate, egalite, fraternite" to the three legs of a stool.

"Liberty is, of course, the basic fundamental," he says. "It is well chosen as the first of the three legs in the democratic process. But liberty is not enough. It could be the exploitation of the weak by the strong.

"That's where equality comes in. We know that nations are not equal any more than individuals are, in the sense of being equally large or industrially developed. But there must be equality before the law.

"But even with liberty and equality, you don't have democracy without fraternity. We Americans are joiners. That's one of our best attributes. Joining brings about better understanding among peoples in domestic and international areas.

"No matter how brilliantly executed a foreign policy may be, you cannot have real democracy without a sense of responsibility for your fellow-man. The materialistic philosophy of Marxism I would picture as a one-legged stool. The only leg is egalite. And that is often the egalite of the prison ward. Without three legs, any stool will topple over."

Einstein's New Theory

Concealed somewhere in the mathematics of Pro. Albert Einstein's

new unified field theory may be the key to how gravity can be neutralized.

If that is the case it will revolutionize air transportation and make lunar rockets and interplanetary space ships an extremely simple matter.

Nobody knows whether or not it is the case. I mention it because the question that I have been asked most frequently about the new Einstein theory is: "What's the use of it?"

I recall being asked the same question with even greater frequency in 1919 when the solar eclipse reports catapulted the theory of relativity into the public spotlight. The furore in 1919 was over the displacement of star images in photographs of the eclipse.

When the moon blots out the sun the stars become visible. Einstein had predicted that the stars whose rays passed close to the solar disk would be found out of place because of the bending of the light rays in the sun's gravitational field.

At the time no one paid very much attention to a little equation in the Einstein theory which said " E " equals " m " multiplied by " c -squared."

This equation meant that matter could be converted into energy and that a very small amount of matter would equal a very large amount of energy, the energy being equal to the matter multiplied by the square of the velocity of light.

I have in my library a book written in 1923 by a famous European physicist who states that this equation is an interesting mathematical fiction and warns against anyone taking it too seriously.

I assume that when the first atomic bomb exploded on the New Mexican desert this eminent author regretted his words.

His attitude, however, was not in the least unusual in 1923. No one, to my knowledge, ever answered the question about the use of the theory of relativity by saying that some day it would result in an atomic bomb.

There are other spectacular parallels in the history of science. One, for example, concerns James Clerk Maxwell's electromagnetic theory of light.

Inherent in this theory was the idea that other forms of electromag-

netic radiation ought also to exist. Some years later Heinrich Hertz demonstrated that such was the case.

Out of that demonstration came radio and television, a couple of developments not foreseen at the moment when Maxwell first announced his theory.

Einstein, like Galileo, Newton, Maxwell and Lorentz before him, is engaged in an attempt to understand the basic mechanism of the universe. It is not easy to predict what practical uses may emerge from such attempts.

A universe expanding like a soap-bubble into which air is blown, a strange universe in which space and time are bound together while space itself is wrinkled and warped into a fourth dimension—this is the universe which has emerged from Prof. Einstein's theory of relativity.

We must take a look at it before we can appreciate the great physicist's new unified field theory. The latter is the third major step in his project to describe the nature of the universe. For relativity was published in two parts, the special theory according to which there is no such thing as absolute space or absolute time. Our measurements of space and time depend upon our

motion. As motion increases, lengths contract and the clock slows up. Moreover, there is no criterion in the universe to say whose measuring rod or clock is correct. However, these changes in space and time always take place so that the speed of light remains constant. This is the one "invariant" in the universe.

In addition, objects increase in mass or grow heavier as they increase in speed. The increase is small at ordinary speeds but becomes large as the speed of light is approached. It would be impossible to design a cyclotron or other atom-smashers today without making due allowance for this "Einstein effect."

Finally, the special theory demonstrates that matter can be transformed into energy. This, as everyone knows, is demonstrated most spectacularly by the atomic bomb. The general theory of relativity is chiefly concerned with an attempt to explain the nature of gravitation. It begins by uniting space and time into a "four-dimensional continuum," usually called space-time. Each individual divides up space and time differently as a result of his motion. However, the four-dimensional "interval" between events is the same for all observers.

ALMONER

By **LEELA JOG**

SETTING up a chain of hospitals seems, in the eyes of many people, an answer to India's health problem.

This is an over-simplification of a complicated issue. A lack of trained personnel and finances apart, there are other difficulties that will hinder the solution of our health problem.

For instance, we the so-called educated people are not aware of the many people who refuse to take advantage of public hospitals 'come what may.' Little do we realise in our 'enlightened' state how sheer ignorance and religious prejudice create such unreasonable attitude of mind.

The presence of Christian (or Parsee) nurses, the food cooked "dunno by whom," and the queer smells and contents of medicines frighten away a lot of people. I know of a friend's relation, an old man of five-and-fifty, who was admitted to a hospital much against his will. The very next day of his admission, however, he came home like a ghost of himself during the small hours of the morning, which probably meant that he had given the slip to the ward boy and even the watchman!

When asked for an explanation he went into a rage and began ranting at his non-plussed nephew.... "You modern fellows have no sense of

shame. I, who haven't touched any woman except my good wife during these two score of my adult life, should be now expected to be washed and clad by a strange woman!" His mind had probably revolted at the idea of being sponged by a woman. There's hardly any room for arguing out the matter in a case like this and which you may be sure is not an exceptional one!

Another reason why the ignorant and superstitious people shun hospitalization (during sickness) is the peculiar notion that going to a hospital means the end is near. So when the patient's relations think of sending him (or her) there he imagines that his folks either do not want to be bothered about him or that his disease is incurable. The whole affair becomes more complex and the day of recovery is farther away.

These are some of the factors which decide their attitude while there is the poorer section which takes almost a desperate view of life. Take for example the maid (or *chokra*) doing part-time service in your house. If she complains of some ailment and when you ask her why she doesn't see the doctor about it, she comes the reply, (somewhat like this): "Where's the time to go all the way to the hospital? And where on earth to bring the money for the medicine? After all none is born to live eternally...."

When such is the position not all the hospitals we dare hope for (in our wildest dreams!) can solve the problem unless public suspicions and fears are also tackled intelligently. In the case of women this psychology presents the greatest hurdle. Lady doctors and nurses are as much necessary as the medical social worker,—known as the "almoner." The almoner has a big contribution to make in the medico-social field. In some of the Western countries the almoner's services have attained a place of their own in the work done by public hospitals.

In our country where mal-nutrition and maternal and infant mortality are so great the almoner's importance can never be rated too highly. There's ample scope for this sort of work in the backward villages as well as in big cities and towns.

Like the doctor and the nurse, the almoner, too, needs training and what's more important, she must have an aptitude for the vocation. While doing all the best she can for the poorer class of patients, the almoner has to visit the patient's home and convince the relations about the usefulness of the medical treatment recommended for the patient. For rendering this yeoman service she will not always receive kudos but curses (from the grudging relatives of her sick ward) but she has to brave them too and carry on.

THE RAILWAY CENTENARY—III

By H. RANGACHAR

A brief review of the present position of the Indian railways and their working will be made in this article.

The railways, which began a hundred years ago with 22 miles open for traffic, are today a system of over 34,330 route miles, traversing the length and breadth of the country. The following table shows the growth of the railways in different periods.

Year	Route miles
1873	5,872
1881-82	9,875
1901-02	25,898
1914-15	35,300
1928-29	40,950
1939-40	41,380
1953	34,330

The period of the largest expansion was between 1880 and 1930 when the route mileage increased by about 32,000 miles. The inexorable march of events and political changes account for the shrinkage of the Indian railway mileage from 40,950 in 1929 to about 34,330 in the centenary year. The separation of Burma from India in 1937-38 resulted in over 2,000 miles being detached from Indian railways. Again, the vivisection of the country in 1947 led to a loss of nearly 7,000 miles of important main lines and their transfer to Pakistan. With all these changes, the Indian railways still occupy their original place as the fourth largest system in the world and the first in Asia.

Revolutionary changes have occurred in the organisation and administration of railways. In the beginning, it was the English companies which constructed and worked the railways; later on various other agencies entered the field so that in the beginning of the present century there were 33 railway administrations working 96 different lines open to traffic. In 1948 there were 42 railway systems consisting of the Government of India State railways, the railways of Indian states and others. By April 1950, the Indian states' railways had been integrated with and

become part of the nationalised railway system of the country. By 1952, the railways had been re-grouped into six zonal systems of between five to six thousand miles each. Thus, in the centenary year, the entire system of Indian railways, with the exception of some unimportant sections of less than 800 miles, is a nationalised undertaking, administered by the Centre. Next to Soviet Russia, this is the largest nationalised system in the world at present. As a result of the changes it has now become possible to follow uniform methods and policies throughout the country and to derive the great benefits that should accrue from rationalization and large-scale administration.

The administrative machinery at the Centre for the control and working of the large system of railways continues to be the old arrangement of a Railway Board of senior railway and financial officers being in charge, under the Minister for Railways and Transport. The setting up of a machinery suited to the altered conditions is a major problem awaiting solution. The zonal systems have just been started and there has not been time enough for them to settle down. The working of the system so far shows that the transition from the old to the new set-up has not been altogether smooth, as was to be expected, and that many problems of adjustment remain to be solved. Arrangements and suitable machinery for expeditious solution of outstanding matters and others that may arise in course of working are immediate requirements. The introduction of a divisional type of organisation, instead of the rather cumbersome and inchoate regional system, seems to be a necessary reform.

A bird's-eye view of the financial position of the railways shows that during the century the working of the railways has resulted in a net surplus or gain of about Rs. 370 crores, exclusive of credits to the Depreciation Fund, the contribution to the General Revenues and interest

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and other charges. For 47 years from the opening of the first line, the railways entailed losses year after year. It was in 1900 that a small profit of Rs. 11 lakhs was realised for the first time. Thenceforward the railways worked at a profit, except in 1921-22, and during the years of economic depression from 1931 to 1936-'37 and in 1947-'48, the year of partition of the country. There have also been periods of exceptional prosperity. These "bumper periods" were the years of World War I, the period 1924-25 to 1929-30, the years of World War II and the post-independence period, the most prosperous of all.

An event of far-reaching significance in the financial history of railways was the separation of railway finance from the general finance in 1924, as a result of the recommendations of the Acworth Committee. The system of contribution to General Revenues a necessary concomitant, was fixed by a convention in the same year. A Depreciation Fund was also started then.

As already stated, the period following the attainment of independence has been one of great prosperity for the railways. The peak of this was reached in 1951-52 with gross traffic receipts at Rs. 290.82 crores, working expenses inclusive of appropriation of Rs. 30 crores to the Depreciation Fund at Rs. 224.35 crores, leaving net traffic receipts of Rs. 66.47 crores out of which Rs. 33.41 crores were contributed to the General Revenues and Rs. 28.34 crores represented net gains or surplus. In the financial year 1952-53, just ended, the net traffic receipts, according to revised estimates, are Rs. 269.55 crores or Rs. 31.27 crores less than in the previous year. The total working expenses are estimated at 217.93 crores of rupees leaving net receipts of 64.23 crores out of which Rs. 34.11 crores are to be paid to General Revenues. The net surplus is expected to be less than Rs. 9.5 crores against Rs. 28.34 crores of the previous year or nearly Rs. 19 crores less.

The steep fall in traffic earnings is largely due to decline in passenger revenue. After attributing this fall to local causes, such as heavy floods

and cyclones in some areas and near famine conditions in others, "marked decrease in the number of 'court passengers' due to abolition of zamindari system in certain states," and a "definite increase in competition from bus services," the Explanatory Memorandum placed before Parliament seems to reconcile itself to a permanent fall in passenger traffic with the rather pessimistic remark that "the peak of passenger movements by the railways is over and the railways must now adjust themselves to more normal conditions." It is however significant that the major cause for the fall, the steep increase in passenger fares, has not been referred to at all.

Another noticeable feature of the working of the railways in the post-independence period is the great increase in working expenses. These expenses are increasing year by year. The ordinary working expenses in 1950-51 were Rs. 180.23 crores, 194.04 crores in 1951-52 and 188.85 crores according to revised estimates for 1952-53. The fall in 1952-53 is perhaps partly attributable also to the change in the system of accounting according to which freight charges on railway materials, coal and some inter-railway adjustments have been eliminated from financial accounts for 1952-53. This innovation in the accounting system is open to grave objection inasmuch as it does not show the expenditure on these items on different railways. This apart, the increasing working expenses present a most difficult and grave problem, all the more so when revenues show a tendency to decrease. The Five Year Plan for railways provides for an expenditure of Rs. 400 crores, out of which Rs. 320 crores are to be found by railways, inherent in this estimate is the assumption that the railways will continue to earn revenues and surpluses as in the later post-independence period. With a fall in these and with high working expenses, the prospects of the railways providing their portion of the finance required do not appear bright, as has been recognised by the Railway Minister.

Thus in the centenary year, the financial horizon is not altogether bright.

PRISON REFORM

By AJIT GUIN

THE history of prison reform in India started in 1835 when Lord Macaulay pointed out to the Directors of the East India Company the need for an enquiry into the conditions of Indian gaols. Subsequently the East India Company appointed a committee which drew up a report on Indian prison conditions together with recommendations for possible improvements.

Before the British arrived in India, justice was prompt and did not call for detention. The penal practices being beheading, mutilation, branding, fines, confiscation of properties and banishment, the need for detaining prisoners in an institution did not arise.

The prison system as we find it today is of British creation. And to improve the conditions of Indian prisoners, the British administration formed at least six jail reforms committees at different times spaced within the years from 1838 to 1919. Till then, the penal institutions were controlled by the Central government.

In 1935, with the introduction of provincial autonomy, the prison administration was transferred to the provincial governments. Though some penal reforms were started with the creation of popular ministries in the provinces in 1935, independence gave an impetus to these activities. Since 1947 different State governments have appointed their own jail reforms committees and had their recommendations.

The main problems in the jails in India, as also in other countries, were inadequate food supply due mainly to small government appropriations, lack of sufficient accommodation, clothing, medical care, recreational facilities and educational opportunities. In many places, lack of accommodation forced political prisoners to live in the same cells with convicts.

However, changes are gradually taking place. The most important reform in this field is to appoint wholtime gaol superintendents and sub-gaolers. Previously, the district civil surgeons used to be part-time

prison superintendents in addition to their routine hospital duties.

