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"*I will* be as harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard*".

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the LIBERATOR.

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NOTES

The Future of Bombay :— The controversy regarding Bombay's place in the event of a linguistic redistribution of provinces is gaining force. Meetings are being held in the city to canvas opinion on the subject, and the people who oppose Bombay's going to Maharashtra, are the more clamorous. The attitude of those who support linguistic provinces but at the same time oppose Bombay's inclusion in the coming Maharashtra province, is difficult to appreciate. At one of the meetings, several speakers stressed the contributions made by different communities to the well-being of this city. This was a wrong angle. Far more important is the spirit of the city which is known for its broad outlook and public spirit. This will inevitably go if Bombay is part of any linguistic area. It is natural that, if a regional language is to be favoured, it should be the language of the majority but beyond that it would be dangerous to go. The party in power has gone far too deeply in its acceptance of linguistic provinces to retreat now, though some provincial Congress Committees have recommended a postponement for ten years. The main policy now should be that all suggestions for local autonomy should be deferred until the Centre is made strong and powerful, and a consciousness of Indian unity is instilled into the people. Until a national language is accepted, regional languages should be left to grow by themselves without any attempt to force them.

Language of Universities :—The Government of India's directive to provincial administrations and universities that the medium of universities should be gradually changed from English to the regional languages is a counsel which will be differently followed by different universities. In a province like the United Provinces, it is very probable that the stress will be on the need for change while in more cautious provinces the emphasis will be on the gradual part of the directive. To the bane of regionalism will be added the curse of uneven progress. The displacing of English is in one sense not a new move. It is only official recognition of a process which has been at work for some years now. Educationists and men in professions where a fair knowledge of English is necessary, have been commenting freely on the deterioration of general familiarity with English. The result is most evident in the lowered standards of the English language press which has steadily deteriorated. If regionalism is developed at any appreciable speed, then the inevitable result will be that the country will end in balkanisation. It will not be long before the administrative system is brought into conformity with linguistic conditions.

Gandhi Memorial Fund :—A tearing campaign is under way for raising funds for the Gandhi Memorial Fund. The public is told that the objects are good, that it is a patriotic duty to subscribe largely to the Fund, and that businessmen are promising fabulous amounts to swell the figures. All this is a virtual admission that the public is not subscribing as it was expected to. The amount collected is immaterial. And it is time that the organisers realised this. But the methods used to whip up a flagging enthusiasm must be carefully scrutinised and kept under check. The temptation to stir up the people is a natural one. For that reason, it must not be yielded to. As one reads the various appeals and exhortations to subscribe, one cannot resist the feeling that there is much more useful work that awaits performance and for which money is not necessary. For all the professions of Democracy, there are rude reminders at every turn that the practices of the totalitarians are easier to slip into. There was a time, about ten years ago, when every European capital hummed to the tune of collection boxes rattled before every passer-by. To carry India into the

same pass in the name of Gandhiji is a deplorable trend. If public subscriptions are slow ir coming, the men in authority should seek a reason in the soaring cost of living figures.

The Hindu Code:—The hesitation and delay attending the adoption of the Rau Committee's proposals for reforming and codifying Hindu Law, bodes ill for social reform in India. There are a thousand and one excuses for putting off the evil day for reactionaries but these ought not to weigh with men and women who claim to be progressive in their outlook. If the matter is to be put off, then it is obvious that more extreme changes will be suggested than at present are deemed necessary. The problem of abducted women, for instance, has created a situation which calls for more radical change in the attitude of society than would have been necessary a few months earlier. But it is also true that the general policy of localising reactions and minimising the problem has prevented the greater part of India from appreciating the immensity of the difficulties presented by it. It would be a calamity of the first magnitude if the majority owing to their smugness and complacency failed to realise the need for change and obstructed the views of those who had actually suffered. Men in the troubled areas are less disposed to condemn or ostracise women who were abducted, because of their own realisation of responsibility for these happenings. And their opinion should be availed of to introduce a broader and more humane outlook.

Streak of Puritanism:—In contrast to the delays of the Constituent Assembly, there is the puritan strain that is creeping in into Congress administrations. In Bombay, there is a film code which has been evolved after consultations between producers, censors and officials which verges on the ludicruous. If the code is read in the light of excisions noted in the Film Censor Board's monthly report in the Government Gazette, the senselessness of official censorship becomes apparent. In his latest book, "The Gay Genius", Lin Yu-Tang writes of the Chinese Emperor Wang Anshih, "In his ardent zeal for social reform, Wang Anshih inevitably regarded any means as justifiable by the end, including the purging of all dissenting opinion. A holy cause is always a dangerous thing. When a cause becomes holy, the means used to achieve it inevitably become vile." He adds significantly, "There were dishonest reporters who thought it expedient to maintain a strict silence on the bad features of the socialist regime, of which they could not be unaware, and to glamorize its virtues."

Tax Evasion:—The vogue that is now prevailing of denouncing tax evasion and asking for inquiries into large accumulations, is a strange mania. The Income Tax Department functions with fairly sustained efficiency and the average man rarely gets away with evasion. If Big Business has succeeded in swindling the department and finally the taxpayer, then it is the Department that calls for overhauling. It is not a reason for devising fresh scrutiny into incomes and new investigations. Whatever is meant to be gained, much more is lost by the element of uncertainty introduced by these constant probings. The disquiet that is now prevailing in the country, is largely due to a lack of confidence in the Government's ability to handle any complicated issue. A good deal of national energy is being frittered away in pursuing past offences, and attention is diverted from the urgent necessity of correcting present evils. At the same time, there has grown a tendency in some of the less developed provinces for the public to demonstrate in offensive ways against black-marketers. In one town in the Central Provinces, there were threats of riding black-marketers through the public streets on a donkey. All these are futile expressions of helpless indignation. There are certain obvious emergencies in which buying in the black-market would be justified and even sympathised with. The Government would perform a helpful function if it took steps to control prices in these commodities. Nothing can be done effectively about tax evasion. The only sensible course of action is to tighten up the system against the corruptions which make evasion possible.

Dr. Eduard Benes:—The death of Dr Benes of Czechoslovakia removes from the world one of the most colourful and tragic personalities of the last thirty years. Dr. Benes' main failing was an inability to lean either completely to the Right or to the Left in a situation where such an inclination presented greater possibilities of stability than uprightness and rectitude. It was his misfortune that his country was placed in a peculiarly unbalanced position between two extreme totalitarianisms. In the last British Elections, Churchill hinted that under Atlee the threat of Soviet Russia would present the same complications as under Chamberlain the threat of Nazi Germany had presented; and, what was worse, Britain's reaction would be a similar series of concessions. It was Dr. Benes' unfortunate lot to play this role himself both to the Nazis and to the Communists. The scenes preceding the Communist rise to power in Czechoslovakia closely resemble those which led to the Munich Pact being accepted. The readiness to compromise was not the outcome of lack of either decision or conviction but the result of an unshaken devotion to peace. Dr. Benes pursued Peace with the same intensity as other statesmen pursue War; he carried his faith even in the internal controversies of his State. In an article contributed shortly before Czechoslovakia succumbed to the Communists, to "Foreign Affairs", Dr. Benes described the Czech economic plan as one which steered clear of Nationalisation and Private Enterprise, seeking to combine the good points of both. The policy, if it can be described as one, is very similar to the policy embraced by the Government of India. In the strain and stress of Communist politics, it cracked in Czechosloavakia.

THE INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, September 4, 1948

THE CRISIS OF CIVILISATION*

When you survey from a mountain top the valley lying way down below you, you see it as part of the general landscape and you see it whole. This is what Arnold Toynbee does as he reflects on the crisis in which the Western world finds itself today. Toynbee has a central thesis. For him, civilization is "a movement, not a condition, a voyage, not a harbour". Comparing the span of time during which civilizations have existed on earth with the age of the human race, of life on the planet, and of the planet itself, he observes that all civilizations "reveal themselves as contemporary and recent attempts, up to date, to transcend the level of primitive human life". All share in a single common experience—the endeavour "to perform an act of creation". The peculiar contribution of Western civilization to this common experience consists in its having erected a scaffolding within which all the once separate societies have built themselves into one. But this handiwork of unification has been carried on "in heedless ignorance of its purpose, like the labours of the animalculae that build a coral reef up from the bottom of the sea till at length the atoll rises above the waves". The most obvious ingredient of this Western scaffolding is its technology. Therefore, the scaffolding is made of less durable materials than the coral reef. "Man cannot live by technology alone", says Toynbee significantly.

With this initial thesis in view, Toynbee sets out to analyse the causes of the present crisis. Unhesitatingly, he asserts that the principle cause is inherent in industrialisation itself. The industrial system cannot operate in a small territorial unit with profit. Consequently, when industrialisation spread to the European continent, Germany and Italy became unified, and there followed an intense worship of the nation state, resulting in two world wars. The last war caused Europe to be dwarfed and all power to be concentrated in the hands of two giants-the U.S.A. and Russia. The ideological conflict between the two 'big powers' renders a third war a probability. And Toynbee faces this probability realistically. "If mankind is going to run amok with atom bombs, I personally look to the Negrito Pygmies of Central Africa to salvage some fraction of the present heritage of mankind". He offers no certain preventive to meet the present crisis but he makes suggestions. He pleads for the U. N. to be taken seriously, and wonders if it would be possible to divide the U. N. into two world organizations with Russia dominating one and the U. S. A. the other, if the present organization were to fail because the two will not accommodate each other. He himself dismisses the possibility and gives a shrewd reason for doing so. Since each would have enough economic elbow room, he does not doubt that for some time at least the two powers could divide the world without coming into conflict. "But man is a political animal as well as an economic animal", and so, "on the plane of ideas and ideologies Russia and America cannot easily avoid crossing each other's paths". Toynbee would be depressing if these were his sole suggestions for world peace. As it is, he observes that there is no reason why man should not profit by the lessons of history and give up his parochial attitude to world problems. Actually men—common men—all over the world are aware of the dread possibilities of another war. They do not want another war. Like Toynbee, they are convinced that salvation lies in working for understanding between nations. This universal realization may still save civilization, in spite of the advocates of Communism and Capitalism.

But Toynbee does not confine himself to analysing the political and economic causes of the present crisis. He believes that Western civilization has reached this crisis because it has sacrificed spiritual progress to technological progress. Having been exhausted by a hundred years' religious war, Europe turned its back upon religion. And so, one of the main tasks in saving civilizations is to "put the secular super-structure back on to religious foundations". Here Toynbee is at his weakest. He assigns no logical reason for holding that all higher religions "culminate" in Christianity. His hope that "our modern secular civilization in its turn may serve its historical purpose by providing Christianity with a completely world-wide repetition of the Roman empire" is inspired by his personal belief in Christianity. Religious consciousness in man may be universal. It has been so to date. But the future religion of mankind is as likely to differ from, or, for that matter, be as akin to, all other higher religions, as to Christianity. The objective reader of Toynbee's book will certainly feel that by an emperical test no existing religion qualifies to satisfy the spiritual yearnings of mankind. Not one of them has stopped men from fighting each other. On the contrary, Islam and Christianity have been responsible for many a bloody war. Curiously enough, Toynbee devotes a whole chapter to Islam, but only a few lines here and there to Hinduism and Buddhism.

* Civilization on Trial, by Arnold Toynbee (Published by the Oxford Press, New York.)

DILETTANTE

(By RAMAN DESAI)

It was all a while ago and this is a story of the adventure of a dilettante, being myself. An old friend asked me to his flat in Kensington and I gladly set forth on a chilly wintry afternoon. He greeted me effusively as friends will, in a foreign country. It had snowed all the way from Oxford Circus. I had loved the walk. But it was still bright and casually I turned to switch off the electric light. I shrank at the intensity with which

he bid me keep the light, "it is health-giving", he explained. Puzzled, I turned to the fireplace. There was no fire. "Rather cold today", I said cheerfully. "Well, Miss Hutchinson and I, I am her guest, you know, believe that the temperature outside the body should be invariably near half the normal, 49° or so", "But", I said, "it is surely less than that". Then she entered, an elfin figure, a slight face completely surrounded by undressed hair. A very thin fire was lighted and, warmed, I looked forward to my tea. But there was no tea. On a table, laden with orange and lemon juice and fruits and nuts, there was no tea. He explained to me the advantage of nuts. I asked if they were vegetarians. Oh no, they were nuttarians. As I sat at this dismal feast, I thought of Ridgeways' where, 30 varieties of tea were served, I must try them one by one, I mentally decided, Souchongs and Loupchongs and Tirsin blended with Louchow and pure Darjeelings, with long slender leaves, in an orange teapot, and hot buttered toast or muffins. I heard him say, "Don't you think she is very sensitive?" I was, by now, thinking of the waitress at Ridgeways,' "You mean, she is very nervous?" He said. "I mean she is so 'spiritual', you know, as the French say". "Yes", I smiled, "tres spirituel" and they laughed. I had noticed that their toes met. Toey-toey, I said to myself as I rose to go to Ridgeways and I remembered wickedly that beloved vagabond of the 18th century who invariably described the women he met as "tres spirituel".

I left that flat in the spirit of the man who wrote in the hotel register, "Quoth the raven", but I have never been able to resist an invitation, or to say no to anyone, and the next time I went with them—it was to a party and music. It was a large room but the first thing I noticed was an old fashioned gramophone perched high on a dais; it had an old fashioned horn but a horn thin and absurdly long, at least 5 feet. It was a wooden horn. I asked my host if it was a museum piece. "Oh, no", he said, "it is alive, it is for today's music". I left it at that. We settled down. The host was a tired, even slightly bored, person working himself up to greet the guests of the evening. He explained that the records he would play were his own composition. He explained that the theme was his own experience, he hoped he would succeed in transferring his experience to us—he smiled as if to indicate that while he hoped, he really had very little faith. This was his life and these were his values, and this was how he saw the modern world. The gramophone started, it had a long wooden needle. The world he saw we were about to hear about. And what a world! It started with a tiny flute, hardly audible through that horn. But it soon turned to a clarionet and then it was a saxophone, and did I hear the clash of cymbals and a trumpet and gathering volume, so many notes struck at the same time on diverse instruments, and then of a sudden a horizontal sequence of notes, and to a succession of melodies interwoven, counterpoint and counterpoint. Did I hear the repeated sounds of bells; not church bells but fire-engines, bells of trams, hooting of trains, sirens and foghorns, motor-horns and brakes, trains through tunnels, and then the propeller of an aeroplane? The propeller was soothing after all that, and I closed my eyes. I saw before me the great Mahanadi, a hundred tiny rivulets joining it at one distance to form the mighty river at the other horizon, I had flown over it, clear then and playful, but muddy and treacherous now. I heard vaguely an applause and the host touched me gently, "I am glad", he said, "this has moved you". "Yes", I said, "I saw the great Mahanadi under my aeroplane and was soothed". The audience had gathered round us and I felt I had to go through with it. I said, "I see, sir, what you are driving at; you have just symbolised the cynicism, the frustration, the empty froth of this mechanical world!!". He shook me by the hand and the audience visibly echoed. I have always been a desirable guest at a party, I am such a born liar. I said, "But sir, amid this babble, you found the hum of the propeller of the airship soothing and elevating"; I grabbed a couple of liqueurs off the tray off a passing waiter. Seeing the host visibly stirred, "and in this climax of the machine age, the machine brought you the final solace". He shook me by both hands. "But", I said, "I have a criticism to offer", the audience pressed down on me, "where", I said, "is the sound of living beings in all this?" A man thrust forward, "But did you not trace in the third movement, after the motor horn and before the fire engine, the mewing of the cat and the barking of the dog?" "Yes" I said, "but I was thinking of the howling of a baby?!" "A baby?" asked my host. "Yes, a baby," I said, "or are we too sophisticated to need babies in this world"? The audience was stirred. I grabbed a glass of port and a creme de menthe. "A baby", I continued, "howls not only because it needs food but it is sophisticated enough to know when its howls will compel attention. Any nurse will tell you that it sets its own time, pamper it and it howls the more". The females in the audience, the nuttarian included, ogled at me. "It is this sophistication that you must symbolise, nature tuned and eclipsed by intelligence. The propeller over the babble of the common earth". I held aloft the glass of port in my left hand and the creme de menthe in the right. "See this symbol, the green light to the right, the red to the left, the airship in the high heavens. sophisticated signals of the airship in the sky merged in the natural blue". I gulped both glasses and thrust a finger in the chest of the host, "when you have produced music where the baby's howl runs like a counterpoint, your present music will seem but a madrigal to a contrapuntal concerto". This shook the host and for the rest of the evening he retired into a corner in reverie.

For me the evening had begun. A man introduced himself as a painter, a surrealist; he thrust

a charming damsel forward and described her, with evident disdain, as a Dadaist. He asked me to his flat and added that all he kept was Granmanier and Napoleon brandy, with lots of modern paintings. The night was by no means young and I thought I was getting out of depths. But then my nuttarian friends asked me to their flat; a vision of orange juice and nuts unnerved me. I plonked for Granmanier. "Let us go," I told the painter, "As Napoleon said, 'I would rather have discovered this brandy, than cross the Alps tomorrow.' They laughed. Said the Dadaist, "you are a critic and a wit, rather unusual. Monsieur Dese, do you write for the New Symbolist or the Abstract Cubist?" The crowd followed to the flat. "No", I said, "I subscribe to Le Journal de Gaga". The painter showed us round his rooms, an apres Cezanne here, a Matisse here, a Salvador Dalli over the mantelpiece, and there, a cluster of Paul Klee and Kandinsky of the Blue Rider group. We halted near a group of juvenile seeming, scribbling primitives. He was proud of them, "you will love these, Monsieur, you mentioned the sophisticated wail of the baby, here is a new school, painting after the style of children!!" I saw the painting of a woman raising a hammer on the head of a cowering man—"See the sensitive line here, the brutal callousness of the contour here, only a child could wield this forceful hammer, see the sheer realism of her forearm, the knees of the shrunken man." I shook my head. I said, "Gaga must know of this." "Who is Gaga, Monsieur?" They crowded round me, I snatched a Granmanier and covered it with a couple of Napoleons. "Gaga", I said "is a great painter of Montparnasse." They looked blank, someone said, "A Frenchman?" "A Russian, Gabriel Alphonso Gregoreitch Alexandravsky". "A Surrealist, Monsieur?" asked the painter hopefully. I thought fast with the help of a Granmanier. "No, no", I smiled deprecatingly, "your Surrealist is a visual representation artist in the world of the unconscious and the dreamland. But it is all nervous fantasy, how many of us dream so logical a phantasm? It conveys symbols, I agree, but what is the experience transferred by the artist? Gaga does not believe in representation of any sort. Yet he conveys his experience of the heightened consciousness of the inspired artist, the elevated lover, the ecstasy of the supercharged poet. Surrealism is the mood of the depressed analyst. In Gaga there is sophistication of the child, the puerile frustration of the man and the ruthless emotional need of the woman. He has transcended the material world, his is purely abstract painting, the mystical bodiless eternity". I waited for effect: "You all remember Leonardo's Mona Lisa." There were instant protests. The painter glared: "You are not taking us back to that old fashioned mechanical automaton!" Another roared with laughter, "you will next ask us to praise Babbia Della Robbia", and he rocked his arms like a cradle. "No, no", I said, "Leonardo's technique was all wrong. But see what he, aimed at: he had the experience of seeing the soul, the reality behind the real; the smile of Mona Lisa is a common place, her face is a common face, but you forget all that, the picture haunts you with a sense of experiencing a mystical being behind the canvas," everyone was hushed, "you are visualising an emotion, he got at the emotion behind the impulse. You get that sort of thing in Indian sculpture, you see ten hands and an expressionless face but you feel the impulse of joy, dance, sorrow, anger, fear, you transcend the form". Someone said, "Ah, you are trying to replace the influence of the African negro sculpture by South Indian art." "No", I said, "Indian art is all wrong, I used only an analogy." They gasped, "there is too much representation and symbolism, there. Take modern poetry, that is perfect—the artist jots down his experience, you have to know his conscious and subconscious autobiography to understand a line. It is his soul. That you cannot understand him is wholly irrelevant. Gaga's art is his own mystical soul manifested. No one understands him," I said and grabbed a sherry, Napoleon, it seems, was exhausted. "Except a few" and clearly I indicated who the elite was. "Where does he live, this Gaga"? asked the Dadaist. "You will find him on the steps of Basilique de Sacre Coeur though he has never entered the church, he hates Byzantines. He lived in Venice three years but refused to see St. Marks". I grabbed the remaining Granmanier and told the waiter, "A riverdi, Presto Ritorno". "Gaga has also married an ugly woman he hates." "How strange", said one, "Isn't he cute"? "Isn't that divine?" yet another "But why?" "He is in search of the soul behind the canvas, therefore an ugly woman is the proper canvas. Women's souls are all beautiful", I gulped a Granmanier, "although they are all physically ugly". I paused but the audience was shocked, this was too much. It was early morning, the sun had risen but the waiter had disappeared, and I left.