To relieve congestion in Indian prisons, almost all the State gaol reform committees recommended the building of new gaols. The Madras committee asked for two more while the West Bengal Government has already opened up a new prison for political prisoners near Calcutta, and given tubercular patients separate accommodation. Habitual and non-habitual offenders are no longer imprisoned together.

Most of the gaols have now introduced primary education among the convicts. There are library facilities and films are shown occasionally. Vocational training is also given, ranging from simple handicrafts to training in the use of power-driven machinery. Similar improvements are seen in food supply, with the introduction of variety in the menu; in clothes, with the abolition of odd looking shirts and caps and replacing them with better-cut clothes and Gandhi caps.

Although these improvements are significant there are other aspects in the management of prisons that need change. While addressing the three-day conference of Inspectors-General of Prisons of all States in Bombay in March last year, Dr. Reckless, the United Nations expert on criminology said that emphasis should be shifted from "holding prisoners within the walls to correction, rehabilitation and probation."

This seems particularly important when prisons are overcrowded with convicts involved in petty cases like pilfering, travelling on the railways without a ticket and similar offences. They make a heavy inroad on the low prison budget.

Nevertheless, there are schemes in all the prisons to employ these convicts, but it is known that as such labour is somewhat forced, the rate of work automatically slows down and it has been estimated that the amount of work comes to roughly a third of the work done in normal conditions.

To offset this difficulty, the U. P. Government launched an experiment which is new to India. It established "Model Prison" on the lines of a self-sufficient colony. Col. G. R. Oberai, the Inspector-General of Prisons in U. P. and the guiding spirit behind this new experiment, wrote recently in the Indian Journal of Social Work, "The inmates (of this colony) have perfect freedom to think and shape their lives, taking only as much help as they choose from the officers who are their informants, guides and helpers. There is no force, no compulsion. They use methods of education, information and at best persuasion to bring about the desired results.

"A detailed and personal study of the good conduct prisoners with sentences above five years is made at the reception centres. The prisoner's case history, family relationships, social, economical and educational background, police report, details of sentences and trials with reactions of the prisoner are collected and studied. His aptitude for industry, honesty and cooperation is judged by a team of qualified workers to make final selection for the Model Prison.

"There is no free or unpaid labour in this gaol. All labour is paid and the rate of wages is more or less the same as outside....It is the output that determines the income of the worker....The State realises from the inmates only the cost of maintenance while all the savings, deducting the cost of maintenance, are paid to the worker to remit to their dependents outside.

"The main sources of income of the institution are cottage industries like handloom weaving, dairy farming and vegetable cultivation. The plots are taken on rent by the inmates who grow their own crops and sell the produce.

"One of the main features of the programme in this institution is to have confidence in the inmates and trust them to carry out responsible jobs under circumstances requiring personal control and honesty....The inmates have fully justified the trust and confidence placed upon them."

The U. P. Government has also taken the lead in employing convicts in nation-building projects. On November 6, Chief Minister Pandit

Pant formally launched the construction of the 500 ft. long and 65 ft. high Chandraprabaha Dam near Banares, where 2,000 prisoners were employed like free labourers to construct it.

The establishment of jail panchayats is one of the important jail reforms introduced in Bombay State. The functions of the panchayats are to examine and represent to the prison authorities grievances, difficulties and matters connected with the general welfare of the convicts. Each panchayat comprises 40 members elected by the convicts themselves.

The meetings of the panchayat committee are held once a fortnight and the prison officers attend the meetings and discuss matters relating to the grievances as well as the general welfare of prisoners.

Shortage of trained personnel in the penal field is also widely felt. Two institutions are working at present to train probation officers, after-care workers, welfare officers and jail officers. One is the Tata School of Social Sciences at Bombay, and the other is the Jail Training School at Lucknow.

The Indian Gaol Manual prepared during the British administration has been criticised in many quarters. Dr. Edward Galway, the U. N. expert on criminology and correctional administration, who came to India after Dr. Reckless left, said recently: "The Gaol Manual was extremely detailed and exacting and was only a tool which provides for control over individual offenders where personal judgment and individual interests of gaol officers is minimized to an undesirable extent."

At the suggestion of those two U. N. experts the Indian Government is now considering rewriting and changing the manual in the light of modern experience.

The probation system which works so well in helping a convict to return to normal life is being used more and more throughout India. The Madras Reform Committee, in its report, emphasised its extended use and the need to increase the number of probation officers. In this State alone some 22,000 persons are being looked after by probation officers.—NMF.

TINKERING WITH THE LAND PROBLEM

By D. V. RAMA RAO

AS distinct from the agricultural problem relating to increased output through improved methods of cultivation, better supply of seed and manure, easy credit and marketing facilities, what exactly is the land problem? It is largely the general problem of unemployment or under-employment driving far too many into excessive dependence on land. In other words, the crux of the land problem in our country is too much pressure on land resulting not so much from unequal distribution as from a lack of ample non-agricultural occupations. Where such occupational opportunities exist, as in America, or even England where the per capita land available approximately corresponds to conditions in our country, although the distribution of land is by no means even, there is no land problem.

Mere redistribution of wealth, without production of more wealth, especially in a poor country like ours, means only distribution of poverty and squandering of capital forming resources. The best way to lessen pressure on land is not by laying overemphasis on redistribution of land already under cultivation, but by bringing fresh lands under the plough and by the resuscitation of cottage industries, extension of bigger industries, development projects, public utility services and the like thereby enabling large-scale absorption of the unemployed or the under-employed in new productive and beneficial occupations. Creation of plenty of non-agricultural occupational opportunities automatically solves the problem of uneconomic holdings and land-hunger. Indeed, Gandhi, who correctly understood the problem, always gave more importance to provision of whole-time or subsidiary occupations through revitalisation of cottage industries than to measures of redistribution. The fact that a single cottage industry like the handlooms provides occupational means of sub-

sistence to nearly as many as the total number of those engaged in the ten-thousand and odd industries, factories and workshops involving several hundred crores rupees of capital easily explains the importance Gandhi gave to cottage industries. So, while further industrialisation up to a point may be both desirable and possible, it cannot by itself offer a solution to either the land problem or that of unemployment. The key to the solution of the problem lies in a well-coordinated policy of systematically planned utilisation of our traditional skill and talent in the sphere of cottage crafts which, though sadly neglected and languishing, can yet be made to flourish again. But our Government and national leadership having failed to understand the basic nature of the problem seem to have jumped on the Bhoodan bandwagon as a face-saving device! Shorn of its fashionable frills, however, Bhoodan which is hailed as a great democratic revolution is no more than an appeal for donations from the particular section of investors. In plain language, investors in land, under threat of a revolution, are not only expected exclusively to pay the price of averting the growing unrest, thereby to safeguard investments in the non-agricultural sector, but landowners are also sought to be made the scapegoats for the failure of the nation as a whole to successfully tackle the problem of unemployment and poverty, euphemistically called the land problem!

It may be noted that the Bhoodan movement originated in the context of the agrarian unrest in Telangana, an unrest resulting largely from the fact that in the semi-feudal jagirdaris of Hyderabad large tracts of fallow land were lying unutilised which naturally led to an agitation for distributing the same among the landless unemployed, fomented and fully exploited by interested political parties. Apart from the fact that

such jagirdaries are either abolished or being abolished now, the general conditions in the country are quite different; but there is a good deal of confusion as well as ignorance among our urbanized intellectuals and leaders regarding the bigger holdings vis a vis the landless unemployed. Contrary to the popular belief that zamindari abolition would release a lot of land for distribution among the landless, no such thing resulted since practically all the cultivable zamindari lands have already been under tenants' cultivation. In fact all that the zamindari abolition has accomplished is that of substituting the Government for the zamindar. Now with the abolition of zamindaris, the number of extensive holdings would be very limited and even if an upper ceiling be fixed on individual holdings, the surplus lands above the ceiling may not be available for distribution as invariably such lands would be found to be under tenants' cultivation. In short, abolition of zamindaris or landlordism has little to do with redistribution. Let it be understood that the land problem is no more the creation of investors in land than the unemployment problem is the creation of investors in other sectors. The fact is no scheme of redistribution of land already under cultivation can be effective unless cultivators and tenants generally agree to share their holdings with the landless and unless a very low ceiling of, perhaps, not more than six acres per each holding is fixed. Clearly, redistribution of land under cultivation is beset with innumerable practical difficulties; nor would it solve the main problem of relieving pressure on land. Further, too low ceilings would discourage educated and enterprising sections from taking to farming as a lucrative career. Discouragement of ownership in land beyond a certain limit by a suitably graded surcharge on land tax, preferably on the basis of acreage, is practicable but redistribution of cultivated land is impracticable. Indeed, the Bengal Chief Minister frankly admitted that while zamindari abolition may be easy, that of redistribution presented numerous difficulties to which neither he nor the Bihar Chief Minister could find

a solution. Such is the quagmire into which slogans have led us. Therefore, it is better to exclude cultivated land from any schemes of distribution and movements like Bhoodan may be confined to *land that has yet to be brought under cultivation*. It appears that actually Bhoodan for the most part comprise fallow lands, and not unoften one hears too of donations of waste lands which the owners could neither utilise nor sell!

The present Bhoodan target is 25,00,000 acres. But, since far more extent of Government fallow land is readily available, it is not clear why, instead of devising well-planned schemes to bring such land under cultivation for distribution among the needy, so much pother is made about *bhoodan* and redistribution. It is strange that the solving of a major national problem, which is essentially the responsibility of a welfare state, should be left to be tackled by a private agency on the basis of donations. The Madhya Pradesh Government has discharged its responsibility by donating two lakhs of acres for the Bhoodan movement. As admitted by the Chief Minister of Orissa, while speaking on the Bhoodan bill in the State Legislative Assembly, it appears the Government, having failed to devise schemes for utilising the ample cultivable land at its disposal for distribution among the landless, expects the Bhoodan movement to succeed where the Government failed! The extraordinary nature of such a confession which implies utter incapacity if not bankruptcy on the part of the Government has been entirely missed both by the Press and the public. One cannot help feeling that several of those that was eloquent about *bhoodan* are actuated more by escapist motives of shelving a national responsibility than by a clear comprehension of rational and equitable national endeavour. No wonder, however praiseworthy Acharya Vinoba Bhave's motives might be, *bhoodan* is tending to become more a farce than a genuinely spontaneous movement. Indeed, Vinoba's recent utterances carry a note of threat rather than that of an appeal.

If, as is contended, the move is meant to bring about a psychological change among the wealthy sections, it should have envisaged proportionate contributions from all wealthy sections. After all, a great deal of money would be required for providing the initial equipment and sustenance to those that are proposed to be settled on new lands as well as for providing new occupational opportunities and for financing the Five Year Plan. Instead of making a clear-cut and systematic approach to the whole problem, it is amusing to find even eminent leaders suggesting the closure of educational institutions for an year or two so that students might take part in the *bhoodan* movement. What part exactly the students are expected to play is, indeed, a puzzle. Equally puzzling is the talk about *bhoodan* being a prelude to the *sampatdan* movement. Is one to understand that *bhoodan* will be followed by house-dan, bank-deposit-dan, company share-dan, etc.? It is high time that tinkering with doctrinaire and sentimental schemes based on slogans and fads is stopped; what is wanted is a Central standing committee to periodically report about the all-round effects of the various land reform measures already introduced in the States with reference to the cultivators, the middle class, capital formation, Government revenues, etcetera, before embarking on further hasty and ill-conceived measures.

Let it be noted that, unlike in most other countries, a tie with land, either as farmer or investor, has been largely of the nature of an insurance to most of the middle class and artisan families, and which factor largely helped them to survive during the hard times, and not any social security measures of the Government. Had there been, for instance, an all-India middle class investors' association, the middle class investors in land would have been saved, perhaps, from becoming the playthings of politicians, doctrinaire demagogues and faddists. Let it not be forgotten, however, that any further thoughtless displacement of the already badly hit middle class is the surest way to invite a

disastrous social upheaval which is intended to be averted.

Let us, therefore, make a rational and straightforward approach with clear objectives on the basis of a comprehensive and equitable sharing of a national responsibility by all wealthy sections through legislative measures. There is no reason why such a well-thought-out and systematic programme need be made to depend for its implementation on haphazard voluntary donations; nor is there anything undemocratic in enacting requisite legislation to achieve the desired results. Thus, for instance, legislation can be enacted enjoining all those, say, above the income-tax assessment level in mofussil places and above Rs. 5,000 annual income level in cities, whether from lands or other sources, to pay 5 to 10 per cent of their net annual income, in convenient instalments, as a special cess during the Five Year Plan period. On the basis of income-tax data, the number of such persons, including corporate bodies in the non-agricultural sector, may be approximately seven and half lakhs and their total annual income about Rs. 750 crores. The number of corresponding persons in the agricultural sector can be worked out either on the basis of acreage and average yield or on the basis of agricultural income-tax data in States where such tax is collected. The total income of this group in the agricultural sector may be less conspicuous than in the commercial and industrial sectors. However, the total annual income of all such higher income groups may be about one thousand crores. A five to ten per cent special cess would yield fifty to hundred crores annually while the sphere of voluntary donations may be practically confined to fallow lands and persons below the said income level. The amount thus secured may be earmarked partly for settling the landless unemployed on new land, partly to extend the scope of occupational opportunities through cottage industries, and for bettering the lot of the worst hit section, the lower middle class and also for partly financing the development projects. Such a move, the broad outlines of which are indicated, would have the

advantage of bringing the desired results without too suddenly upsetting the social equilibrium. No doubt, objections may be raised on the ground that the incidence of taxation is already heavy and no fresh burdens should be imposed but, unless the relatively wealthy sections are prepared to shoulder a proportionate share of an urgent national responsibility, at least during the Five Year Plan period after which with increased prosperity there may be no need for such a cess, how else can the vast problem be tackled? It

was by such equitable shouldering of a national responsibility during an emergency period that France was able to pay up the heavy war reparations within a remarkably short period to Germany after the Franco-German war of the last century.

It may be mentioned that these suggestions, when placed before the Berhampur Andhra Town Congress Committee by the writer, were unanimously endorsed in a resolution recommending them for adoption by the Congress.

MUSIC MEDIUM

By S. RAJAGOPALAN

TWO events of outstanding value to music and music-lovers in South India have been the resuscitation of the Tanjore Sangeetha Mahal, an acoustic-cum-architectural marvel, and the almost simultaneous opening of a music hall at Madras.