Next day by lunch time, I had a pile of notes, telephone messages, invitations. It was an alluring prospect of endless dinners. I might paint a little and elaborate Gagaism. But the thought like a dagger of caustic struck at me—how was I to delay explanation about the mythical Gaga? I was overdue at home already and I had better pack up my trunks for the passenger liner at Brindisi. I thought bitterly of my insane invention of Gabriel Alphonso Gregorevitch Alexandravsky —what a name! What had I to do with this modernism, I who remembered at best only a few lines of Edgar Allen Poe? "Helen, thy beauty is to me, Like Nicean barks of yore, That gently over a perfumed sea, The weary way-worn wanderer bore, To his own native shore". Yet, wherever I halted the next few days on the continent, I invariably signed myself—Monsieur Raimon Dese.

THE ECONOMY OF MARX—II

(By L. A. FOSTER, S. J.)

Abolition of private property, as we have seen, is the central doctrine of Marx, of his Communist Manifesto and of the communists today. He never manifested any hatred for money but he did show red against those who had it. It was not against money but against the monied men that he was vitriolic. If he had had money himself,—he was always financially embarrassed,—I wonder if he would have advocated such doctrines. Most of his life he was a pauper, possibly that fact coloured his doctrine.

To possess private property is the natural desire of man, for the simple reason that all normal men want the means to live and to provide for their family. It's a natural instinct for men to acquire property, over which they wish to exercise dominion. Marx and his followers cannot change that instinct nor are they doing so in Russia today.

We are not advocating unlimited possessions and unlimited power over possessions, for in all things that a man owns there is a social as well as a personal note. If one group has not got the necessities of life they have a right to take these necessities from the superabundance of other men. Men who have wealth are bound in justice to give to those in dire need, and bound in charity to help others in distress. There are two extreme doctrines to be avoided about property, one, Marx's, that man must have no private property, which is contrary to the very nature of man, and the other that man has a right to acquire as much as possible and to take absolute dominion over it. The truth lies between the two radical doctrines,—man has the right to property but this right imposes upon him the obligation of looking after the rights of others, of giving to those who are in need or distress.

In the communist theory of property, the important thing is not who owns the property, but who divides the spoils. This is always a problem when administration is distinct from ownership. Quoting Sheen again, "putting all property into the hands of the State may do away with private property, but it will not do away with lust. It only transfers the lust from ownership to privilege. There is something to be envied under communism, namely, who will have the privilege of distributing the booty".

In Russia where Marxism is supposed to be on trial, workers are no better off than anywhere else; indeed they are worse off. About Stalin and his clique that head the Russian totalitarian state and who theoretically possess and distribute all the property, Edmund Lowry, correspondent for the Washington Evening Star, says, 'Russian workers are not only among the lowest paid in the world, but they also are undoubtedly the most heavily taxed. There is unquestionably a greater array of direct and indirect imposts in the Soviet Union than in any other country, and hardly a minute goes by for the Russian citizen,—with the exception of the top stratum of favoured bureaucrats—that he is not exploited by the State, the super-employer owning and managing everything, to an extent, which would lead to an immediate revolution in any democratic country".

Communism is right in protesting against the concentration of wealth in the hands of a few. It is wrong in its ideas of reform because it carries centralization to a point where nobody owns the means of production except the state, although communists make workers believe that they are the owners. Putting all the productive property in the hands of a collective body is no solution of the problem of property.

Here in India where there is great inequality in ownership, where so many are ground down with distressing poverty and where a handful of rich possess too much of the wealth of the country, we must have reform. There must be a more equitable distribution of land and property and wealth. But let us not like a drowning man, cling foolishly to the first thing that happens to be at hand—a communist plank—but consider the matter calmly. There is talk throughout the country of taking the land from the Zemindars and making it the property of the state. The proposal bristles with problems and difficulties even though the ancient title of the Zemindars is not too sound. The nature of man and the nature of property must be considered and the rights, real not assumed rights of Zemindars, must be respected. If the natural rights of the Zamindars are violated, the government will acquire a bad name and no one will wish to entrust their rights to such a government. We must see to it that just property reforms are framed and that they are not contrary to the nature of man. We want reforms not a revolution; we need more owners and not fewer. We should endeavour to establish a society where all possess at least the necessities of life, not a society where all are propertyless paupers, depending on a totalitarian state.

T. V. A. AND ORGANIZED LABOUR

(By W. A. SHAFER*)

Almost 1,000 technicians, government officials, students, and business and professional people from more than 50 nations last year came for serious study of the methods being utilized by the T. V. A. in the unified development of all the resources of the 41,000-square-mile watershed of the Tennessee River and its tributaries.

Almost without exception, they are intrigued by one particular feature—the spectacle of a new type of government organization attacking the multiple problems of a whole region as a single task. Often confronted at home by complex economic and social problems, they indicate that they

* The author of this series of two articles, especially prepared for the "International Free Trade Union News," is a member of the T. V. A. staff.

are interested in T. V. A. methods because they appear to combine efficient planning with techniques of operation which enlarge rather than restrict the areas of freedom for the individual.

INDEPENDENT U. S. AGENCY

The T. V. A. organization is an independent corporate agency of the United States government. Created by the U. S. Congress in 1933, it is designed to provide for the unified development of all the resources of the Tennessee River Valley, an area including a population of approximately 4,000,000 persons and parts of seven Southern states.

Today, the physical backbone of T. V. A.'s work to control the valley's 52-inch average annual rainfall—almost 6,000 tons of water to the acre—is the unified system of 26 dams in the Tennessee River and its tributaries. Sixteen of the dams were built by T. V. A., five were acquired by transfer and purchase and five are privately owned but are operated as a part of the T. V. A. system under contractual agreement. Control and use of water on the land before it reaches the major streams is fostered by close cooperation in improved agricultural and forestry practices between T. V. A., state, federal and local agencies, and tens of thousands of practical farmers.

Congress, in creating T. V. A., instructed it to develop the entire Tennessee River system to control floods, to generate electricity and to create a year-round nine-foot channel for navigation. Today, this channel, 630 miles in length, extends from the head-waters of the river to a junction where it becomes a part of a 6,000-mile inland waterway system.

The tremendous amount of electric power generated by T. V. A.—its present 15,000,000,000 kilowatt-hours annually make it the largest single integrated system in the country—is distributed to almost 800,000 consumers in cities and farms of the region through 140 municipal systems and rural cooperatives. The high analysis fertilizers which have been produced by T. V. A. and used on 38,000 test-demonstration farms work as an educational device for improving the economy of the region.

Any measure of success that the T. V. A. has achieved is due in large part to the support, cooperation and efficiency of the thousands of employees who have contributed individually and as groups. This cooperation was no accident. It is a tribute to the sense of responsibility and consideration of the public interest of both the men who worked and the administrators who established the basic policies.

Congress set up the T. V. A. as a government corporation, endowed with the flexibility and initiative of a private enterprise. It was not placed under the federal civil service laws but was safeguarded by its statute from political patronage or influence in the appointment and promotion of its employees. It was instructed to establish its own merit system suited to the rigorous requirements of its unusual responsibilities as a regional agency. It was also instructed to pay its employees in the trades and labour classifications the rates of pay prevailing in the vicinity for similar work, with due regard for those rates established through collective bargaining. Under its statutory charter, the T. V. A. was able to face its managerial problems with a reasonable choice of alternatives on questions of labour policy.

The T. V. A. could have evaded the collective bargaining issue by electing to build dams by contract instead of by force account—with its own employees. The T. V. A. board of directors, however, decided for construction by force account, a decision which has prevailed on all of the T.V.A.'s major construction projects. In reaching this decision, the T. V. A. made it clear that it was prepared to assume full and direct responsibilities as a government employer.

WORKERS' STAKE RECOGNIZED

The management was immediately faced with a fundamental question—would it be in the public interest for T. V. A. employees to have the right to organize for collective bargaining purposes, to affiliate with organizations of their own choosing, to seek the assistance of outside representatives and to determine the form and objectives of their organization? There was nothing in the T. V. A. Act which was of help in answering this question, since the Act only provided that labourers and mechanics be paid rates of wages prevailing in the vicinity for similar work, and that all appointments and promotions be given and made on the basis of merit and efficiency. As a result of deliberations on this question, the conviction emerged that any worthwhile approach to the problem of labour relations must be based on certain assumptions.