The Sangeetha Mahal represents the high watermark of our indigenous engineering skill, although its vast potentialities had not been unearthed until recently: in fact it had been used as a sort of lumber annexe. The building is believed to have been constructed during the reign of Sevappa Naick who had ruled this part of India from 1549 to 1572, as a vassal of the Vijayanagar Empire. The Naick supremacy which had commenced then continued for upwards of 80 years; and the period was a golden epoch for all that was best and noblest in the land. It was then that great temples, tanks, roads, streets and byways were constructed; and it was during the reign of the three Naicks that the highest traditions in art and literature sprang up. Music had its birth then. Tamil and Telugu accord was at its height; and a large number of Telugus had actually migrated into the territory. There was in consequence a free flow of ideas, which eventually heralded the evolution of Karnataka (mis-called Carnatic) music and the music *sampradaya*. It was due to the benevolence of these high souled

rulers that their immortal minister Govinda Dikshita and his no less illustrious son Venkatamakhi completed their masterpieces, the Sangita Sudha and the Chaturdandi Prakasika with 72 *melakarthis*, and set the standards for classical music, which are maintained even to this day by the orthodox votaries. Such a foundation so securely built reared the later giants in the musical field. Thyagayya, Sama Sastri and Muthuswami Dikshitar and a host of others, not to mention Sri Sadasiva Brahmendra and Teertha Narayana, who had flourished earlier. The signal contribution of these worthies had been the 'Keerthana' style in music, which was more or less abstract music in tabloid form for easy assimilation and elaboration. The Veena too was evolved with 12 frets and came in handy for full length concerts.

It is a truism that music in India had been regarded since creation as partaking of the nature of divinity. Nada or sound is itself the Absolute or Brahman. Some western writers have pronounced it to have been anterior even to the descent of man, by reason of its hold over bipeds and quadrupeds, the cow and the child. A New Yorker, Dr. Clarence Dickinson, regards it as a vehicle for man's spiritual response to the eternal, which of course is but paraphrasing Yajnavalkya's dictum that *sangeetha* may itself enable the votary to attain

moksha. In fact he had gone a step further and recommended *sanyasins* who could not meditate on the Supreme Brahman to take to music, sing some of the approved tunes, concentrate the mind step by step and attain beatitude. Another consequence of attributing divinity to the art was that a theory came to be evolved by Govinda Dikshita that the capacity to sing and the acquisition of a melodious voice were not attained by ceaseless practice alone but on account of good actions in the previous birth such as *Vidyadana*, austerity, *askesis*, and devotion to Lord Siva.

In classical musical literature, *sangita* is not mere music alone, but is composed of *gita* (song), *nritta* (dance) and *vadya* (rhythm), the last two being the auxiliaries of the first. Before the Muslim penetration in India there was only one system of music comprising both the Aryan and Dravidian styles, which was classified into (1) *marga* and (2) *Desi* types. During the Moghul ascendancy, Persian music came into vogue, except in Karnataka or the Deccan, which was able to keep up its system intact. Hindustani music was principally adopted and developed in North India.

The raga in our music embraces several types and varieties; and in orthodox musicology, each raga is equated with a particular deity and has to be sung only at stated hours in the day. Bhupala, malaya marutha at dawn, Bilahari and Danyasi in the morning, Saveri in the afternoon, Kalyani and Poorva Kalyani in the evening and Bhairavi in the night—such was the *sampradaya*, which however is honoured in the breach in the present day concerts. Another essential which has however been kept up is that every concert has to end in Madhyamavati or Suratti or Sourashtra ragas. Ragas like Deepak and Amrita Varshini are known to have influenced supernatural agencies.

In India, as Mr. Yehudi Menuhin has so aptly expressed, music "invites the listener to attain a state of oneness with God;" in other words, it typifies *bakthi* or devotion. This was in common with fine arts of every variety such as architecture and

painting. Our highest and grandest monuments were only for housing our Gods; our most valuable paintings were of the Lord in His various manifestations; and our best poetry was only in praise of the Absolute. And music too followed suit, and came to be identified with the outpourings of a soul in distress, anxious for communion with the oversoul. In such a context, there could hardly be any room for prejudices and predilections. In the golden age of Karnatic music there was a commingling of Sanskrit, Telugu, Tamil and Kannada dialects. Take for instance the exquisite number in Krishna Leela Tarangini, a counterpart of Jayadeva's Gita Govinda which were composed by a Telugu ascetic Sri Narayana Teertha who was smitten with acute appendicitis and who rolled along to Varahur, singing his way to the Lord in Sanskrit. The medium was the artist's choice: neither the audience nor the state dared to dictate it. Some composers, it is true, like Thyagayya chose their own mother tongue, but a good many preferred to sing in Sanskrit or Telugu. Sadasiva Brahmendra, Muthuswami Dikshitar and Swati Tirunal opted out for Sanskrit. Syama Sastri had many pieces in Sanskrit, Tamil and Telugu. Telugu had long been recognised as the sweetest medium for certain types of music like *padams*, *varnams* and a few dance metres. Tamilian artists like Patnam Subrahmanya Iyer, and Mesu Krishna Iyer, have some well-known Telugu kritis to their credit. In our own times Muthia Bagavathar had brought out a number of Kannada pieces. The fact was that without minimising the importance of *sahitya*, no one considered himself the worse for composing musical pieces in a language unknown to a major portion of the audience. This is particularly noticeable in Malabar and to some extent even in Mysore, where both the artists and the audiences are not averse to the Sanskrit and Telugu compositions. And in Tamil Nad too, St. Arunagiri Nathar's Tiruppughaz which even today fascinates millions of people is preponderantly Sanskrit in texture.

The movement to foster "Tamil Isai" is, theoretically speaking, a very laudable undertaking; but all the same its chief progenitors have not

been able to rouse mass consciousness to any appreciable extent, because our musical traditions have taken far too deep a root in our sense of aesthetic appreciation. Consider, for example, our nagaswaram players and bandsmen, who are still the ablest exponents of the kritis of Thyagayya and Dikshitar, though both Sanskrit and Telugu are Greek to them.

In one of the supplements issued on the occasion of the opening function of the "Annamalai Manram," a distinguished Tamil scholar, T. K. C., permitted himself to observe thus: "When singing a song, the medium, the language, must be natural and easy for the tongue. This is effected only in Tamil. Everyone of us knows how easily the Tamil words lend themselves to musical utterances. Any language which has been affected by the pronunciation of Sanskrit to any appreciable degree has the same handicaps. Telugu has certainly been greatly affected and as a medium for our music is not appropriate. And our music has very much suffered in con-

sequence; the music, musicians and the audiences have all suffered. It is high time we redeem our music from the present deteriorated condition by giving it its life, real medium."

Fissiparous tendencies, for which language imperialism is the major cause, may just at present offer big dividends in the political sphere: but it is perfectly clear that if ideas like these are allowed to penetrate into music, then the way is paved for its ultimate deterioration and even ruin. Western music is still largely Italian and German and not even in the worst days of the Blitz did the Englishmen venture to ostracise music from his ears. Anyhow, the past history and tradition of Karnatic music do not countenance bigotry and intolerance. And it is a matter for great satisfaction that these sweeping remarks were ignored, albeit unconsciously, in the very first concert under the auspices of the Tamil Isai Festival when the artist chose to sing Sri Sankara's Bhaja Govindam with great fervour and skill and without putting the audience to "suffering."

DUNLOP



CRIME CAN COME IN A BOTTLE

By WESSELY HICKS

CRIME can come in a bottle labelled and neatly packaged and can be bought easily. For crime, like most powerful agents, needs a catalyst, and liquor can be, and too often is, the catalyst that will set off the reactions that end in carelessness, violence, cruelty and death.

Professor L. Joslyn Rogers, the Canadian criminologist who, since 1912, has worked with the Ontario Provincial Police in an advisory capacity and who has been on the staff of the University of Toronto in the Department of Analytical Chemistry even longer, still marvels at the frequency with which alcohol content is discovered in the blood of the victim of a motor accident and in the blood of the victim of the perpetrator of a crime.

"We do blood tests on nearly every case on which we work," Prof. Rogers says, "and it's amazing the number of times we find alcohol. After all these years, it still appals me the number of times alcohol is associated with crime."

"I am no temperance crank, but I see the results of excessive consumption of alcohol. They appear in crimes of violence, murder, robbery and rape, and they appear all too often on our highways where drunk drivers and drunk pedestrians kill and are killed in shocking numbers."

Prof. Rogers classifies the drinkers thus:

"Certain people under the influence of alcohol are happy, jovial and talkative. Other men react the opposite way. They become belligerent, quarrelsome and vicious. And when that last characteristic is magnified and distorted by alcohol, serious results are likely to follow, particularly if the man, under normal conditions, is not of a balanced type. Then alcohol accentuates his normal tendencies and he becomes a potential evildoer."

"When a man is a marginal sort of person, over-indulgence in alcohol may bring to the surface some of those unfortunate characteristics and loosen them beyond his control. That is when the man who is un-

stable goes off the deep end and becomes an instrument of evil."

"To those who are potentially violent criminals alcohol has the tendency to uncover their buried, violent natures which flare up and become manifest in crime or carelessness."

Ask for cases to which these statements can be tied and the soft-voiced scholar who has become a terror to criminals and friend of the innocent shakes his head. "There are so many cases," he says, "that I am at a loss to know to select to illustrate what I have said. There are more highway accidents than even our appalling statistics show in which death or injury can be attributed to alcohol."

Turning half way around from his desk in his laboratory, Prof. Rogers waves towards four sealed glass containers, each of which holds a heavy, red, turgid fluid. The containers are carefully labelled with names and dates and locales. And prominent on each is the word "Killed..."

"Blood," Prof. Rogers explains. "Those men were killed on the highway; I do blood tests of those involved in most of highway accidents in which we are consulted. And, again and again, I find alcoholic content. Drunken driving has succeeded war as a great modern scourge."

But alcohol can spark the actions which result in violent death and bestiality, too. "There were two rape cases in an eastern Ontario city last winter which would never have occurred if the men had not been drinking," Prof. Rogers says.

"In the autumn of 1946, Marie Desmeules was found guilty of beating to death her 60-year-old landlady, Susie Thomas, at Forth William. Marie Desmeules was found guilty and sentenced to be hanged but her sentence was later commuted to life imprisonment. But the important fact is that the crime would never have been committed if Marie Desmeules had not been drinking. She had consumed the better part of a bottle of gin before she beat to death the elderly lady who lay asleep in her bed."

The legal interpretations of "drunk" vary almost as much as the amount of alcohol required to produce an intoxicating effect in different individuals, Prof. Rogers says. "In some places, a man is considered legally drunk when he has 1.5 parts of alcohol in his blood," he explained. "It means that an average-sized man would have to have about seven ounces of liquor in him at the time the blood sample was drawn and he would have to have drunk more than that because some of the seven ounces would have been eliminated. But some people are very much under the influence when they have drunk a good deal less than that."

And, strangely enough, it is the "in-between" drinker who is the greatest menace in the estimation of this quiet little logician who is accustomed to culling out his facts, weighing them carefully, and then testing his conclusions so that the shrewdest legal minds in the country cannot unravel them.

"When a fellow has had one or two drinks," Prof. Rogers says, "he can usually handle himself. When he drinks so much that he is dead drunk, he just passes out and is out of harm's way."

"It is the fellow in between who is dangerous. He has drunk enough to impair his efficiency and his judgment. Certain of his faculties are out of control, yet he thinks he still is capable of handling a car. He is the chief reason for the large proportion of our major highway accidents which can be attributed to alcohol."

In a congested little room on the second floor of the mining building at the University of Toronto, which serves as both office and laboratory, Prof. Rogers clasps his hands behind his greying head and dreams a favourite dream. He dreams of the time when the criminal will be treated as a mentally or organically ailing patient.

"And why not?" he demands.

"There was a time when diabetes was considered incurable. Cancer is now baffling medical science, but the time will come when this disease will be mastered. I have no doubt about that at all. We are just beginning on the scientific study of the criminal and the cause of his behaviour. But there is no doubt in my

mind that the day will come when the doctors and psychiatrists will evolve a treatment for the criminal which will lean on both sciences.

"Look at it this way! There can't be a result without a cause. That's logical. And, since many criminals show abnormal behaviour, there must be some functional or pathological reason for it. If this deduction is sound, the ultimate study which will show the relationship between some bodily functions and behaviour may be the key to normalising some of these persons whose behaviour is decidedly unsocial.

"I feel that psychiatrists will probably find some answers to their great problems in the actual body functions, many of which, at present, may not be properly understood. In bringing such functions into focus, medical science can pay enormous dividends to the human race."

Prof. Rogers, who has seen so much of the results of the machinations of the criminal mentality, says the law-breaker is a man of single purpose. "The criminal realises only his own desires," he says. "and he is willing to murder or steal or obliterate other people's rights in order to attain what he wants. That's behaviourism and we should be able to treat it much as we treat our mentally ill, many of whom are being discharged from specialised institutions as vastly improved or completely cured human beings. Prof. Rogers has no idea of how many cases he has handled.

"I get little or no satisfaction from most of the cases we handle," he says. "The work I do on them is a duty, an obligation and not a very pleasant one. I get little feeling of achievement.

"Actually, there is just as much sense of satisfaction when we relieve someone of the onus of suspicion as there is when we trap a criminal and see him receive justice. If you can relieve a man of suspicion immediately and thus clear his name, you have done some good.

"Essentially and solely, our job is just to secure the facts. We are not interested in convictions, although frequently our laboratory data indicate a guilty person. Even the person being prosecuted appreciates the clean-cut impartiality of the technical witness."—NMF.

THEY'RE EITHER TOO HOT OR TOO COLD

By ANDREW ROTH

BRITISH leaders, basking in the warmth of the relaxation of international tension, still have two nagging and contradictory worries. They are afraid that their American ally will blow either too hot or too cold on the red doves released in Moscow and Peking. The British Foreign Office favours the 'lukewarm' approach: firm but yielding, friendly but reserved.

The Foreign Office fears such chilling statements as that of U. S. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles on April 3: "Nothing which has happened or seems likely to happen... has lessened the danger of the Russian threat." If such an approach were continued, it was feared here, the Soviets might retreat into their pre-Malenkov shell.

At the same time British leaders are even more afraid that the U. S. may embrace the Soviet proposals wholeheartedly, jettisoning a substantial part of their overseas commitments. On April 8 Alastair Buchan, *The Observer's* Washington correspondent, warned that it had been respondent, warned that it had been Soviet aggressiveness that had brought the U. S. actively into the world arena. "At every crucial point in American acceptance of this responsibility between 1947 and 1952, the Russians helped the Americans to learn. The Prague coup saved the Marshall Plan from its Congressional enemies, and the blockade of Berlin helped to bring N. A. T. O. into being; while the invasion of Korea helped Americans to accept the burdens of a strong defence programme."

Then Buchan asked two of the closely-linked questions which cause much concern here: "Will a Korean truce and a general softening of the Russian attitude create overwhelming reinforcement for the fairly strong existing pressures to scale down the level of the American military budget? And if so, will the consequent reduction in employment and profits, however slight, touch off a recession in an economy which is

at the moment poised in equilibrium between expansion and retraction? It was uncertainty about the answer to these questions which sent the Wall Street stockbrokers scurrying for cover this week."

The economic consequences of peace also worried the *Manchester Guardian* on April 10:

"If the Kremlin means peace there will be a serious risk of an economic setback in the Western world.... To upset a delicately balanced capitalist system which has come to rely a good deal on the stimulus of armament demand would be a worthwhile gain (for the Soviets).... If we are now moving from a state of alarm and preparation into one of calmer international relations the change will bear some resemblance to a demobilization.... Japan would be the first to feel the drop in military expenditure, as her industries and shipyards have been active in support of the war.... In this country and Western Europe any lessening of defence production will add to the resources for export in those industries that can still count on a large world demand.... It is, however, the American problem that really gives cause for concern. In the last ten years the United States has doubled its productive capacity. The armament production of the last three years has again been added to all-out civilian production. If it drops, new uses have to be found for the men and machines now engaged in it. While defence expenditure is not a large proportion of total national output it forms a fairly high percentage of current output in certain industries. No doubt President Eisenhower will not wish to relax precautions too quickly. But his hand may be forced by Congress, which is anxious to balance the budget and cut taxes. Even a small drop in arms expenditure could cause difficulty if it coincided with a change in business expectations.... The immediate danger is probably not a slump in

the United States but a minor reduction of American demand which would cut deeply into the dollar earnings of the sterling area.... We had better pull our hats on tight and wait for squalls."

Advance signs of squalls have already been felt. Tin, the bulk of which is purchased by the U. S., dropped from \$942 to \$800 a ton in the two weeks after the red doves first started cooing peace.

The nervousness of the City financiers was reflected in the editorial of *The Financial Times* of April 4: "Here what matters most is the policy of the U. S., for a small fall in the level of economic activity there can have very serious consequences in other countries.... There is very little that other countries can do to protect themselves, and the best policies for Britain might by themselves be helpless. U. S. Governments have acted abruptly before, as in the ending of Lease-lend, and the Republicans are a comparatively untried administration...."

The Foreign Office and Treasury have been watching with concern the reported cut in the American military budget of \$4,000 million and apparently, a cut of at least \$1,000 million in the foreign aid programme. Britain expects to be hurt by this, although the *New Statesman* was probably exaggerating when it wrote on April 11: "Geared to a volume of defence production which can only be maintained by American dollar assistance and American purchases of tanks and aircraft, the British economy is more exposed to the threat of peace than any other."

What worries the British particularly is the unpredictability of American policies. The most striking case to hand, of course, was the recent emergence of John Foster

Dulles as an advocate of neutralizing Formosa. It will be recalled that Mr. Dulles called in some top reporters on April 8 and confided to them a new plan to answer the Communist peace offensive. He suggested that the Chinese agree to move the truce line 90 miles north to the narrow "waist" of Korea and "call off" their help to the Indochinese Communists. In exchange the U. S. would agree that Formosa be converted first into a U.N. trusteeship and then, perhaps, into a Republic of Formosa—thus clearing the way for the Peking regime to be recognized as the only Chinese regime qualified for China's seat in the United Nations. Dulles agreed to have his trial balloon sent aloft by the reporters, provided they did not disclose the source. But when these views were splashed in leading American newspapers the next day (April 9) they were immediately denied by President Eisenhower's press spokesman and, strikingly enough, by Dulles himself. His denial was to pacify the enraged Senator Knowland, who frequently represents Chiang Kai-shek more effectively than his native California. The reporters whose veracity has been impugned kept a guarded silence concerning their source. But others discovered it was Dulles. He decided to take a vacation on his island in Lake Ontario.

British observers, while questioning the feasibility of Dulles' Korea and Indochina proposals, were delighted that Dulles "the liberator" should so soon be thinking of recognizing Peking. But they could not help being a bit flabbergasted about his quick change. Perhaps he has taken seriously the remark of the Washington correspondent of *The Economist*. On April 4 he commented that it was "pointless to try to appease the barbarians in the Senate..."

Those who, in the confidence of superior capacities or attainments, neglect the common maxims of life, should be reminded that nothing will supply the want of prudence; but that negligence and irregularity, long continued, will make knowledge useless, wit ridiculous, and genius contemptible.—JOHNSON.

To the acquisition of the rare quality of politeness, so much of an enlightened understanding is necessary that I cannot but consider every book in every science, which tends to make us wiser, and of course better men, as a treatise on a more enlarged system of politeness.—MONRO.

CREATIVE MARXIST?—III

By V. SUBRAMANIAN

PRIOR to World War II, Stalin's greatness, according to many, rested on his achievement of socialism in a single state without world revolution against the predictions of such prophets of disaster like Trotsky. This simplifies Stalinist theory and practice too much to be of any deep significance. After World War II, there have been people who summed up Stalin's achievements in the terse language that he carried out the very objective for which Trotsky was expelled from Russia. This is not a sober estimate. Many sincere students of Stalin's work wonder whether he had any consistent theory at all and whether he was not a glorious opportunist. There is good reason, however, to think that Stalin believed that his change of tactics was in the interests of the Soviet citizens.

We will have to avoid cheap simplifications and depend on Stalin's elaboration of his theory of socialism in a single state. More out of a desire to appear orthodox and less out of a desire to be modest, Stalin attributes his theory almost entirely to Lenin in his historic speeches at the fifteenth party Congress in 1926. In fact Lenin is quoted as having given the germ of the theory and developed it himself—a task which was never faced by Marx and Engels. Let us discuss some relevant extracts from Stalin's utterances not chronologically but as suits our discussion.

Stalin fully accepts in his reply to Zinoviev in the fifteenth party Congress that Marx and Engels did not favour proletarian revolution and establishment of socialism in a single state. Zinoviev had quoted elaborately from Marx and Engels. "Zinoviev's manner of quoting reminds me of a rather amusing story," says Stalin and the story is that of the Russian sailors in Crimea coming to the local social democrats for guidance. They refer to all the volumes of *Das Kapital* and other

works of Marx and find no reference to Crimea or sailor's mutiny in them. They therefore refuse to give any instructions, and so the sailors' mutiny collapses.

Stalin says: "The fundamental error of the opposition is that they do not or will not understand the full profundity of the difference between pre-imperialist capitalism and imperialist capitalism, that they do not understand the economic nature of imperialism and confuse two different phases of capitalism, the pre-imperialist phase and the imperialist phase. From this error springs another error of the opposition which is that they do not understand the meaning and significance of the law of uneven development in the period of imperialism."

Well, what is the difference between pre-imperialist and imperialist capitalism? In the words of Lenin, "Free competition gave way to monopolist capitalist combines and the whole world was divided up.... The appearance and growth of such monopolist undertakings make the free competition of former times impossible, they have cut the ground from under its feet, while the division of the world compels the capitalists to pass from peaceful expansion to armed struggle for the redivision of colonies and spheres of influence." The essence of the concept of the law of uneven development was that since there were no unoccupied territories with raw materials or markets, new territory could be seized only by force. Technological development sharpened the edge of this struggle. Hence capitalism was thus divided against itself. Lenin's conclusion is: "Uneven economic and political development is an absolute law of capitalism. Hence the victory of socialism is possible first in several or even in one separate capitalist country."

Trotsky's two relevant arguments which were put forward when Russia was fighting foreign intervention successfully in 1917, were that "th

fact that the workers' state had held out against the whole world in one country and a backward country at that only testified to the colossal might of the proletariat which in other more advanced, more civilized countries will be truly capable of performing miracles. But while we have held our ground as a state politically and militarily, we have not arrived or even begun to arrive at the building of a socialist society. *The struggle for survival as a revolutionary state has resulted in this period in an extreme decline of productive forces; yet socialism is conceivable only on the basis of their growth and development.*.....Real progress of a socialist economy in Russia will become possible only after the victory of the proletariat in the major European countries." The second argument is: "The idea is within the encirclement of the capitalist world economy to build an isolated socialist state. This can be achieved only if the productive forces of this isolated state are superior to the productive forces of capitalism." (Stalin perverts the meaning of the next sentence of Trotsky to mean that it will take a hundred years for a socialist economy to demonstrate its superiority and refutes it elaborately.)

A third argument of Trotsky is this. "Without direct state support from the European proletariat the working class of Russia will not be able to maintain itself in power and to transform its temporary rule into a lasting socialist dictatorship." He also said that the imperfect sympathy between the peasants and proletariat in Russia would hinder, if not defeat, the attempt. Stalin disposes of this argument by the argument that in Russia by the N. E. P. and other policies co-operation between the peasants and the proletariat has been secured.

The third argument is weightier. Stalin faces it from a purely tactical angle, while admitting the ultimate necessity of revolutions in other countries. They could not however wait for successful revolutions in other Western countries and give up positions of vantage to their enemies. As Stalin reiterates, "Only in alliance with the world proletariat can socia-

lism in our country be built at all." But the whole point is what is meant by *alliance*. When the proletariat of other countries sends delegations to Russia and when they spread reports of Russia's achievement and when the proletariat refuses to help in shipping supplies for intervention all that is a form of alliance. Stalin sums up: "The error of the opposition consists in the fact that they do not understand or do not recognize these forms of alliance. The trouble of the opposition is that they recognize only one form of alliance, the form of direct state support."

As is clear from the above, on the basic assumptions of Marxism and on the final objective of an international revolution, there was no difference between Stalin and Trotsky. The question was only when and how. Hence talk of Trotsky's ghost animating Stalin is just flimsy rhetoric. Let me quote again passages where Stalin vehemently repudiates all charges of national insularity: "The party holds that the national and international tasks of the proletariat of the U. S. S. R. merge into the one general task of emancipating the proletarians of all countries from capitalism, that the interests of the building of socialism in our country fully and completely merge with the interests of the revolutionary movement of all countries into one general interest of achieving the victory of the socialist revolution in all countries....Hence to draw a distinction between the nationalist tasks of the proletarians and their international tasks is to commit the grossest political error.... Precisely for this reason the victory of the proletarian revolution in one country is not an aim in itself but a means and auxiliary for the development and victory of the revolution in all countries." Hence Stalin's conclusion is that by building up socialism in the U. S. S. R. they further the common cause of all the proletarians of all countries.

But the first two arguments of Trotsky need to be considered. Armed intervention from capitalist countries does exhaust the productive forces on which alone the victory of socialism depends. We can

even add, the very threat or possibility of intervention forces the socialist state to engage a large part of her productive forces, in military instead of nation-building activities. Secondly, the socialist economy must prove obviously superior to capitalist economy by results if only for psychological reasons. Both these arguments of Trotsky hold good as much today as they did in 1926; and Stalin probably would have been the first to acknowledge their validity in his candid moments, when he could afford to be off his guard. Threat of encirclement and armed invasion kept the U. S. S. R. in jitters and forced her to reorient her economy on a

war basis till 1939 in spite of Litvinoff's talk of the indivisibility of peace. What is worse, the fear of it degraded the political life of Russia to one of endless espionage, ruthless purges, orgies of confessions, Siberian labour camps and to many other indescribable evils.

Again the fact that capitalist America, and the Marshall aid countries have greater average productivity than socialist Russia is a glaring fact, which still accounts for the poor show of communism in Western Europe. People are not prepared to stop and compare the basic possibilities, resources and the rates of development of various countries, with their differing basic economies.

LABOUR CO-PARTNERSHIP IN INDUSTRY

By Prof. C. S. KRISHNAN

THE demand of the modern factory operative of a right to get at the 'know-how' of industrial management has found consummation in practical schemes of labour co-partnership by means of which the worker becomes a primary investor in the fortunes of the undertaking. He takes a real interest in producing for the market on which the profits closely hinge, and as his own share of the divisible profit is likely to correspond *pari passu* with the industry's aggregate profit, we can say that he more or less identifies himself with the enterprise. There are three states of conduct of industry which summon in a measure labour's share. They are: (a) Profit-sharing by means of which labourers get in addition to basic wages a pre-determined share in the surplus profits of the undertaking on certain guiding conditions; (b) Co-partnership by which labourers get, in addition to benefits under (a), a share in the management of the industry almost equivalent to *de facto* proprietorship; and (c) Productive co-operation in which case the factory is wholly owned, directed and controlled by workers through their elected representatives. Of these,

labour co-partnership commends itself because ownership, which helps in finding the reasons for fluctuations in returns of industry, is guaranteed to the worker. Moreover, the worker is awakened to the special place he occupies in keeping with his dignity and in his own interest will take an abiding care of the level of production and even augment it. Truly has it been said therefore that 'labour co-partnership is the recognition of the claim of dignity of labour and the rights of capital.' Our owner-worker loses no time in engendering this attitude of enlightened self-interest.