The first of these assumptions holds that employees not only have a stake in the enterprise in which they work, but that they also have a contribution to make. If this assumption cannot be accepted, employees, singly or in organizations, either will not make a contribution or, lacking the machinery through which to make it, will tackle the job to be done in half-hearted fashion, with low morale and mediocre efficiency. On the other hand, positive acceptance of this assumption and provision for adequate machinery through which the contribution of employees ean be encouraged are at once evidence of good faith on the part of the management. This, it was believed, was the keynote to creative morale.

A second assumption pertains to the distinction between government and private employment. For example, in recognizing the right to organize would the public employer exact any conditions as to the methods and objectives of the organizations that employees may join? Here again the conclusion was reached that government employees can be counted upon as responsible, law-abiding

citizens, who are as much interested in preserving the integrity of their government as the average citizen of our democracy. The discretion and good judgment of employees was to be assumed. Exceptions could be dealt with if they arose.

A third assumption concerns the right of employees to affiliate as they choose and to designate representatives who are not employees of the T. V. A. The T. V. A. decided that there should be no reservation; if employees chose to be represented by non-employees, that was to be their business: T. V. A. would deal with them in good faith. Underlying this decision was the assumption that good working relationships between the unions and management would depend upon mutual confidence and good faith.

EMPLOYEE RELATIONSHIP POLICY.

After these tentative conclusions had been reached, they were embodied in a tentative statement of labour policy. This statement was submitted to employees and their representatives for study and discussion. Several drafts of a proposed policy were written and submitted to exhaustive study and criticism. From this process a jointly formulated statement of policy emerged, which was approved by the T. V. A. board of directors in August, 1935, and which laid the basis for collective bargaining and union-management cooperation in the T. V. A.

Briefly, the Employee Relationship Policy recognizes the right of employees to organize, affiliate as they choose, designate representatives and bargain collectively with the management of the T.V.A. It establishes a machinery for disposition of grievances and for development of cooperative relationships with labour and employee organizations; sets up principles relating to employment standards, hours of work, compensation, training and placement; sets the minimum age for employment; rules out nepotism; makes provision for the safety and health of employees; and gives a voice to bona-fide organizations of employees in the formulation or modification of policies, rules and regulations governing the conditions of employment and work. Largely because employees and their representatives helped to formulate the statement of policy, they cooperated in applying it effectively on the job.

COLUMBIAN PARTIES

(By ROSA E. LOBEL)

Both Conservatives and Liberals have reorganized the directorships of their parties and are now functioning under new leadership. Laureano Gomez, unpopular Conservative Minister for Foreign Affairs, who presided over the Ninth Inter-American Conference at the time of the April violence, has taken refuge in Spain. In his place as leader of the party executive committee is Dr. Guillermo Leon Valencia, son of the continentally-famous poet, Guillermo Valencia. Liberal forces are rallying under the guidance of a committee led by Dr. Carlos Lleras Restrepo. The Liberal Party found itself without a leader when its former chief, Dr. Jorge Eliecer Gaitan, was assassinated at the start of last spring's rioting.

For a time the political situation was delicate, and civil war was feared. But Congress has met in complete calm, and it appears that the country has turned a difficult corner. President Ospina tried to postpone the opening of Congress, set for the traditional anniversary of Colombian independence, this time 138th, on July 20. But when the Liberals insisted on that date, the Chief Executive acquiesced. He has also refused to accept the tendered resignations of two Liberal cabinet members, who have been under fire from his supporters.

It is still impossible to discover any instigators of the Gaitan murder. Three experienced Scotland Yard detectives were brought to Columbia and given every assistance by the government. They could only report, however, that the crime appeared to have been the exclusive act of Juan Roa Sierra, who fired the fatal shots and was himself killed by the infuriated mob. The assassin was a strange figure: a mystic, a wastrel supported by his wife and mother, a man never known to have any money in his pocket. Yet somehow he acquired possession of a pistol that must have cost at least forty dollars.

There are no longer any political prisoners behind bars; those who fled to Venezuela have been pardoned. Through July and much of August, fiestas were held continuously in celebration of independence and practically all parts of the land have been at peace.

—*Worldover Press.*

ISRAEL PUBLICITY.

The beginning of Israel film industry is now under way at an unrevealed place. The government has presented ample land to a motion picture firm which is the first to set up developing laboratories. The government intends to encourage the industry, and will establish centres where both local and foreign companies can obtain assistance.

Director Klinov of the Department of Information asserts that in all branches of his work—press, broadcasting and films—consideration is being given to the Arab population of Palestine. Returning Arabs who come as loyal citizens, he said, will find their cultural requirements fully met, and without discrimination. The Department is ready to set up an Arab Public Advisory Committee similar to the one now functioning with the broadcasting service. Israel Radio will start broadcasting soon in all the languages used by Jews wherever they reside. Hebrew lessons will be offered to Jews in the mother tongue.

—*Worldover Press.*

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"I will be as harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard"*.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the LIBERATOR.

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NOTES

Kashmir Changes:— The UN Commission's resolution for a peaceful settlement on Kashmir has proved a complete vindication of the Union Government's stand. Pakistan has admitted not only complicity in the Kashmir fighting but even active leadership and instigation. The reason offered is the defence needs of Pakistan. A British statesman once warned his people that, if they trusted the advice of their military experts, Britain's frontiers would be pushed up to the moon. The reason given is as tenable as the advice of the experts. But it must be admitted that the Pakistan Foreign Minister has dealt a shrewd thrust at the Commission's vulnerable spot when he asks for all its elucidations and clarifications to both India and Pakistan being made known to both of them. It has been too often the case in recent months for foreign advisers on the problems of these two Dominions to conceal from one Dominion the information and point of view communicated to the other. The party now in power in Pakistan fully exploited this in its quarrel with the Congress. It evidently fears that in Kashmir the technique of calculated confusion is likely to work against it.

Creating A Rebel State:—The Pakistan Foreign Minister has virtually admitted that militarily the "Azad Kashmir Government", a dignified phrase for a rabble, had collapsed. The remark that "operationally" the forces of this "Government" were under the authority of the Pakistan Army and the offer of securing its consent to the truce terms are damaging assertions that cannot be explained away. Yet in spite of all this, the Pakistan Government has the brazenness to demand that the "Azad Kashmir Government" be allowed to administer the territories held by it, with a diversion into communalism by insisting that Kashmir is a State with a Muslim majority. The Pakistan Government has said enough to convince the Security Council of its mischief and undependability. But the question is does the Security Council want to be convinced? So far as the Indian Union is concerned, it has won the gratitude and approval of the UN Commission but it remains to be seen how far this helps. Another Pakistan contradiction is the insistence of the Foreign Minister on the unity of Kashmir and at the same time desiring to create another rival Government on Kashmir soil.

Floods in the U. P.:—The Ganges and the Jumna have risen in devastating floods and, though no loss of life in men or cattle is reported, the damage to property and homes is enormous. This natural calamity has hit again at India's vital spot, food. Considering the slow progress of constructive work in the country, a succession of catastrophes is a natural loss. There have been appeals for funds and relief work in the distressed areas and it is to be hoped that the work of reconstruction will be quickly undertaken. Measures for flood control will have to be undertaken to prevent a recurrence of this disaster.

Maharaja's Promise:—A brief item in the newspapers mentions an appeal addressed to the Maharaja of Baroda to stay in his State and not to indulge in visits abroad. The Maharaja is reported to have assured them that after a short stay in Delhi and Bombay he would remain permanently in Baroda. It seems a justifiable inference that some sort of understanding has been arrived at between the States Ministry and the Gaekwar and that the frequent foreign tours of the latter are to be brought to an end. The States Ministry, if this is true, has achieved a return to the Curzonian tradition which is very gratifying; and the deputation and the Maharaja's answer are probably a method of conveying the decision to the public, not only in Baroda.

Kolhapur's Future:—The report that a move is on foot for the merging of Kolhapur into the pro-

vince of Bombay calls attention to the inevitable solution of States of scattered territories. Kolhapur has its jurisdiction sprinkled all over Bombay province and the difficulties of administering it can well be imagined. The problem of Kolhapur is the problem of many other States and it will be necessary to arrive at a general arrangement which gives some equitable formula of adjustment. If the Maharajas are to become constitutional rulers, then it should not matter if a merger is achieved.

Zero Hour At Hand?:—At a press conference in New Delhi, Pandit Jawaharlal told pressmen that only a formal acknowledgement of the Delhi ultimatum had been received from the Nizam and that with or without the Nizam's consent Indian troops were to be re-stationed at Secunderabad. No time limit had been set to the Nizam's final reply; but obviously it could not be delayed very long now. All this points to one thing—military operations, since Pandit Jawaharlal will not have it called war. The initiation of action cannot long be delayed and it is natural that the troop movement will be from all four sides, since Hyderabad is peculiarly vulnerable to such an attack. There have been several rumours about preparations in Hyderabad—mention being made of Lancasters and tanks in unspecified numbers. But it is generally forgotten that modern instruments of war of this type depend on petrol and motor oil for their efficient working. Of both these, Hyderabad is short and her capacity to run them is accordingly gravely impaired. Nor should it be forgotten that the Union too must be well prepared for a contingency which has seemed inevitable for some months now. The first sufferers will be the ordinary people of Hyderabad who will be subjected to all manner of hardships and to a state of almost complete anarchy. Pandit Nehru has declared that the decision to act was taken not for any political reason but merely because Hyderabad conditions were having consequences in South India and elsewhere which were inimical to ordered life.

UN's Futility:—The puppet "Azad Kashmir Government" of Ghulam Abbas, which was virtually taken over by the Pakistan Government after its collapse and kept as a going concern, has found voice and declared its determination to fight till victory is achieved. Ghulam Abbas has rejected the "cease fire" proposal of the UN Commission. What worth this rejection has can easily be gauged. But it at least serves the purpose of showing up the capacity for mischief of the Pakistan Government. It is a matter for sad reflection that not only did Pakistan come into being with the consent of Indian national leaders, but even its entry into the international world was sponsored by India's delegates. More, the thought that even the present Kashmir tangle was caused by India's reference to UN, is dismal. The responsibility of maintaining the prestige of the United Nations is far too heavy a one for India to bear singlehanded. The Commission has failed miserably in upholding the UN's name for effective justice, and its pathetic flounderings will only lead to general disillusionment. It would be far wiser to admit failure and leave the rival forces to fight out the destiny of Kashmir among themselves than to potter about in a vain effort to extract fresh concessions from India. The Union Government have learnt a bitter lesson. The more concessions they make, the worse becomes the position for India. Pakistan has evidently decided that the possession of Kashmir is far more important than the good opinion of UN, and in this it has the example of the imperial powers which are fighting to retain their hold on their colonies If India should decide to take a leaf out of this book then the consequences will be terrible for the mischief-makers. It is not very long before such a decision is reached.

Foreign Trade:—We publish this week an article by John Kingsley on Indo-British trade. The subject has to be seen against the larger question of India's foreign trade with all the countries of the world. Comparing the position in 1938—39 with the position in 1945—46 on the eve of Indian Independence and Partition, the figures are striking and they indicate at a glance the shrinkage in trade with Empire countries. It is gratifying to note that our exports have gone up since the pre-war year. It is necessary to develop our foreign trade and the amount of foreign currency available will naturally depend on the excess of exports over imports. On the other hand, the need for machinery is urgent and it cannot be easily satisfied because of the difficulties in the way of obtaining machinery from other countries. There has been a tendency to import indiscriminately from Britain which happily was checked after the first excess. If there is need for planning in any direction, it is most acute in this matter of foreign trade. In the next few years, there is bound to be violent fuctuations in the balance of trade. It is opportune to take stock of conditions now.

Awakening in America:—There is a lesson for India in the American press comments on the death of Dr. Benes, particularly in the "New York Times". The New York "Times" wonders whether Dr. Benes would not have served his people better by resisting Munich in 1938 and Russia in 1948. Dr. Benes, it writes, was worldly wise and supple but neither his political acumen nor his fidelity to alliances saved him. It is the indictment of the other parties to the alliances which is implicit in this comment and at the same time failure to condemn them honestly that is curious. Indian statesmen have shown a strange sensitiveness to international opinion which fits in ill with the chaos of the present world organisation. In the UN controversies, India has laboured hard to win UN support and yet it has not gained UN respect, or at any rate effective regard. The world respects decision more than a policy of accomodation consistently carried out to the point of vacillation. Obviously the men of good will have to acquire a tougher fibre before they can assert themselves in the councils of the world.

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BOMBAY, September 11, 1948

HYDERABAD

At a Press Conference in Karachi Sir Mohammed Zafrullah Khan is reported to have made the following astounding observation. "Today India is threatening Hyderabad with open aggression. Has it taken stock that the consequences of the threat being carried into effect against Hyderabad will plunge at the very least its own country into a communal bloodbath which unfortunately will spread far wider and will have consequences more disastrous than the occurrences in the East and West Punjab last year?" Sir Zafrullah's concern for internal peace in India would be touching if his premise were correct. As it is, one wonders whether Pakistan's Foreign Minister is not indulging in wish fulfillment dreams. It might be that Sir Zafrullah is hoping to create a situation whereby attention from Kashmir will be distracted because the Union will be involved in an armed struggle with Hyderabad as well as with lawlessness within its own territory. It is ridiculous to suppose that determined action on the part of the Indian Government against Hyderabad will cause communal lawlessness in the country. Lawlessness is always derived from fear. People take the law into their own hands only when they fear that their Government is too weak to protect their interest. The Hyderabad situation has undoubtedly created communal tension. But this tension has been the result of fear—fear on the part of the majority community at having to face not only an enemy without their territories but within the country itself. Muslim Indians have been suspected, and for sound psychological reasons, of playing the role of fifth columnists. This has been so because since the partition on a communal basis they have had no opportunity to prove themselves loyal citizens of the Union. It is significant that the marching in of Indian troops into Kashmir, a predominantly Muslim state, created no communal trouble in the Union. And the reason for this is to be sought in the feeling of security that the determined policy of the Government engendered in the hearts of Indian citizens.

Sir Zafrullah's observation, incidentally, is objectionable also because of its misrepresentation. In designating the Indian attitude to Hyderabad as one of "open aggression", he is deliberately creating confusion. Aggression can only occur when one sovereign country threatens the sovereignty of another. Hyderabad, except in the eyes of Pakistan and a few observers uninitiated in Indian history, is a part of Indian territory and has no historical or economic right to call itself a sovereign independent state. But it is important to note that the Zafrullah exposition has added a new factor to the Hyderabad situation which seemed to be unwinding itself.

The exchange of letters between Mr. Rajagopalachari, the Governor-General, and H. E. H. the Nizam makes disappointing reading. His Exalted Highness could not even summon up sufficient initiative to invite Mr. Rajagopalachari to Hyderabad for a personal exchange of views. This is an index of the kind of lethargy which has crept over the responsible leaders on either side in the Hyderabad dispute. Not so very long ago Mr. Rajagopalachari was in Bangalore and it would have been nothing extraordinary had he been asked to stay a couple of days in Hyderabad. Instead, His Exalted Highness expresses a pious and futile hope that Rajaji will use his good will and his good offices to promote a better feeling and a more friendly atmosphere. It is significant that the Indian demand for the re-stationing of troops in Secunderabad was originally suggested by Sir Mirza Ismail to the Nizam as a necessary measure to keep the Razakar menace under check. The withdrawal of troops was the one concrete evidence of the Indian Government's genuineness in accepting the Standstill Agreement. The Nizam, however, has not taken it in that light and there has been a failure on both sides to adhere scrupulously to the terms of the Agreement in other matters. The uttering of a "last warning" on this occasion differs radically from the previous occasions because it is coupled with a specific demand. The Nizam has indicated that there can be no question of allowing Indian troops to occupy Secunderabad and that the attempt to carry this out will be fiercely resisted.

The evacuation of British and American personnel from Hyderabad gives a clue to the seriousness of the Hyderabad situation. It is recognized that the Union cannot let the Nizam's obduracy pass unnoticed. His Exalted Highness' appeal to the American President is a last minute effort to salvage something out of the wreckage but it has faild to evoke any effective response for obvious reasons. The attempt to commit India to outside arbitration has been crudely tried, and now that it has failed, there is still opportunity for the Nizam to turn back to direct negotiations. There is nothing to suggest that the draft agreement of June no longer holds the field, though Indian Ministers have been repeatedly stressing the point. If Hyderabad is to be saved from utter chaos, the Nizam must pull himself out of his present passivity. It would be desirable, seeing the large issues involved, that the Union leaders too exerted themselves to one last effort to escape the catastrophe which seems now inevitable. If they feel that it is a futile hope, then one can only hope that the military operations which are necessary, will be swiftly and effectively undertaken. The dangers of trouble in India, which Sir Mahomed forecasts, are only likely if the Union persists in procrastination or if it is forced into a protracted campaign. It is for the Union Government to seek safety in a quick decision.

SWEDEN—THE GOOD LIFE

(By DEVERE ALLEN)

New elections are to be held in Sweden on September 19, and all the parties have been girding themselves for strenuous efforts. Well-informed opinion looks to a reduction in the Social Democratic vote, and a beating for the Communists, with some gains for the conservative opposition parties. But it is doubtful whether the electorates will cut away enough support from the present Social Democrat government to cause its overthrow, though the result might conceivably be a coalition regime.

Opposition parties are emphasizing private initiative, decrying the moderate Socialist programme of the government as "regimentation." One could almost imagine himself in the United States, except that in Sweden, as in the rest of Scandinavia, the shoe is on the other foot, with Socialism in and anti-Socialism out.

The Lower House of the Riksdag, or Parliament, which comes up for re-election every four years, shows what a hold the Social Democrats have on the people, though they are not an absolute majority. They now have 115 seats. The opposition groups are divided, but together have the same total. The Conservatives have 39 seats, the Farmers' Union 35, the People's Party 26, and the Communists 15.

The strongest card of the government is the remarkable social welfare programme it has been pushing through. This has proved so popular that even the opposition has felt compelled to pay it lip service, though the Socialists declare that such a programme is safest in the hands of its originators. The biggest problem of the Social Democrats is the continuing austerity enforced by dollar shortages. The Swedes are used to comparative abundance, and their standard of living is even today very high. But retrenchment in diet, and many other restrictions, has in some measure brought about the kind of public discontent that caused conservative gains in the British municipal elections.

To Swedes the situation of their country may have minor annoyances; but compared to the rest of Europe, the people live well. In a land notable for beauty of landscape and architecture, for education and cultural intelligence, there are countless reasons for Swedish pride. No one can enter the country from extended travel through other European lands without being struck by the good life, the industrial proficiency, the alertness of the people—and the overpowering advantage of keeping out war for more than a hundred years.

Not very sanguine are the people, however, of keeping out of any new European war. The authorities prepare one form of defense after another, and push up budgetary appropriations for the air force (just stepped up 50 per cent), the navy, and certain secret border protection. But it is the old, old story of a small nation, which, no matter how it prepares, no matter how bravely it might fight, is never adequate against modern massed armies or the overwhelming scientific strength of a major foe. Sweden, no more than any other small country, can be really safe in armed independence or in military alliances; there will be security for small peoples only when the world is well organized, and all-inclusively organized, for peace.

Be it noted that in the midst of intensive re-armament, and a thorough modernization of the combat forces, the Riksdag reduced, last June, the period of compulsory military service from eleven to nine months.

Trade agreements spring from the Swedish government like flowers in a rain-soaked field. When you look at one recuperating part of Europe after another, you find that the Swedes have been singularly prompt in restoring trade. They have concluded trade agreements with practically every corner of the continent, not excepting the Soviet Zone of Germany.