How does labour co-partnership work? It is common knowledge that the operative is none-too-rich to become a proprietor overnight. The solution therefore lies in putting him in funds with which he can buy in the open market or acquire under arrangement shares in the industry enough to confer primary ownership thereof. This has to be contrived for him in such a way as would not increase the concern's liability to earn more dividends without enlisting the worker's utmost co-operation. In this connection, it is worthwhile to cite a few examples of labour co-

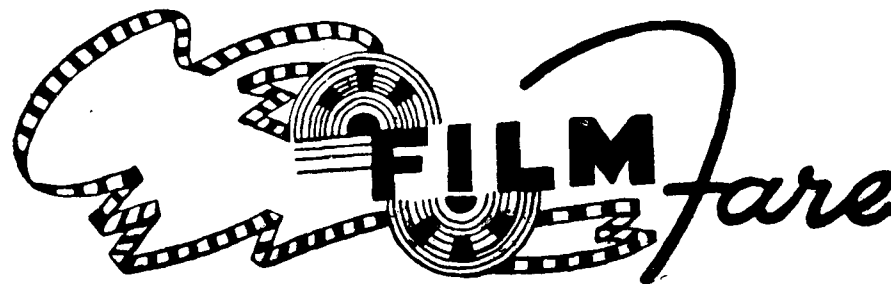
partnership at work in the U. S. and Great Britain. The case of the firm, "Batley Yorkshire" woollen cloth suppliers is striking in that by gradual stages it has been possible not merely by division of profits but by encouragement given to the worker to invest those profits in the industry to evolve a successful amalgam in which over 50% of the capital is possessed by the operatives. There are other instances in which profit-sharing is the sine qua non to labour's claim to rights of ownership. Several incensitives, however, are required to ensure that the profits to which labour becomes entitled in the scheme of co-partnership are ploughed back into industry. These have ranged from an issue of the shares to workers at par while a premium is available, to giving the workers preference over others in subscribing to a fresh issue of shares. It is not uncommon for those in charge of management to assure to the workers a regular return on their investment while there is a concern which has the pattern of co-partnership under which 'certificates' and not shares are issued to regular workers with the power to revoke them without compensation resting with the management. This power however should be sparingly exercised. The practice is injurious as certificates carry no power to vote.

The affairs of a co-partnership are conducted by a co-partnership committee which, apart from attending to matters of improving working conditions and other routine, is concerned with the constitution and investment of appropriations from the co-partnership fund. This is a chief point of advantage over profit-sharing schemes when the workers have no means of verifying by inspection of books or otherwise the actual profits much less the basis of their computation.

The system of labour co-partner-

ship, like other systems, is far from perfection; while on the side of labour provision is made for division of responsibility and incidentally of profits (in pursuance of the socialist ideal), no standard is set for labour productivity even as a quid pro quo, and this has only to be viewed from the context of the post-war era in which labour has at one time caused the maximum public revulsion by striking work for trivial causes. The system can be improved by laying down a minimum term of service to enable a worker to show a reasonable prospect of his continuity in service, and this will no doubt redound to the mutual advantage of employer and employee as the former can retain an efficient worker and the latter will give the industry his unsullied devotion. Only after completing the minimum term a labourer should be offered a share in the industry purchased for him out of the proceeds of a hidden reserve created out of profits in the meantime. The size of the reserve however will fluctuate from time to time according to the changing character of the active labour force. The State will have to be responsible to determine that certain specific industries will create the reserves, that the reserve is unfailingly credited with amounts, that the proportion of this reserve in the cost structure of the output is determined and that the investment of such reserves in an approved manner is secured. The Government may arrange to exempt issue of shares to labour from stamp duty. In times of instability of industrial relations, this reserve will tend to allay fears of a precipitous strike and as the reserve requirement applies to all industries, it will be a preventive against strikes in an epidemic form. Labour co-partnership on these lines will try to ensure equality of social strata, an idea cherished by revolutionists and radicals alike.

Whatever there is of greatness in the United States, or indeed in any other country, is due to labour. The labourer is the author of all greatness and wealth. Without labour there would be no government, and no leading class and nothing to preserve.
—U. S. GRANT.



By V. P. SATHE

IT is always affirmed that the cinema has killed the stage in India; in a way, this is true. Since the advent of sound, the stage has lost its popular patronage and almost all theatres have been converted into picture houses. In a city like Bombay there is no theatre for stage plays and Prithviraj is forced to conduct his plays at odd hours of the morning in a cinema house.

But of late people have been taking keen interest in the stage. Several drama festivals held in different parts of the country have been enormously successful. And even these film stars who have almost become back-numbers on the screen are earning their living and new fame by acting in stage plays.

The stage and the screen should not be considered rivals out to destroy each other. They are complementary institutes dedicated to the same purpose of enlightenment and entertainment. The stage is always more progressive than the screen; for the bold and unconventional ideas that can be incorporated in a stage play can never be portrayed on the screen which has to be rather orthodox and even conservative because of its wide mass appeal. The stage thrives on controversial themes which are generally avoided on the screen.

Apart from the subject matter the stage is a good training ground for all those who want to adapt film as a career. Most of our stars today came from the stage; indeed between Prithvi Theatres and People's Theatre, they have contributed at least dozen stars and other talent to the film industry. Raj Kapoor, Prem-

nath, Kamal Kapoor, Shammi Kapoor, Sajjan, Kumud, Shankar Jai Kishen, Ramesh Saigal, Inder Raj Anand, Ram Gangoli, Ravindra Kapoor—are all products of Prithvi Theatres, lyricist Shailendra and Prem Dhawan, stars Balraj Sahni, Dev Anand, Shammi, Bandhir, Rashid Ahmad, Hamid Butt, Sakil Chowdhary, Shambhu Mitra, and Tripti have come to the film world via People's Theatre stage.

The tragedy, however, is barring a few persons like Prithviraj, other talented artistes of the stage, once they take to the films, forget their obligations to the stage. That is not the case in West where stars like Paul Muni, Laurence Oliver, and Vivien Leigh devote as much time to the stage as to the screen. Indeed, there is not a single great artiste in Hollywood right from Paul Muni to Marlon Brando, who is not a product of the stage. In India so far no effort has been made to correlate both in a correct manner. But the interest evinced by the film producers in the recent conference of People's Theatre and the formation of Natak Akademi which will award prizes to best dramatic performances and stimulate stage activity by building theatres indicate that in future at least both these arts will work in co-operation.

Picture Of The Week

Seldom does a critic come across a picture which he enjoys thoroughly like a simple picturegoer, forgetting his task as a critic. Shorey's latest comedy *Ek Do Teen* is such a picture. It is obviously designed as a hilarious comedy and it succeeds in its design to an extent very few Indian pictures do.

There are many faults in the picture and anyone who lacks a sense of humour, would find the whole picture absurd, silly and nonsensical. But that will not be the fault of the picture, rather it would be the fault of the spectator.

The picture begins rather in an ordinary way. In fact, for the first three or four reels in which the hero and the heroine meet, fall in love, sing duets and are about to be married, the tempo is slow, humour is missing and the events are rather unexciting. But after the hero's father dies leaving his son to follow his three-fold advice—not to drink, not to fall into the trap of a bad woman and not to tell a secret to any woman, even if she is one's wife or mother—the picture gathers momentum as the hero puts to test all the three don'ts of life.

The truth of the first two 'don'ts' is easily revealed; but the picture mainly concerns with the third don't—not to reveal a secret to a woman because she cannot keep it. The hero fakes a murder of his best friend; and tells his beloved that he has committed a murder. The way she finds it difficult to 'stomach' this secret and passes it on to her best friend who, in turn, tells her police-inspector husband who arrests the hero makes for a very amusing sequence.

But the highlight of the picture is the heroine's chase for the 'murdered' man. Sentenced to death, just a week before the 'hanging' date, the hero feels that he has carried the cruel joke too far and tells the truth to his beloved, asking her to bring back the man he is supposed to have killed. And she rides by bus, tractor, trolley train, which she steals from a yard, bullock-cart and truck to get him back before the hero is hanged. This chase is by far the most exciting and amusing part of the picture revealing Shorey's mastery in handling action-comedy. Especially the train sequence in which Majnu cuts the benches and doors of the carriage and uses them as fuel is the best of its kind I have ever seen.

Meena, Motilal and Majnu are in their top form; and Shorey is to be congratulated on producing a comedy which relies not so much on dialogue

but situation and action to provoke laughter. What is more, the comedy is not at all senseless, in fact, it has a point and a moral. Credit for which must also go to Krishen Chander who has done a fine job of screenplay. Only one wishes that Shorey had made the beginning smarter and had avoided some of the song and dance numbers which only retard the tempo of the picture. The songs are not as catchy as they were in *Ek Thi Larki*.

These defects notwithstanding *Ek Do Teen* remains to be one of the very few enjoyable films ever to grace our screen.

Personality Of The Week

From a theatre-manager in Ludhiana to the presidency of the Indian Motion Picture Producers' Association is a long way but bespectacled, ever-smiling Jaimani Dewan has covered it in a short time. He had succeeded Chandulal Shah, the veteran producer who resigned on grounds of health.

The election of Jaimani Dewan did not come as a surprise; for this was an expected event, ever since Chandulal Shah left for the U. S. A. as the leader of the goodwill film delegation. In IMPPA's executive Jaimani's party has been holding a key position since over a year now. Jaimani is, perhaps, the youngest and first independent producer to become the president.

Jaimani is a great believer in astrology. During the war days, in association with D. I. Madhok, he became a producer of a picture which made box-office history. The picture was *Rattan* and Jaimani Dewan overnight became a man of fame and fortune. Till then he was merely known as the brother of star Karan Dewan.

His initial luck did not last long. In fact, after *Rattan* all his efforts to make a successful picture have proved futile. In his last effort, he tried to bring back the team of *Rattan* and even called the picture *Anmol Rattan* but it made no difference. The only other 'spot' of luck he had was when, in association with Shorey, he made a Punjabi picture *Chaman*. For one year Jaimani has not made any picture and as such he has been a producer in name only.

SAXON, DANE UNITED

By MONROE JOHNSTON

The approaching coronation provokes a note of irony as feuding lines of 1,000 years ago represented in Elizabeth and Philip appear willing at long last to let sleeping dogs lie.

ON the memorable day when Elizabeth and Philip were wed in Westminster Abbey, the Saxon, and the Dane were reunited after a millennium of separation. When Elizabeth is "hallowed" in the abbey less than two months hence with her consort in close attendance, Edmund Ironside and Sweyn Forkbeard can turn over and sleep in perpetual peace. The aspirations of these adversaries have been realized.

Not that Edmund or Sweyn would have wanted it this way. Actually Edmund was quite insistent that the crown of England stay on a Saxon head while Sweyn was equally adamant that it was time for a Dane. Many litres of Saxon and Danish blood seeped into the precious soil of England before William, the Norman Conqueror, proved them both wrong.

But these doughty old warriors can take a measure of satisfaction that 1,000 years of history has brought a form of vindication of each of their claims. In Elizabeth the Saxons can claim a representative of the lineage of Alfred. In Philip the Danes can present a descendant of Harold Bluetooth.

When a scion of the royal house accepted the crown a millennium ago he had no need to consult a palmist. If he was a Saxon he could be certain there was a Dane in his future—waiting to cut his lifeline short. If he was a Dane, let him beware the Saxon assassin. Of course if a Dane didn't "cosh" a Saxon another Saxon might. Or vice versa.

The high mortality rate among newly crowned kings cut down the work of the royal biographers. But while the records of these early days are fairly scanty, the anonymous chroniclers have passed on through the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* sufficient information to indicate how sanguinary were those days.

It was all hearts and flowers when Edgar, great-grandson of Alfred the

Great, was crowned and the chronicler carolled:

Here was Edgar of Angles lord
With courtly pomp hallowed to king...
Much bliss was there by all enjoyed
On that happy day named Pentecost.

Safely launched, the ship of state moved into a haze and the chronicler had little more to say about Edgar's reign. That is, until two years later. This time the bard's lyric was one of lamentation and it went like this:

Here ended his earthly dreams
Edgar of Angles king....

He quitted with disdain.

His "unwaxed" son Edgar succeeded to the throne. History records his coronation was a rather rough affair. Apparently a number of earls in the Witan (Council of Wise Men) were not too happy about the accession and brought their broad-axes to the coronation in an attempt to stop it. This didn't deter the Archbishop of Canterbury. He brought along a bodyguard and, says one historian, "seized his cross and forcibly crowned Edward."

However, two years later it was the same old story. The bards were again bemoaning a premature demise. Here is a description of the foul murder straight from the pages of the *Chronicle*:

"This year was King Edward slain at eventide at Corfe-gate on the fifteenth day before the calends of April. And he was buried at Wareham without any royal honour. No worse deed than this was ever done by the English nation since they first sought the land of Britain. Men murdered him....but God has magnified him."

When he wrote that no "worse deed was ever done," the chronicler didn't know what was yet to come. Next on the throne was Ethelred Etheling, brother of the martyred king. This Ethelred has a dubious claim to fame due to the nickname "the Unready." While it aptly describes his reign, the

nickname was an error of historical translation. Originally it was the "Redeless," referring to his inability to discern good "rede" or counsel.

However, "Unready" it is and unready he was. If the Danes made a foray on England's east coast, Ethelred had his troops on the west coast. If Ethelred decided there would be no invasion that spring and his men could go back to their crops, an invasion there would be.

In one thing he was not unready. That was for his coronation "He was very readily consecrated king at Kingston," wrote the chronicler, "and there were at his consecration two archbishops and 10 diocesan bishops."

But the omens were bad; Ethelred's coronation year was marked by a "bloody welkin." To those who know their welkins, this bodes no good. When his people looked at the midnight skies flaming with the crimson borealis, there were mutterings.

And well there might be. The crown had hardly been lowered into position before Ethelred was in trouble.

Sweyn the Dane picked this time to add all of England to his kingdom. His people already occupied that northern part of England known as the "Danelaw." So with his Vikings he burst into East Anglia. Ethelred bought him off. Sweyn withdrew.

Then Ethelred did a very silly thing. He decided to massacre all the Danes remaining in England.

On St. Brice's Day in 1002, he unleashed his assassins. They pitilessly slaughtered thousands of Danes and among the victims was Gunhild, sister of King Sweyn.

Now a business like this doesn't make friends for a king. When Sweyn heard about it he swore he would wrest all England from Ethelred. For four years he and his men swept through the length and breadth of southern and eastern England, "lighting his war beacons as he went."

His fierce Norwegian jarls needed no coaxing. They sacked Canterbury and dragged Archbishop Elfheah to Greenwich where they brutally slew him. Again the chronicler: "They pelted him with stones and oxhorns

and then clave his skull with an axe."

This was too much for hapless Ethelred. He gathered up his royal regalia and fled over the sea to Normandy. Sweyn Forkbeard took over. Then enthronement was a simple affair. Sweyn put the crown on his own head and moved into the palace vacated by Ethelred.

Sweyn was another two-year man. At the end of this time he set sail for Valhalla and Ethelred set sail for England. Whether Ethelred demanded a second coronation as did a number of his descendants has not been recorded. But his sojourn abroad had not been in vain. He had taken to himself a Norman bride called Emma, daughter of Richard, Duke of Normandy. While he was not aware of it, this made him a sort of great-uncle to William the Conqueror.