Swedish industry is on its toes, and this becomes obvious even to a casual traveler. The trains are marvellous in comparison to most, and run on wide tracks, so the cars are incredibly roomy, being equalled in this respect, but not in cleanliness, by some in Spain. The visitor is immediately impressed by Swedish newspapers, which, despite paper restrictions, are still ample by European standards. You can't accidentally fling a loose page to the floor when reading, for the pages are pasted along the back, after, the fashion of a book. And in this land of 6,674,000 people, there are 228 daily papers, with a combined circulation of 3,080,000. More than half that coverage, incidentally, is in the small towns and rural districts.

So far north is Sweden that on summer nights there is practically no darkness, but only a weird half-light for a few brief hours. And there is a light of progress in the minds of the population, which makes them one of the most admired people in the world. Even so, they are not yet skilled at handling tourists, and some of the literature put out for foreigners leaves much to be desired. One booklet, called "Welcome to sightseeing in Stockholm," declares: "The evening tours are to be considered extra tours, and can be inhibited". Judging by the way some of the tourists behave, maybe that's just as well.

—*Worldover Press.*

IN RED EUROPE

Grandiose plans for economic collaboration between Poland and Czechoslovakia seem oddly at variance with pessimism recently expressed by Prague authorities over low morale and production in the factories. The new pact does not establish a customs union, but falls little short of it, linking the two national economies together in planning,

investments, etc. A mammoth industrial centre is planned for the area of Polish and Czech Teschen, once a bone of contention between the two peoples.

But Premier Zapotocky of Czechoslovakia has been having trouble both with farmers and industrial workers. Blaming agricultural unrest on whispers from Yugoslavia now in the Cominform's doghouse, he felt impelled to deny that there would be collectivization of land. At the same time, he lashed absenteeism from key plants, holding it responsible for non-fulfillment of the monthly quota for the two-year plan. Due to dissatisfaction with the Communist regime, the Skoda works, according to reliable Worldover Press observers, have been suffering an annual loss—at present rates—of 20,000,000 Czech crowns through sabotage taking the form of absenteeism and malingering.

Meantime, the fact that on foreign policy Yugoslavia has been adhering to the Russian line does not disguise the struggle continuing bitterly in the Balkans. Hungarian newspapers describe Yugoslav leaders as "puffed with arrogance and conceit," while Yugoslav Communist press charges that the Hungarians never resisted during the Nazi occupation. Yugoslav Communist publications accuse the Bulgarians of "dishonesty, treachery and nationalism," while a Bulgarian journal recently displayed a caricature of Tito dressed up as the Nazi Marshall Hermann Goering.

A stir has been going through E.R.P. circles in Europe since it was learned that Soviet Russia desires to have ships built in Italian yards. Negotiators have forgotten, apparently, that the U.S.S.R. had at least two warships built in Italy at the time it was supposedly crusading against fascism, yet when Mussolini was in power. The war vessels, launched at Leghorn, were blessed by Catholic priests before proceeding to Soviet ports.

—*Worldover Press.*

THE CULTURAL SERVICES OF THE JEWS

(By VICTOR FRIED)

Whether in war or in truce, the new state of Israel pushes to improve its cultural facilities. More than 130,000 valuable books which had been looted from Jewish libraries and communities in Europe by the Nazis are to be transferred to Israel. Negotiations for the transfer have been worked out between the Hebrew National Library and the Polish and Czechoslovak governments, which had temporary possession of the volumes.

Dr. Worman, Chief Librarian at the Hebrew University, revealed that important facsimiles had been sent to the institution this year from Russia, while recently the United States Army Library at Washington presented the National Library with collections of books and periodicals needed for the proposed Medical Faculty. The National Library is also interested in the 100,000 books now held by the U. S. Army in Frankfurt, Germany.

Referring to the Library in Jerusalem, Dr. Worman said that the 500,000 volumes had been undamaged despite the heavy shelling there. Books collected from Arab libraries or homes now under Jewish occupation were being kept in the Library until their owners called. The National Library, he announced, is now representing UNESCO in Palestine.

ANTI—INFLATION

(By J. L. JOBANPUTRA.)

As everywhere, the present popular Government, despite cries of press restrictions, is being blamed for any hardship felt by any section of the public. The average man has little patience to give the Government a breathing space, nor is he prepared to fully appreciate the circumstances in which the present Government took up the charge of the country. Among other things, it inherited poverty, worldwide dislocation of economic gear, high prices, insufficiency and controls on articles of daily need, industrial stand-still due to lack of machineries, parts, oils, etc., inflation, profiteering, unrest among labour, the problem of the untouchables, partition of the motherland, the states problem followed by themassacres in Punjab, Sindh, N.W.F., Communists, Refugees problem, Kashmir trouble, and above all, the loss of the Father of the Nation at the hour of its greatest need and now the Hyderabad problem.

It is however, realised by the majority that the present is possibly the best Government for the country and if one were to review the steps taken by it, it would be found that these problems which would confuse any well-established government, are being solved with amazing energy, resourcefulness and capacity, to the delight of all reasonable sections of the people and to the surprise of other nations. The acumen of the States Ministry, coupled with the wisdom and foresight of the Provinces, have solved one of the most baffling and vexed questions and allayed apprehensions, of a third party in the form of a Rajasthan. The Princes have proved their patriotism beyond doubt and helped as pillars of society in making up for the loss of the Pakistan area.

The immediate and crying need of the hour is to check inflation and bring down the price level of essentials. Fortunately, the Government is now wide awake to the realities of the threatening situation and steps are being taken to restore economic equilibrium. A Committee of Economists has tendered advice to fight inflation but the man in the street has become restless, and expects immediate remedies. Reimposition of controls as advised by experts, may give the desired temporary relief if the administrative machinery is well organised and strict vigilance is enforced in every way, over all concerned.

It is, however, pertinent to observe that the problem of controls had received the very earnest attention of Mahatmaji and his views are well

known. He considered all controls as evil on principle, and agreed to tolerate them for as short a period as possible. Sugar and cloth controls were removed at his instance. Now that the country is independent, and people have undergone control hardship for many years, it is true that remedies to bring about permanent cures should also be considered side by side. They seem to lie in carefully assessing measures which the Father of the Nation preached for many years but which unfortunately have not been given their due place of importance in the governmental programme. It was hoped that after the country realised its independence, the fundamentals preached by Mahatmaji would be rigorously and religiously carried out with a free hand but other weighty problems occupied front rank. The system of controls contrary to expectations, increased inflation and profiteering and cheap currency brought in many vices.

The following remedies are being suggested in brief, for the earnest consideration of those in authority:—

(1) Large scale Government organised propaganda to bring about simplicity of life, in food in dress and social customs which result in huge avoidable wastes and consequent misery. Simplicity of life alone can be the lasting remedy. (2) Due stress on the great potential value of Charkha, hand-spinning and Swadeshi. (3) Active encouragement to cottage industries. (4) Concentration of Government attention on food and cloth problems with a view to strengthen confidence in the capacity of the administration, leaving aside questions like linguistic provinces for more settled times. (5) Invite experienced and capable workers more freely, and take them into confidence irrespective of their past party associations. (6) Discourage imports of articles of luxury. (7) Determination of economic and industrial policy so as to satisfy both labour and capital, with a view to stabilize industries and increase production.

COMMUNIST ANTI-RELIGION

(By L. A. FOSTER)

The Soviet Constitution of 1918 reads, 'For the purpose of securing real freedom of conscience for the workers, the Church is declared separate from the government and the school from the Church. But freedom for religious and anti-religious propaganda is recognized for every citizen". That doctrine possibly does not sound too harsh, but when we consider that it places religion in the power of an irreligious and atheistic state, we realize what little chance there is for God and religion, where the State recognizes the right for anti-religious propaganda, even in the state schools. The truth is that there was religious persecution from the very start of Communism in Russia in 1918, using the privilege given by the constitution of anti-religious propaganda. The Communists, that is Stalin and his clique, regarded the phrase "freedom for religious propaganda", in the constitution as too great a concession, though it could not be done in opposition to the totalitarian state. So in 1929, a change was made in the wording and it read, "freedom in the exercise of religious worship and freedom for anti-religious propaganda". In the Stalin Constitution for USSR 1936, which is still in force, article 124 reads, "in order to ensure to citizens freedom of conscience, the church in the USSR is separated from the state, and the school from the church. Freedom of religious worship and freedom of anti-religious propaganda is recognized for all citizens".

The phrase freedom of religious worship is a very misleading one. It is true that religious congregations may organize, but they must register with the local commissar who will assign a church for their use. They must not own property, and their religious activities must be confined within the limits of the registered congregation. The names of the people, registered with the Government, gives a list of those who are in opposition to the atheistic government. A few statistics quoted from a pamphlet, 'The Red Terror and Religion' by Richard Ginder, will show how the Orthodox Church, the established Church under the Tzars, has fared under Bolshevism. In 1919 there were 46,456 churches, in 1941 there were 4,225. The number of priests in 1917 was 50,960, in 1941 it was 5,665 and the Orthodox monasteries dropped from 1,026 to 38 in 1941. "Communism in Action", a U. S. A. Government report prepared under the direction of E. M. Dirken, says, "Eradication of religion, the Bolshevists' objective, was to be accomplished through the youth of the land. Under the constitution, religious instruction in public or private schools was forbidden. However until 1929 children in groups of three or less were allowed to receive religious instruction provided it was given outside the churches and schools. The decree of April 8, 1929, abolished this right and confined the teaching of religion to the parents....The state confiscated all church buildings and property. Many churches were closed and others diverted to various uses, schools, clubrooms, anti-religious museums, lodgings and industrial works. In some instances, members of the clergy were jailed or executed. Anti-religious demonstrations were organized, services in churches interrupted, and the clergy insulted by members of the Konsomal, Communist Youth Association. Atheistic publications waged violent attacks on religion, whereas after 1927 no religious publications were allowed".