Ethelred's home-coming turned into a jolly round of blood-letting. Sweyn's son, Canute, was not expecting a visit from his father's old adversary. He was peacefully camped on the eastern plains. Before he knew it the Saxons were on him. He escaped to his fleet. But Ethelred, states the *Chronicle*, "plundered and burned and slew all the men that he could reach."

Then was Canute exceedingly wroth. Part of the estate left by his late father consisted of some noble hostages. It had been reckoned they would bring in a tidy pile of Saxon currency. When Canute had finished with them, their redemption value had considerably depreciated. "He cut off their hands and ears and their noses," reports the chronicler.

Ethelred's days were numbered and he knew it. Accordingly he ordered his son, Edmund Ironside, into the fray. Then, almost two years to the day he landed in England, Ethelred gave up the ghost.

Edmund made quite a creditable showing against Canute. Five times he marched his men against the Dane. Five times the battle ended in a draw. To both kings this seemed a rather profitless kind of business so they shook hands and divided the country.

This was a good bargain for Canute. For within two months

Edmund was dead and Canute had the whole of it.

As far as the new king was concerned, bygones weren't bygones. Shortly after his coronation he decided to eliminate any potential contenders. Murder removed Edwig, brother of Edmund Ironside. Edmund's children were hunted even into Hungary by Canute.

With a clear field ahead of him, Canute turned into a personable king. His transformation amazed even the chroniclers. It was as though he had buried the Hyde and taken on the Jekyll for good. He took to singing at his work and even composed his own lyrics. One, in which the reader can detect a note of immodesty, started like this: "Merrily sang the monks in Ely when King Canute rowed by."

The remaining years of Canute's life were marked by wise and temperate rule. A strong and unified England arose as a direct result of his sage law-giving. Even the partisan chroniclers gave a sorry shake of the head when he passed on.

These years proved only to be the calm in the centre of a cyclone. Next man on the throne was Canute's son, Harold Harefoot. He was the type of cad who would drive his own mother out into the blizzard.

In fact, he did just that. Says the chronicler: "He drove out his mother Elgiva, the relict of King Canute, without any pity, against the raging winter."

It was at this time that Alfred, a surviving brother of the late Edmund Ironside, decided to end his exile in Normandy and return to the land of his fathers. He should have stayed in France. For he had no sooner stepped on England's soil than he was seized by Harold, blinded and left to die. A popular song of the day stated: "Never was a bloodier deed done in the land since the Danes came."

Harold's rancour ran its course for four years. Then he dropped dead. Even then his troubles were not finished. Holding no love for his late, unlamented brother, Hartha Canute mounted the throne. His first act was to order Harold's body dug up, decapitated and deposited in a near-by ditch.

This was a poor way to begin a successful reign and it didn't get any better. He had had a golden opportunity. Both the Saxons and the Danes had welcomed his coronation, hoping for a respite from bloodshed. "But", said the ancient historian, "all that so much desired him were alienated by him. He framed nothing royal during his whole reign."

However, his "whole reign" was destined to last but two years for somebody slipped a little poison into his mead while he was drinking at Lambeth. "He fell suddenly to earth," the chronicler notes, "with a tremendous struggle. Those who were at hand took him up. He spoke not a word afterwards but expired."

Next year "with much pomp" Edward the Confessor was crowned at Winchester. "Archbishop Edsy consecrated him and before all the people well admonished him," the recorder jotted down.

It appears Edward the Confessor is a figure of controversy. Saint, scholar and law-giver, some have called him. But not F. W. Maitland, the historian. It is his belief that Ethelred's last surviving son was a pious fraud.

"In after years," wrote Maitland, "the holy but imbecile Edward won not only the halo of the saint, to which he may have been entitled, but the fame, to which he certainly was not entitled, of having been a great legislator. In the minster that he reared, king after king made oath to observe the laws of the Confessor. So far as we know, he never made a law."

At any rate he reared a minster. And in this minster, today known as Westminster Abbey, all but two of England's subsequent sovereigns have been crowned. Unfortunately for Edward, it was not up soon enough for his coronation but at least he had the honour of being the first to be buried beneath it.

Edward and his brother-in-law, Harold, were the last of the old guard. But even then they did not pull too well together. Edward swore to Harold that when he laid down the crown, Harold could pick it up. To Harold's sorrow, he found Edward had pulled a Saxon double-cross. For when he went to claim his crown

he learned Edward had also promised it to William the Conqueror and, according to the Norman, the promise was made to him much earlier.

With the death of Harold at Hastings, both the Saxon, and the Dane faded out of the picture as far as coronations were concerned. But

with Elizabeth and Philip they have come back into the picture as partners. As the young couple stand in the majesty of Edward's great abbey and the oath of dedication is taken, a millennium of separation will have ended. Saxon and Dane will be one, in freedom and in service.—NNF.

HOW TO TREAT AMERICANS IN INDIA

By *ROLAND E. WOLSELEY*

LET'S put the sandal on the other foot, for a change.

Suppose you were living for a year or so in my country, the United States of America. How would you want Americans to treat Indians?

You would want them to spend their time telling the good as well as the bad about American life, government, and culture. You would want them to be sophisticated about you and treat you as if you knew something but not all about Indian philosophy, history, art, government, business, and religion.

And of course you would want Americans to be hospitable, helpful, and kind.

Now that my family and I shall soon be returning to the U. S. A., I am in a mood to take stock of our nearly 14 months of life in India. I think I have learned some lessons that will help me in my attitude toward visitors we shall have from India in the U. S. But there also are some hints I can pass on to Indian people about their attitude toward and treatment of Americans and other foreigners in this country.

First, of course, they should continue the open arms attitude we have encountered. With rare exceptions, we have been accorded nothing but the utmost generosity and hospitality by Indian people in all walks of life. We shall leave India with the feeling that Indians, villagers and city people alike, are gracious, generous, considerate, and kind. You express a need and if they can meet it, they will do so. By all means let this go on.

Second, Indians should be less outspoken about their opinions of their own country when discussing Indian affairs with Americans. Even on the ship en route Bombay early in 1952 we found too many returning Indians warning us about all the corruption we would find in India, telling us that the ideals of Gandhi are now forgotten, and otherwise running down their own country. We have, in fact, encountered so many bitter critics of India among Indians, that we have concluded that the Indians are not a particularly loyal and patriotic people now that they have Independence.

It is not that we think Indian citizens should put up a loyal front that is really false. They should criticise India's Government and conditions to foreigners but they should do so constructively, with some appreciation for the progress made.

One can respect the dissident who is working for improvement. Most of the time the critic, however, is doing nothing to correct the evils, in fact he may be abetting them. A man in Bombay suggested a bit of bribery for a government official as a way for us to save money on legitimate charges. After I refused we talked for some time about India's problems. He was strong in his denunciation of the corrupt public officials. It never occurred to him that he was one himself.

Another very prominent Indian businessman excused public officials for taking bribes, but could not seem

to get it through his head that the individual citizen, even though he needs more money than he is paid, ought to be possessed of sufficient integrity to refuse to engage in bribery.

A third attitude is the innocent one of taking Americans for something most of us are not—experts on all subjects American. Those of us who come to India for a specific purpose—to help on Point Four, to teach as Fulbright professors, or to serve as specialists under other plans—may know our own fields but we should not be treated as experts on everything that goes on in the U. S.

An American agricultural expert can be considered a man who knows what's what in farming. But don't depend much upon him when he tells you about American art, American sculpture, American history, or American medicine. His information on such subjects is likely to be just ordinary; which means not particularly well informed and probably biased.

A fifth thing Indians should do is not to expect Americans to eat everything in sight. Indian people are so eager to be kind that they literally make some Americans sick by insisting that they sample all the dishes on the table. The Yankee finds himself surrounded by Bengali sweets, hot South Indian curry and rice, and gallons of tea, coffee, and rose water and he likes them all—until six hours later, when he writhes on his bed, having eaten too much of the food he is not used to.

This would not happen if hostesses did not insist, "Oh, but you MUST try this." Or, "You mustn't leave India without having eaten that." Instead, the visiting American should be left to eat what he wants and even warned against overdoing if he is injudicious, but not egged on.

Furthermore, when an American gets sick, either from eating the wrong foods as above or other natural causes, he does not want to be surrounded by well wishers. He appreciates notes of good cheer but not the incessant stream of visitors and the droves of friends who come, genuinely concerned, but badly upsetting the restorative process.

Also, Indian people should not ask

Americans too many personal questions. They should not demand to know, especially of American women, how old they are. It is our business, to be disclosed by our own free will only, and not for public announcement. The same goes for our salaries, the cost of those new suede shoes, the price of that wrist watch, and everything else we own. It is curious that we Americans who are thought to be commercial-minded and materialistic people, would never think of asking such personal financial questions as have been put to Americans in India. I have had perfect strangers on trains ask me what I have earned as a journalist or as a teacher or how much I was paid for some article I had written or how much royalty I get on my books.

It would be a good idea, too, if the Indian people did not treat Americans as if they could pull all sorts of strings in the U. S. and get them special favours. Any American strikes an Indian as having a magic wand to wave him over the seas as a student, a tourist, or a businessman and to perform miracles with once he has arrived.

We want to help in all legitimate ways, of course. And we want to help deserving and talented people. A man in one of the southern provinces sent me an article he had written on an Indian subject. Blandly he wrote me: "If possible, please arrange to have this published." Just arrange it. One might try, if the work is extraordinarily good, but most of the time it is very poor stuff and consists of a manuscript that needs hours of editing, after which there would be many more hours of letter-writing. American authors and journalists have enough to do marketing their own work and cannot take on mediocre material for marketing at home.

But most of these are minor matters. In the main the Indian people already know how to treat Americans. If my experience and that of many of my compatriots in India is a guide, we are made to feel like kings and queens (hardly a democratic concept, but the sensation is there). It will be a jolt for many of us, when we get back, to resume being just ordinary citizens again.

UDAY SHANKAR'S BALLETS

UDAY SHANKAR, by himself and with his associates, is one of the most authentic creative artists of our times. Others have attained as great or greater skill in traditional dance. No one has made such masterly use of suggestion and restraint, effected such original assimilation to truly Indian art of all possible means.

Watching him again after many years, at the opening of his latest presentation, I was struck by two things. The first was his orchestra, a notable triumph for Indian percussion instruments. The subdued flute and the other instruments providing music are virtually accompaniments to the drums. How they throbbed and palpitated, with eager, held-back power, how deeply and solemnly they echoed, like the voice of doom! The *Tabla Tarang* by Kamallesh Kumar Maitra was superb, but what appealed to me most was the prelude by the drums, soft but with an insistent rhythm and occasional stresses of tonal depth, a prelude that irresistibly suggested the dance to come.

The second was a more personal thought. Years ago, when I saw Uday Shankar dance, he had just returned from a triumphal tour of the West. Pavlova had acclaimed the perfection of his body, and its smooth suppleness had been likened to a figure carved from sandalwood. Seeing him now, one could not help thinking that the sandalwood had acquired a secondary thickening, to press a botanical simile. The spread of middle age suits Uday Shankar in certain "limited roles"—as Indira he was opulent, as Indira should be. But since he depends so much on verisimilitude and optical suggestion in his art, it seems that his genius will evolve and direct more tellingly than perform, hereafter.

Two ballets were featured in the programme, a number of dances and musical interludes leading up to them. Shankaran's *Young Father* was amusing—a dance depicting the predicament of a young father with his squalling progeny very much on his hands, and his desperate attempts to distract and placate. I liked the

abandoned gusto with which this young man can fling his limbs about. Surely he can use this talent to create impressions other than comic? But, perhaps, he does.

The first ballet, *Labour and Machinery*, is brilliantly conceived and executed. Without the use of elaborate means, the impression of automations is vividly conveyed by stiff, repetitive movements of the limbs and body, and of large-scale machinery by coordinating the movements. The comparison to Chaplin's satire on the mechanical age has been made—but there is no bitter satire here. The theme of this piece is the conflict between mechanised industry and rural labour; in the ballet the conflict is happily resolved by adjustments of ideals on both sides. Uday Shankar's craftsmanship and verve are amply in evidence in this ballet. The choice of a drum to symbolise the loud self-advertisement of the votary of machines is both apposite and Indian, and the spangled bush-shirt of the industrialist is nothing short of an inspiration. I was delighted to note that in the happy ending the villagers demanded that the bush-shirt should go, as one of the terms of the compromise solution—however, the industrialist merely made a gesture of removal and continued to sport it. I realise that in a ballet everything cannot be literally enacted and that formal gestures should be understood as things really done. All the same I wish the villagers had bodily removed that bush-shirt!

The Great Renunciation, of course, is the story of the Buddha. I do not think anyone has presented it as a ballet, before now. I was told that this was Uday Shankar's masterpiece and that it was being staged in India for the first time—it has already been widely applauded, in America.

May be it has, but I shall always think of this ballet without enthusiasm. I shall go into the technical aspects of its much-advertised lighting later: it is not a failure because of details of presentation. I think it is at fault fundamentally; in aesthetics rather than in technique.

The Great Renunciation is not a theme that lends itself to dance. Its triumph is essentially static, a mental calm above the ephemeral joys and sorrows of life.

Blessed nirvana—sinless, stirless rest—
That change which never changes!

Dance is dynamic. Furthermore, the story needs epic length and cogency to reach its sure climax; it cannot be dealt with episodically. The poet tells it slowly, dwelling on each incident, giving one time to comprehend the Buddha's revolt against suffering. The artist, combining the weight and dignity of stone with the perfectly neutral rhythm of the traditional figure, achieves an impersonal, superhuman majesty, an utter serenity that raises his subject above the tragedies of flesh and blood. Uday Shankar as Siddhartha is unconvincing; I do not blame him or his age (nearer Suddhodana's) for that. Neither is he convincing as the Buddha; it is not that he prefers a banyan to the peepul to sit under, it is not that he prefers to rest his hands naturally to holding them long



and still in a gesture, it is not that his long stillness somehow conveys a sense of muscular achievement rather than of ascetic repose—I do not blame him for such small licences, and physical limitations; no man can have the idealistic perfection of the traditional figure. But I do think that an artist of Uday Shankar's eminence should have known



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peevish or
irritable**

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Liver disease, so common
in children below
3 years.

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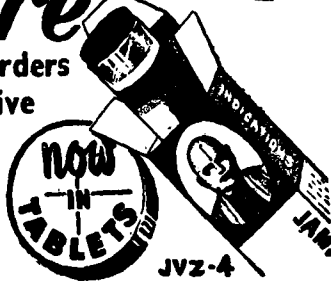
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that one cannot present the Great Renunciation in an episodic, brief ballet, without losing that grandeur that lifts the story above its realisation of the joylessness of life, and without reducing the Light of Asia to a series of coloured electric bulbs!