But why this militant atheism? Why are the Bolshevists so anxious to obliterate religion and God? The real answer is that in a true democracy, that is a government of the people and by the people, authority ultimately comes from God and therefore has a religious basis. It is religion and only religion that stands for the dignity and the rights and privileges of the individual. The

State exists for the individual, religion and nature say, and not the individual for the State, as the Bolshevists say. So communism and religion are diametrically opposed to each other. The man who believes in God, who knows that he has essential and inalienable rights that come from God, is a menace to any dictator or totalitarian government, for that man can never be enslaved. He values his honour, his rights, more than his life.

In the Communist Manifesto Marx writes: "Does it require deep intuition to comprehend that man's ideas, views and conceptions, in one word, man's consciousness, changes with every change in the conditions of his material existence, in his social relations and in his social life? What else does the history of ideas prove than that intellectual production changes in character in proportion as material production is changed?" In other words, Marx was a pure materialist, asserting that man is like his material surroundings and is not influenced by God and spiritual things. He denies in the paragraph preceding the foregoing quotation, that objections against communism from a religious standpoint have any validity. He says, 'The charges against communism made from a religious, a philosophical standpoint are not deserving of serious examination'. It is rather hard to argue with a man who makes such a statement, for he is unreasonable. But he makes more explicit statements about the futility of religion. In his introduction to 'A Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law', he writes, "Religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the kindliness of a heartless world, the spirit of unspiritual conditions. It is the people's opium. The removal of religion as the illusory happiness of the people is the demand for their happiness.—Criticism of religion disillusions man, so that he may think, act and shape his reality as one who is disillusioned and come to the full understanding, so that he may move on his own axis and thus be his own sun." And thus man will be his own God also, or rather according to communism, the state is to be the god, and man a mere pawn of the state.

Lenin was very explicit in stating what he thought about religion. In the Little Library, volume 7, we read, "The modern proletariat ranges itself on the side of socialism, which with the help of science, is dispersing the fog of religion and is liberating the workers from their faith in a life after death, by rallying them to the present-day struggle for a better life here upon earth." In the same volume, on page 14, Lenin wrote, "In explaining our programme, we must necessarily explain the actual historical and economic roots of religion. Our programme thus necessarily includes the propagation of atheism". Following Marx's and Lenin's lead, the Communists have been teaching atheism to the children of Russia, showing them for instance that the world was made by human hands and improved by Marx, Lenin and Stalin. We quote from "Youth in Soviet Russia." "In the beginning there was chaos,—capitalism. The parasites lived in luxury, the slaves were starving. Then came Marx and Lenin and the Red October. After violent struggles with internal and external foes and at the cost of immense sacrifices made by the chosen Russian proletariat, chaos was cast out." There is no need to comment about such propaganda.

"The A. B. C. of Communism" by N. Bouharin, page 284, states, "Any one who while calling himself a communist, continues to cling to his religious faith, one who in the name of religious commandments, infringes the prescriptions of the party, ceases thereby to be a communist. It is profitable to the predatory class to maintain the ignorance of the people and to maintain the people's childish belief in miracles (the key to the riddle really lies in the exploiter's pocket) and this is why religious prejudices are so tenacious, and why they confuse the minds even of persons who are in other respects able". Here too is one of their half-truths, for, while it is true that religion does counsel men to have patience and endure even at times the violation of their natural rights, still religion does not counsel the poor or any person, or any class of persons, to abrogate their rights and privileges; rather it perseveringly insists that rights are inalienable and no person or group can take them away. Religion for instance does not teach that war is always illicit; it rather teaches that certain essential freedoms and rights are altogether worth fighting for. Communists have reason and history against them when they maintain that religion is an opium, a spiritual lethargy. Just the opposite is the truth; the religious motive gives the greatest energy and most continuous vitality to carry on; it does this for men individually and for men as a group, that is for the state.

Communism is a good example of men trying to erect a grand building without a foundation. God must be the foundation of everything in this world, since He made it and it belongs to Him, and any system or plan that leaves Him out or puts in a substitute is unstable and bound to fall.

INDO-BRITISH TRADE

(By JOHN KINGSLEY)

The record monetary level of £145,500,000 (Rs. 193.66 crores) reached by Britain's exports in July has naturally drawn attention to the geographical directions which United Kingdom exports are now taking. India and the other countries which have given big orders for a wide variety of manufactures and goods from Britain are rightly concerned about the speed and tempo with which they are being executed.

Figures, as we know so well, can always prove something. But to take a typical exception, Britain's current exports, they do not prove everything. The monthly totals and geographical divisions certainly show how business is "moving", and taken over a period they do indicate how particular countries are faring.

They do not, however, take account of the most vital factor, the work in hand on orders for specific countries. And as is so clear, many of the goods which India has ordered from Britain may need several months, and even years, from the time ordered to complete. Complicated and large-scale industrial and engineering plans, ships and public utility projects must, by their very nature, take many months to make.

On the other hand, goods which take little time to make or which, like motor cars and commercial vehicles, are pouring steadily from the production lines, may, for currency and general Commonwealth economic reasons, have to be shared out very carefully amongst dozens of clamorous customers. All these facts must, therefore, be taken into account when judging Britain's export effort as it concerns individual countries. Unfortunately, it is impossible to ascertain the overall figures of Indian orders now in hand in Britain's factories and works. It is, however, certain that the total runs into many million pounds and covers a wide variety of essential goods.

The monthly figures of trade for the first six months of this year show that Britain's exports to India were valued at £ 38,750,000 (Rs. 51.57 crores) and imports £ 49,750,000 (Rs. 66.21 crores). There are no strictly comparative figures for the first half of 1947 because only the totals for pre-partition India are available. However, there is no doubt that mutual trade is expanding. For instance, Britain's imports from Pakistan for the first half of this year were of almost £ 5,000,000 (Rs. 6.66 crores) and exports £5,750,000 (Rs. 7.65 crores). That gives the total for British exports to India and Pakistan of £44,500,000 (Rs. 59.22 crores) against imports from those two Dominions amounting to £54,750,000 (Rs. 72.86 crores). In the first six months of 1947 Britain's exports to pre-partition India were £42,000,000 (Rs. 55.90 crores) and imports £37,000,000 (Rs 49.25 crores).

The trend of exports to India is, moreover, very clearly expansive. After a special effort in January, when more than £8,000,000 (Rs. 10,65 crores) worth of goods were despatched from Britain, the approximate monthly totals have been: February, £400,000 (Rs. 7.19 crores); March, £5,300,000 (Rs. 7.06 crores); April, £6,300,000 (Rs. 8.39 crores); May, £6,100,000 (Rs. 8.12 crores) and June, £7,400,000 (Rs. 9.85 crores). The Indian total of £38,750,000 (Rs. 51.57 crores) for the half-year was equal to just over five per cent of the aggregate £743,000,000 (Rs, 988.91 crores).

Of even more importance to India is the breakdown of the six months' exports. Throughout the period Britain worked hard to keep up a high and consistent level of exports of the most essential goods. Taking the four most vital groups—engineering and capital goods; textiles; chemicals, drugs, dyes and colours; motor-cars and vehicles, locomotives, aircraft and ships—we find that the first accounted for nearly two-thirds of the aggregate exports.

The actual total for iron and steel and manufactures thereof, non-ferrous metals and manufactures, implements instruments etc., electrical goods and apparatus and machinery was, in fact £23,500,000 (Rs. 31.28 crores). Various textile yarns and manufactures accounted for a further £3,900,000, (Rs. 5.19 crores), while chemicals and so on added up to £2,900,000 (Rs. 3.86 crores) and the vehicles group to £4,700,000 (Rs. 6 25 crores). Judged by the June figures, exports of each of these groups is expanding steadily.

At this point we must go back a little to stress another angle of Britain's exports problem. Engineering and capital goods provide the greatest production and export headache.

The whold worle is crying out for machinery and plant made in Britain and so there must be some reasonable sharing out of the limited quantities available. Otherwise, two things would happen and both would hit India as well as Britain. Firstly, reduction of such exports to many countries below a certain minimum would endanger the supplies of raw materials without which goods for India could not be made. Secondly, Britain must export an increasing amount of goods to hard and scarce currency countries in order not to overstrain the sterling area gold and dollar pool on which India is alse dependent.

Despite these factors, the export essentials should continue to increase. Their production is expanding steadily. Taking textiles, for instance, Lancashire mills have recently been breaking all post-war output records and over the coming months there is good prospect of expanding exports to all the countries. The production of fertilisers and key chemicals is also rising satisfactorily. Finally, motor-car makers are consistently breaking all export records.

To sum up, Britain is only too clearly aware of India's needs and is only too anxious to meet them. The tide of Britain's production is rising and eventually—fairly soon in some cases—it should begin to catch up with accumulated orders.

KASHMIR THROUGH AMERICAN EYES

In an editorial on the Kashmir and Hyderabad situation under the title "Tension in India" the New York *Times* said:

"The world must view anxiously the dispute between the Indian Union and the princely state of Hyderabad and between the Union and Pakistan over the former princely state of Kashmir which threatens momentarily to flame into open war. Of the two disputes, that between the two dominions over Kashmir seems to offer the better hope of a peaceful solution. It already is before the United Nations which has a Committee of Good Offices in India. There still seems to be room for compromise by both New Delhi and Karachi. The Indian Union has said it won't hold Kashmir to accession if its four million people prefer to join Pakistan, which the bulk of them probably do, being Moslems. Pakistan in turn, should not try to force accession without a plebiscite which it approantly has attempted to do."

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"I will be as harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard".

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the LIBERATOR.