Some of the lighting effects for this ballet have been imported from America—others, like the winking of a ceiling lamp to stimulate the glimmer of lightning, are tried and tested ones. At times the lighting was really impressive, and invested the ballet with an interest apart from its theme. Everything was tried from total darkness (very effective because it was so rightly timed and brief) to the use of a diaphanous screen between the stage and the onlookers to soften further the dimly lit figure of the Buddha. The opening scene, which employed shadow-play on a screen to depict human strife, was especially impressive. The shadows, in such treatment, can be varied in size by placing each unseen dancer on the stage nearer or farther from the source of illumination, and distortions can be regulated to a nicety—as they were. By dimming the light the shadows were rendered greyer and more phantom-like, a clever idea that produced just the effect desired.

However, I thought the variations in colour and the studied moderation in illumination were overdone—occasionally. In spite of strong lighting, the palace scene lacked glitter and pageantry. The trouble with coloured lighting is that after a while it no longer charms, and tends to produce

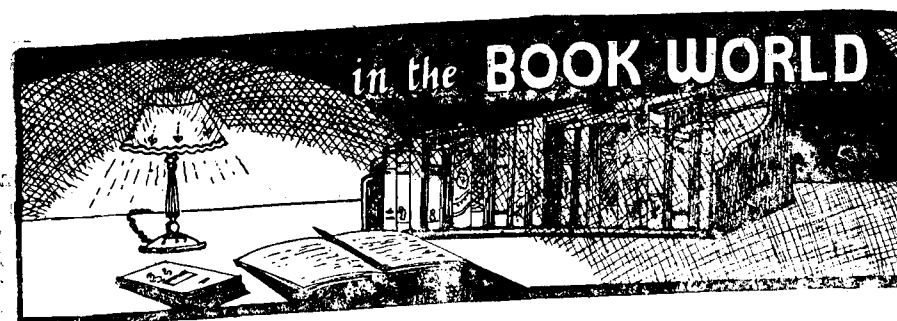
a certain ennui—a feeling that should be guarded against where sustained tempo is important. I thought that Laurence Oliver was wise in refusing to go in for chromatic effects for his *Hamlet*. After all, what can coloured lighting produce that cannot be had by plain lighting and the judicious use of colour in costume and make-up? Only a few effects that are worthwhile can be had with coloured lighting. I thought, till very near the end of the ballet, that Uday Shankar knew and appreciated those peculiar effects. But when the Buddha was meditating, I felt less sure. There is always a certain risk with coloured lighting, especially when one mixes it. Apart from the ennui that it can cause, there is the possibility of its altering the textural qualities of surfaces. Towards the end of the ballet, the lineaments of the Buddha's face had a ghastly rigidity, and his followers looked pallid and livid by turns. If this was due to an attempt to reach a clear, cold grey in the lighting, as I suspect it was, it may be realised that grey is a tonal and not a chromatic effect, and that it is hard to neutralise red in lighting to create a grey. The most serene lighting for such a scene, especially where so little illumination is desired, is the golden clarity of naked flames in wick-lamps burning castor oil. Of course, the lamps would need to be hidden, and there is always the possibility of their setting fire to the stage, a contingency that would detract somewhat from the serenity aimed at—but these are technical details!—Z.

Dr. Ulysses Grant Dailey, Consulting Surgeon of Provident Hospital, Chicago, Illinois, finds Indian surgeons "very talented and very much alive to the needs of the people."

"I would like," he said, "more exchange of teachers between India and the United States which would be to the advantage of the medical profession in both countries."

Louisiana-born Dr. Dailey, a Negro, whose special field is stomach surgery visited Indian cities to observe hospitals and medical colleges and lecture to students and professional men. Eminent Indian surgeons invited him to perform operations so they could study his methods.

Dr. Dailey says it was more an accident than deliberate choice that made him a surgeon. After his schooling in New Orleans he drifted to Texas State where at Fort Worth in the year 1900 he was looking for an opening. "I was out looking for a job at a doctor's office. I got the job and the doctor advised me to study medicine. If I had been five minutes late I might have missed him and my present vocation, because the doctor was in a rush and left immediately after appointing me for an engagement."—JAI BOY JOSEPH.



ASPECTS OF SINHALESE CULTURE.
By Martin Wickramasinghe. Mount Press, Mount Lavinia, Ceylon.

The Sinhalese are their own enemies, when it comes to talking about their culture. The older type, westernized and denationalized and to whom things Indian are anathema, is bad enough. But there are new types which are worse. The experience of the west meeting the east not as a cultural partner but as an imperialist exploiter has left in Ceylon peculiar shades of chauvinism. It is, therefore, refreshing to find some one like Mr. Martin Wickramasinghe who can keep his head cool when talking about Sinhalese culture.

Borrowing secondhand from India is doubly tragic, says the author. I fully agree. Tagore took inspiration from the Upanishads and western authors. The modern Sinhalese looks up to Tagore instead of going to the originals. I fear however the Sinhalese have a mistaken conception of racial kinship with the Bengalee and it will take more than Wickramasinghe's persuasion to turn them away from this cultural quackery. Few can disagree with the author when he says that the ancient Sinhalese made their own contribution to eastern culture though their culture was basically Indian. The Buddha statue in Virasana is an entirely Ceylonese conception and its best specimen in Anuradhapura symbolises peace and spiritual perfection better than the Indian statue in Padmasana. Nor is Sinhalese culture in general just a replica of Indian culture. The author traces the story of a sister's mad love for her brother to the far South Sea tales. But there is an earlier Indian tale quite similar in content. The author has very sensible obser-

vations to make on current problems of Ceylon, like the language problem. But the book, being just a string of articles, lacks unity. It deserves to be read by all those who are interested in our lovely little neighbour, as the first worthwhile explanation of Sinhalese culture by a Sinhalese.—V. S.

THE SLAVE OF IDEAS AND OTHER PLAYS. By A. S. Panchapakesa Ayyar, M.A., I.C.S. Published by V. Ramaswami Sastrulu & Sons, 292, Subash Chandra Bose Road, Madras-1. Price Rs. 2-8-0.

In this book Mr. A. S. P. Ayyar has achieved a wide measure of dullness. A crudeness in characterization and a disregard for the probabilities of human behaviour prevent the book from being a success. Most of the characters in the plays are just dry sticks, without flesh and blood. The second play induces the immense stupor of total incredulity and the last play drones insufferably long.

SAGE OF SEVAGRAM. By Chitra Desai. Published by Bharat Prakashan, 4, Pitha Cross Lane, Bombay-1. Price Rs. 3.

In a foreward to this book, Mrs. Hansa Mehta points out that "this was an essay on Gandhiji for an essay competition organised by the Mahadevbhai Trust Committee. The writer has tried to condense the life and teaching of Gandhiji into hundred typed pages." The book is divided into two parts. The first part deals with the life of Gandhiji and the second part is an analysis of Gandhiji's personality and teachings. This readable book is marred by a number of printer's mistakes.—"SENANI."

GREAT EXPECTATIONS

By ANDREW ROTH

"IS there a new breeze blowing on the tormented world?" asked Winston Churchill on April 17. "Certainly sudden hopes have sprung in the hearts of people under every sky."

Nowhere do these hopes burn brighter than in Britain where the Soviet peace offensive and the American counter-offensive have coincided with a budget holding out mirages of a radiant future, free from the remnants of austerity and egalitarian economics.

"This is champagne stuff that Mr. Butler gives the nation," glowed the ultra-Tory *Daily Express* on April 15, the morning after Chancellor of the Exchequer R. A. Butler presented his budget. It certainly seemed like heady, election-winning stuff to most newsmen perched high above Mr. Butler's affable figure. Labour's gloomy faces confirmed it. In the tea-break after his speech, most correspondents seemed certain the Conservatives will hold an election early next autumn, in the after-glow of the Coronation. And Butler had clearly strengthened his bid for recognition as the 'Crown Prince' and Churchill's successor over handsome but unbrilliant Anthony Eden.

Apart from the promise to end sugar rationing, which will please everyone, Mr. Butler made obeisance before every Conservative fetish, whose worshippers have been chanting for years: "Set the people free!" He certainly lightened the burden of taxation. No new taxes were imposed, for the first time since the war. A 25% reduction was made in the whole range of purchase tax imposts, reducing the price of the cheapest car by £44 and toothpaste by 1½d. He cut income tax on all levels by 2½%. But heaviest cheers were evoked by Butler's removal of the tax on cricket tickets. "well played, sir!" was the banner headline of the *Daily Express*. The *Liberal News Chronicle* was only slightly less enthusiastic ("Butler's bumper budget") until its readers started writing in. Only Labour's *Daily Herald* joined the

Daily Worker in classifying it as a "class budget."

All factions of Labour united to prick the champagne bubbles, fearing they might tickle some Labour supporters. Labourite Hugh Gaitskell, former Chancellor of the Exchequer, had little difficulty in demonstrating that the budget proposals were meant to boost the living standards of the top 10% rather than the lower 90. Mr. Gaitskell illustrated with the case of a married couple with two children earning £500 a year—above average in a country where a factory worker earns £7-10 a week. "They get the magnificent sum of 4 shillings 6 pence in the year as a result of (Butler's income tax) concession, or about a penny a week. Take, at the other end of the scale, that fortunate individual the eligible bachelor with £100,000 a year of unearned income.... Let me tell such individuals, whoever they are, that they will get out of this concession £2,500 in the year, a cool £50 a week, and that their tax-free income will go up 50% as a result of the Chancellor's generosity. This is the kind of man whom we are to encourage to work harder!"

Mr. Gaitskell was even more biting about the "jungle of 'phoney' propaganda" with which the Conservatives had surrounded their concessions. Mr. Butler had suggested the Government could ease up because the country's situation was so much better, thanks to his management. Gaitskell pointed out he had included £120 millions of American defence aid in his balance of payments figures, as though it were a normal export. Second, he had not emphasized heavily enough that the main advantage Britain has had this last year has been the change in the terms of trade: raw material prices have dropped far faster than industrial goods, in contrast to 1951. "In 1951.... we lost.... on account of adverse terms of trade no less than £500 millions. That accounts in itself for the deficit of that year.... or practically all of it. In 1952, on the other hand, we had

a gain of something like £350,000. That was very nice. But I think that the Chancellor would probably agree that it was fortuitous—it was something certainly not under our control, it was simply the movement of world prices at that particular phase of economic history." The rest of the improvement, he insisted, was largely accounted for by selling off stocks.

Labour speakers also pointed out that in 1952 British production fell by 3%, for the first time since the war. The total intake of food, measured by calories, also fell to 2950. Mr. Gaitskell attributed this directly to the rise in food costs resulting from the cut in food subsidies in the last Conservative budget.

Although Mr. Butler naturally glossed over the slacking off of production, he is well aware of it. His whole budget is a traditionally Conservative way of giving industry a "shot in the arm." "Lightly burdened and nimbly competitive" was the posture prescribed for British industry by the Chancellor. The tax concessions in his "incentive budget" were aimed at easing the burden on industry and businessmen. He surprised even the business world by the extent of his concessions. So happy were its denizens that strangers coming to the City actually started talking to each other in the train out of sheer good spirits. Not since Dunkirk has emotion broken through the wall of British reserve.

However gay Mr. Butler's 'champagne budget' made people feel at first, the analyses of the financial journals make readers feel like the morning after the night before. The *Financial Times* of April 15 explained his picture of the road ahead: "Taking likely export and home demand together there looks like being in 1953 some short fall of demand against supply." In short home consumption is encouraged to keep factories turning over to be efficient in competition abroad. "We must be in deadly earnest in this struggle for overseas markets," enjoined Mr. Butler.

Britain expects even tougher competition in the future because the relaxation of international tension will release for international competition productive capacity in the



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United States and Japan. Despite this Britain welcomes this peacetime competition, provided raw material prices are low, rather than go through the wild commodity boom which followed the outbreak of the Korean war and almost brought Britain to the verge of bankruptcy. "To this country, in particular, any prospect of getting food and raw materials more cheaply, or even having to pay no more for them this year than last, is an unmixed blessing," said *The Times*, discussing the "Economics of the Olive Branch" on April 14.

The Times worried, however, about the possibility of a slump resulting from a relaxation of tension, warning "It is not too early for Governments to be considering whether the free countries' economies are well prepared to cope with a consequent fall in demand and a rearrangement of its pattern." It suggested that external investment would be needed, in addition to internal market, thus welcoming in advance President Eisenhower's proposals for joint

development of underdeveloped countries.

One has the impression that British economic leaders are so fearful of the impact of an American recession that they would prefer sharing their zones of investment rather than allow the American economy to slump. Furthermore Britain is again feeling its weakness, as a result of recent events in Africa. Until this month many influential Conservatives have banked on Britain's rebuilding in Negro Africa the economic empire weakened or lost in Asia. This urge to speed up the economic exploitation of Africa's resources was one of the chief motives for pushing through Central African federation scheme. But now the large-scale conflict in Kenya, the likelihood of serious trouble in Central Africa and the victory of the anti-Commonwealth Malan Nationalists in South Africa throw a shadow on one of the last areas in the world where Britain felt it could rebuild its empire without the assistance or protection of the United States.

MALAN'S VICTORY AND COLOUR BAR

ON April 17 from Johannesburg Reuter flashed a report of tremendous world significance. It announced Dr. Daniel Malan's victory in South African general elections.

The colour bar is the most cruel and monstrous of all prejudices and hatreds. Africans apart, an Indian youth in South Africa has absolutely no future before him. Adoption of a profession remains for ever a closed book to him for want of educational facilities. He is debarred from learning a trade and finally the law makes a mockery of itself, prohibiting him from buying land for agriculture.

To eke out a living he must obtain a licence to conduct business in areas so overcrowded that it is almost impossible to earn a living! And now, thanks to the Group Areas Act, he is to be thrown out even from such dingy places. If it is not geno-

cide, one does not know what that terrible word means.

Although never across the shores of my country, I am one of those unfortunates who have had to suffer the bitter humiliation which the colour bar imposes on us. It happened nine years ago in those wonderful days of adolescence when dark and unhappy facts must remain away from one's mind.

It was a wet July afternoon in 1944 and I was battling my way into Timarpur in the far end of Old Delhi. Suddenly the rain came again and water began streaming down my face. Before the sentry-box of the old Secretariat building I spotted a tiny roof cornice and rushed towards it for cover. I was still a few feet away from it when a white soldier who was also standing under it quickly shrank into a corner and in doing so crashed his head against the wall. Seeing him hurt I jerked

towards him and tried to say something courteous and was rewarded there and then.

Between clenched teeth I heard him murmur: "Stupid nigger!" and the next moment the soldier drenched to the skin ran outside in the slashing rain.

The spell was broken. Something sharp snapped within me, snapped neat and clean. The realisation illuminated the whole of my mind and I understood then who I was.

I was coloured, one of those unfortunate millions who must be abused, segregated, discriminated against and condemned to perpetual poverty and drudgery so that the arrogant and overbearing whites can always compel us to make way for them. And it was happening in my country and it was India.

The causes of the colour prejudice have their roots farther back in the nineteenth century. It was in that century that the West having tamed the forces of nature refused to recognize the peoples of the Orient as human beings.

But yet despite everything one may still account for the cruel suppression of the Indian Revolt of 1857, the vandalism displayed in wrecking the Summer Palace of Peking and the carrying away of the Negroes "one crowded on the lap of another, and with legs and legs, like riders on a crowded toboggan," in the fact that at the time white seafarers knew next to nothing about other races and therefore had no fellow-feeling or decency in them. But to what can be ascribed the continuance of the practice of racialism in the present-day world when all such ignorance that might have stood in the way of mutual understanding a hundred years before has been removed unless it is not the desire to oppress and exploit the coloured man for ever?

If by any miracle the skin of every coloured person on earth were suddenly to turn white what would happen to those legends of cowardice and inferiority, laziness and body odour of the suffering multitudes on which the colour line is based? Would

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they not then be the recipients of the same rights and privileges and otherwise treated at par with the whites?

Surely, the oppressed millions of South Africa will no more be hunted in their own land and Mr. Seretse Khama will not have to rot in exile and Mr. Fenner Brockway at his age will drop the idea of migrating all the way to Kenya to start a restaurant where people of all races could sit and sip coffee together.

In Asia and Africa and all over the world the patience of the coloured man is close to its end. Far deep into the depths of his heart fires are gathering together and nobody knows when the molten lava will begin rolling down the mountainside.

—ALOKE SEN.

SIDELIGHTS :

THE latest issue of the *New Statesmen And Nation* carries this advertisement from the *Manchester Guardian*:

Not deflected by dreams of winning millions of readers, the "*Manchester Guardian*" goes on its way regardless. It respects its readers—as they respect it—but it does not woo them.

Here then is a newspaper for those who do not need to be curtsied or kotowed to. Here is a newspaper which puts truthfulness before popularity.

Some remarkable features of this advertisement are worth noting. It is an advertisement of a daily in a weekly. It is the advertisement of a daily with a larger circulation in a weekly with a smaller circulation. And the content of the advertisement is a challenge to the common practice of each paper boosting its own popularity. Here is a paper doing the odd and the unfamiliar thing, placing truthfulness above popularity, character above circulation.

Without large and remunerative advertisements no great paper can live. But the method of building up advertisements indicates the character of the paper. One very common method employed in India to build up circulations to catch the advertisements is the crossword puzzle. On a people steeped in penury, the effect of pictures in newspapers, of the fortunate winners of prizes of Rs. 50,000 and more, with captivating accounts of how they intend to spend the money, is bound to be overwhelming. And then there is the weekly chart of the astrologer's prediction of your and my future. Who is there so lucky or so rational, that he does not stand in need of a little artificial fillip to help him tide over a current anxiety? In this land of starvation, unemployment, overbreeding, racing and gambling to get rich quick, the number of Micawbers who are drawn as by a magnet by newspaper forecasts of what the

stars have in store for them, runs into millions. And on the patronage of these millions, their shiftlessness, their improvidence and cupidity, and above all, their capacity to be duped, the prosperity of some of our so-called great newspapers is built. That is why, in spite of their circulation figures and advertisement revenue, they command such little respect. Prosperity has not saved the press from degradation. Part at least of the degradation is traceable to the assumption by editors and owners of the attitude of the retail tradesman.

It is to the credit of the *Manchester Guardian* that at no time in its career it cared to build up any revenue for itself on the cheap arts of trickery. *The New Statesman And Nation* was not in existence when the centenary of the *Manchester Guardian* was celebrated 20 years ago. But the *Nation And Atheneum* which was later incorporated in the *New Statesman* was in the full swing of its glory under the editorship of the brilliant Massingham. Adverting on that occasion to the secret of the greatness of the *Manchester Guardian*, the *Nation* wrote:

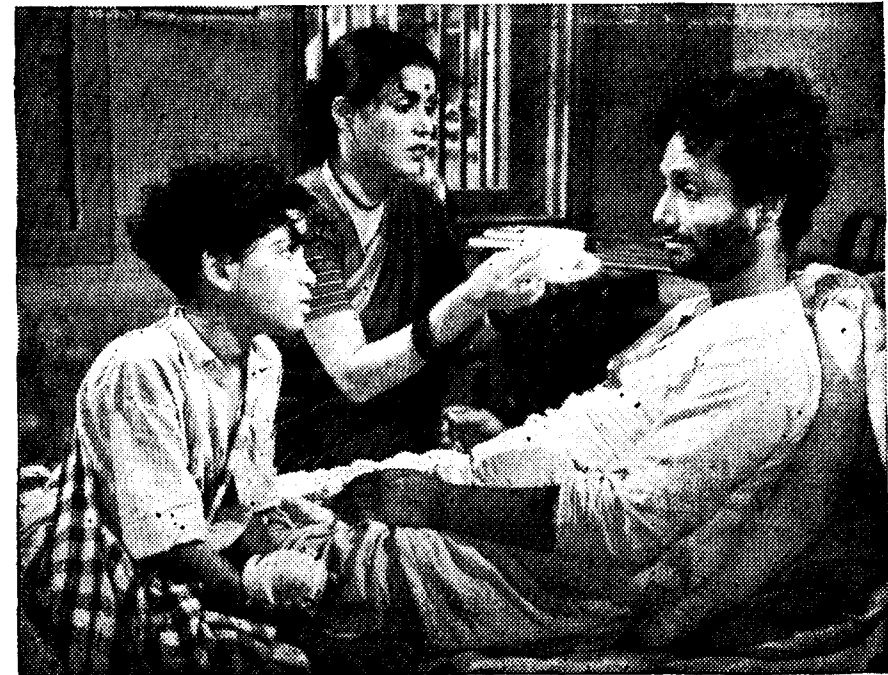
"In every country there are newspapers which refuse to bow their knees to Baal. One of the most justly famous, the "*Manchester Guardian*" celebrates this week the hundredth year of a continuous life, as hale and active as ever, and more influential in its age than in its youth. And what is equally important, everybody, political friend or enemy alike, knows that this position has been won and maintained by performing steadily and consistently just that kind of public service which so many critics urge is incompatible with journalistic survival in the modern struggle for existence. The influence and the value of the "*Manchester Guardian*" today not only in this country, but throughout the world, is quite manifestly due to its refusal to trim and truckle, and its insistence upon free and fearless criticism of national policies which its

editor considers wrong or dangerous. Other solid virtues have helped to support it in times when its courageous defiance of public passion caused the temporary withdrawal of many readers and advertisers. By steady and skillful industry it had made itself indispensable to the business men of Lancashire. But here, again, it was character that told, bringing a general recognition that the news, not merely political but commercial and financial was carefully gathered and tested, and was untainted by any interested motive."

The Nation concluded its tribute by saying that the *Manchester Guardian* had on it the impress "less of a party organ than of a national institution, a well of strength and intellectual and moral influence from which all may draw, with full assurance that if they do not always like what they get, it will be good for them to get some things they do not like. For that, after all, is the test of principle."

The *Manchester Guardian* is but

one of several newspapers in Britain that serve as an example to journalists of the highest traditions of their profession. There are few such temples of rectitude here in India. Here in our midst, the worshippers of Baal have captured the whole market place. The cheap wangler has replaced the great editor with a sense of professional duty, and fortune-piling and blackmailing of various sorts go together. Advertisers of the superior sort should fight the mad craze for stunt-built circulations, and go in for quality, constituting themselves into architects of character for the discouragement of spurious growths in the press. The monopoly of ownership, destructive of press freedom, operating through chain newspapers, should be itself destroyed. Nobody should be allowed to run more than one newspaper. Astrological predictions and crossword puzzles of more than a nominal value, should be rigorously banned. —SAKA.



A scene in Rohini Pictures' "*Beedala Aasthi*"

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.

'Spotlight On Andamans'

I have read Mr. John Richardson's letter published in *Swatantra*. Mr. Richardson has not contradicted the points raised by me in my article "Spotlight on Andamans." I said in the article that the Andaman Indians do not favour the nomination of Mr. Richardson, a Nicobarese, to the House of the People (when they are almost double the number of the Nicobarese), that there are stories current in the Andamans of the forced conversion of innocent tribesmen in the Nicobars and that there are reports of a movement in the Nicobars working against national interests. To none of these points Mr. Richardson has given any direct reply. He has just said: "We have also taken the message of God to those who have not received it." I did not attack Christianity as such or the missionary work that is being carried on in the Nicobars. Only I mentioned that there was forced conversion of innocent people.

V. V. RAMAN SHARMA.
New Delhi.

Sri Bagh Pact

Saka's observations in the issue of April 11 on the Sri Bagh Pact are sound. But the wind seems to be blowing against his warning, which, therefore, may fail to make any headway. Unless Delhi deals with local decisions as the Madras Government dealt with the Andhra University Senate's resolution of 1927 in respect of the location of the University headquarters, which the Centre, zealous in the pursuit of its avowedly democratic principles, may not do, the Pact stands every chance of being carried out. And the implementation of the Pact will create in due course a knotty situation.

Most of the Andhra leaders who have expressed themselves on the capital and High Court question appear to be confident that sooner than later there will be a disintegration of the Hyderabad State, that the Telugu area in it will be merged in Andhra, and that the Hyderabad cum Secunderabad City will become the capital of the enlarged State. What is more, there seems to be a general view that the capital will prove an ideal one.

If the Pact is implemented, of the High Court and capital one will be located in Rayalaseema and the other in Circars. And this arrangement cannot last after Hyderabad becomes the capital.

the carrying out of the Pact is inevitable there is need for a new pact by which Rayalaseema and Sagoratheera Seema must pledge themselves to renounce all vested interests which may develop during the interim period so that the transfer is smooth and no protests or agitations may mar the formation of Greater Andhra.

JAYANTI GANGANNA.

Bombay.

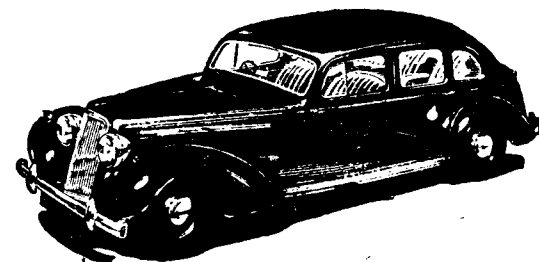
Kashmiris and Nagas

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the Prime Minister, at a public meeting at Kohima during his visit to the Indo-Burmese border, is reported to have said that the demand for a free Naga land was meaningless because the whole country was free and so were the Nagas. He said that the Nagas were offered an Autonomous District Council but they did not accept it and demanded 'freedom'. This meant, according to Pandit Nehru, that they did not understand what freedom was.

When the whole country is free, all the citizens living therein are free and there cannot be any sort of discrimination against any section of the people. The Nagas are as free as other Indians. They have fundamental rights and can seek the protection of the Supreme Court if these rights are denied to them. On sound principles Pandit Nehru rejects the demand of the Nagas for a free Naga land but in the case of the people of Jammu and Kashmir State he does not want to allow the Supreme Court to interfere with the 'freedom' enjoyed by his friend, Sheikh Abdulla, so as that his lawless laws may not be declared null and void. In an article in the *Economic Review* Prof. S. N. Agarwal, General Secretary of the All-India Congress Committee, has written: "If the Supreme Court of India is allowed unrestricted jurisdiction over the state of Jammu and Kashmir the present land reforms are sure to be declared null and void." This clearly shows that the party in power, which virtually made the Constitution, is encouraging the violation of the Constitution by Sheikh Abdullah. If we allow the violation of the Constitution by one set of people living in certain part of the country how can we expect people living in other parts to respect it?

RAM NATH BHALGOTIA
Jammu.

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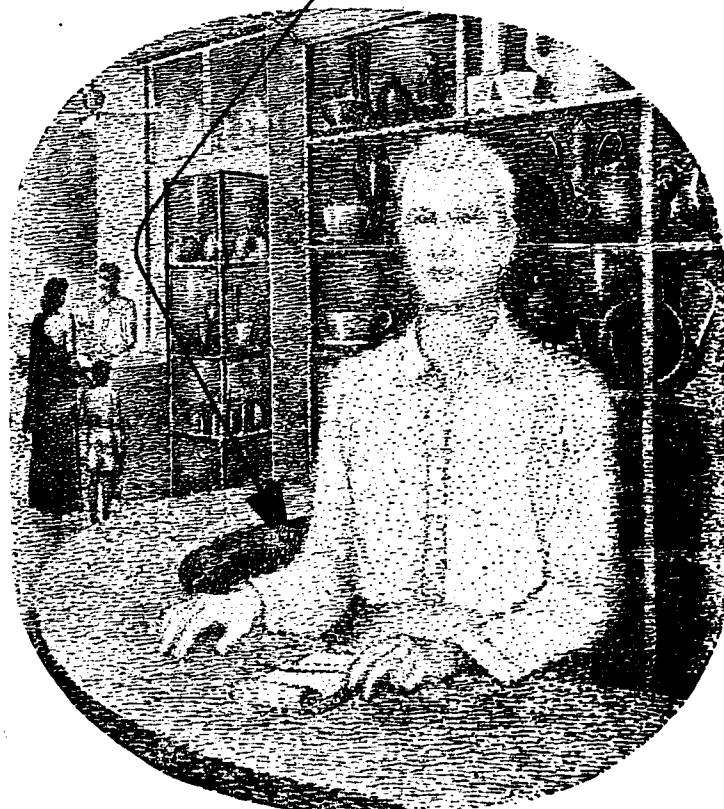
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