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NOTES

The New Governor-General of Pakistan:—On the death of Mr. Jinnah, the Pakistan Cabinet considered and chose Khwaja Nazimuddin for the Governor-Generalship. Mr. Nazimuddin now Premier of East Bengal has unfortunate associations with the 1943 Bengal famine when he was Premier of undivided Bengal. He has the reputation of being an honest politician with not too complex a mind. His choice is due, however, more to the fact that he is the head of East Bengal's 44 millions, the vast majority in Pakistan's 68 millions, and that it was time East Bengal was appeased. Mr. Jinnah held his State together by sheer domination over others. He was so far in advance of the rest that no one dared to offer a sustained challenge to him. The new Governor-General will find a very different situation. No one assumes that Mr. Nazimuddin will overwhelm his colleagues through superior intellect, towering personality or moral stature. The East Bengal majority in the Constituent Assembly has been to some extent nullified by the League's action in filling the seats with people of other provinces but it has not been completely destroyed. Mr. Jinnah left the Constituent Assembly unsummoned for months together. Whether Mr. Nazimuddin will follow this example remains to be seen. There are two reasons why he may depart from that practice—he may want to secure the support of the Bengal members against the Cabinet or he may realise the need with the passing away of the dynamic Qaid-e-Azam for an early stabilising of the constitutional position. Startling changes and reshuffles might be expected to spring out of the fight for the succession, rendered the more bitter by the fact that there is not, and in the nature of things cannot be, a successor.

Karachi Demonstrates for Hyderabad:—Some months back when a delegation of the Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen flew to Karachi and sought Mr. Jinnah's help, the Qaid-e-Azam refused to grant an interview and hinted that as the head of Pakistan he could not involve himself with parties in another country. Then he passed on to some comment on Hyderabad's right to choose between accession and independence. This was a clear indication that Pakistan officially would keep out of Hyderabad entanglements. Obviously Mr. Jinnah did not propose—any more as head of Pakistan State than the Muslim League chief—to reach out beyond his grasp or to impose too great a strain on the institution for which he acted. The Government of Mr. Liaquat Ali still adheres to the path of discretion despite the attempts of political rivals to stir up public feeling, and Mr. Liaquat Ali carries the League party with him. Since the march of Indian forces into Hyderabad, there have been demonstrations and Chowdhuri Khaliquzzaman has pressed for a declaration of Pakistan's policy towards Hyderabad. But so far there has been nothing more than the kind of sympathy extended to Palestine. If the influence of the genial Liaquat prevails, there is likelihood of peace between India and Pakistan. Unlike the bulk of League leaders, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan is a parliamentarian, born and bred.

Berlin Crisis:—President Truman has declared that the Americans propose to resist firmly Soviet pressure in Berlin. He made it clear they would not negotiate under pressure but added that they were negotiating. The spectacle of the victors quarreling amongst themselves will hardly be a very edifying one for the Berliners who are a highly sophisticated people. Demonstrations for and against Russia are growing in Berlin itself and there has been firing by the Soviet police and military. A further meeting of the Foreign Ministers is expected shortly. Whatever the rights of the situation, it is difficult to see what the Western Powers can do in a Berlin which is completely surrounded by Soviet territory. Geographically it is very similar to Hyderabad. The creation of an island of mixed jurisdiction did not matter so long as the Four Powers were agreeable to settle their differences peacably but in the present strained relations it is a running sore

Hyderabad Before the UN:—The Security Council of the United Nations, at the request of its present Chairman, Sir Alexander Cadogan, met on Thursday to consider the appeal addressed to it by Hyderabad. A day earlier, Mr. Ernest Bevin in the House of Commons expressed his anxiety to avoid prejudging the issue but said that he regretted as everyone else did the warlike mood of the new Dominion. With this indication of Britain's attitude, the Security Council met and proceeded to hear representatives of Hyderabad and India. The Chinese delegate asked for more time in order to get his instructions from his Government and several delegates agreed that they were in the same predicament but the urgency of the Hyderabad situation moved the majority to vote for immediate consideration of the question. Fortunately, the Indian Union was represented by Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar, a man who has established a name for himself in the United Nations organization. Hyderabad was mainly represented by Nawab Moin Nawaz Jung Bahadur. The Soviet delegate correctly asked for an explanation of the background from Sir Alexander Cadogan. The Hyderabad charge against India was of premeditated aggression and refusal to admit arbitration, after having agreed to it under the Standstill Agreement. The Union reply rested on the point that Hyderabad had not the status necessary to move the UN. Sir Ramaswami referred to the arms and munitions accumulated by Hyderabad and there was in his pointed reference to Sir Alexander more than a hint that Britain had supplied them. After the preliminaries, the meeting was adjourned to Monday.

Nizam's Submission:—As we go to press, news comes of the submission of the Nizam to the Union Government. The surrender was preceded by an appeal broadcast by Mr. Laik Ali to Pandit Nehru —as one Premier to another; by an ultimatum delivered by the Officer Commanding the Union forces to Hyderabad's Commander-in-Chief; and the closing in of the army units converging on Secunderabad. Internal disturbances between the Hyderabad State forces and the Razakars were rumoured and there was a talk that Mr. Kasim Razvi had fled to Pakistan. At 5. 30 or a little later on Friday morning the news came through that the Nizam had ordered a cease-fire, that Mir Laik Ali's Ministry had resigned, and that His Exalted Highness was in constant touch with Mr. K. M. Munshi, India's Agent-General in Hyderabad. Later reports indicated that the Nizam proposed to consult three persons on the constitutional problems of Hyderabad—Sir Mirza Ismail, Nawab Zain Yar Jungh who was Hyderabad's Agent-General at New Delhi during the last negotiations, and Mr. Aravamudu Ayengar, whose reputation as a publicist is very high in Hyderabad. The selection is well made, and it is some measure of assurance that the Nizam proposes to give up his autocracy and accept the role of a constitutional monarch. It is to be seen how far the Union Government are prepared to acquiesce in this course of action. Possibly they have other plans. The Nizam has also indicated his desire to satisfy the Union Government by withdrawing the reference to the Security Council. All this is very satisfying. The feeble resistance offered by the Hyderabad forces and irregulars and their obvious lack of arms and ammunition suggest that the impression formed by the Union Government of the Nizam's piling up armaments was somewhat exaggerated.

Count Bernadotte:—The assassination of Count Bernadotte who has been engaged in peace work in Palestine, is a dastardly outrage. Count Bernadotte had applied himself to the work of reconciling Arabs and Jews in Palestine with courage and zeal. He was warned not to enter the Jewish area a couple of days ago but he ignored the threat. He joins the short but glorious list of those who have given their life to a cause, and the still smaller number of those for whom that cause was Peace.

GERMAN PEACE MOVEMENT

(From Worldover Press European Bureau)

Crushed by Hitler and decimated by the war, the German peace movement is painfully returning to work. By the end of 1945 the old German Peace Society was permitted to resume activities in the British Zone, but it was not allowed to publish a paper and has not yet been able to do so. Despite this handicap, along with a paper shortage even for publicity, more than 400 delegates and guests took part in a conference at Bielefeld in November, 1946, and many attended an annual meeting at Frankfurt in July 1947. The Society now maintains four groups in the British Zone and an equal number in the U. S. Zone.

In a statement issued simultaneously in both Zones, the Society emphasized a six-point programme: 1. Total annihilation of Prussian militarism with all its deep roots and manifestations; 2. elimination of militarist and Nazi literature and ideology wherever they may appear; 3. prevention of the glorification of war in whatever form it may emerge, and the adoption of law by which violations of this principle are punishable; 4. rigorous extermination of the superman idea and the racist ideology which led to minority persecution; 5. education of the people, youth in particular, toward understanding of, and close cooperation with, other nations; 6. rejection of totalitarian methods, since in a democratic state alone may personal and spiritual freedom be guaranteed by law.

There are significant links with international peace organizations in various parts of the country. Frequent spontaneous attempts are made to organize local peace bodies. Frankfurt has a small but growing youth movement, said to be the only one in the country that has no connection with either the churches or the political parties; both boys and girls are members. A number of Bavarian women have organized what they call the "Stellafem," or Women's Star, "to help each other and establish friendly contact with women abroad."

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HYDERABAD

The last demand of the Nizam in his negotiations with India was for a reference to arbitration. The last demand of the Union Government was for the stationing of troops in Secunderabad and the disbanding of the Razakars. It is a curious commentary on the gulf that divides the authorities in Hyderabad and the Union that both till yesterday pursued these demands to the last point. The Union, on receiving a final rejection from the Nizam to its request, marched its forces into Hyderabad in what has unfortunately been termed "police action". Hyderabad placed its complaint before the UN Security Council. And in both cases, the first phase was carried through with comparative ease. The Indian forces, when their task of clearing up the Razakar-infested State is ended, will have presented tbe Union with the greater work of administering Hyderabad. On the other hand, had Hyderabad won at the Security Council, it would have had a very difficult piece of work in giving effect to the sovereignty which would have been recognized. There is nothing to ensure the respecting of an opinion by the Indian Government which would be a source of great disappointment to the Union. The march into Hyderabad was preceded by comments in the outside press forecasting internal trouble and communal bloodbaths. But the predictions have been proved false. Throughout the country there has been a cheering rally round the Union Government and the general feeling is one of relief that action has at last been taken. The general expectation was of an early decision, to be reached in days rather than weeks. In fact, it was confidently expected that before the Security Council resumes its session on Monday, Hyderabad will be merged in the Indian Union. The feeble resistance offered all along has come as a pleasant surprise. The public had been led to expect a much stiffer resistance.

The arbitration clause in the Standstill Agreement which has about seven weeks to run out, is a weak spot in the Union's armour. Acceptance of it in the first instance has carried the implication that Hyderabad's independent status is recognised. Events have shown that, whilst the Union Government in one instance at least—the withdrawal of Union troops from Secunderabad—had implemented their part of the Agreement, the Nizam has acted on the assumption that the arbitration clause alone is accepted by him. This impression strongly felt by the Union Government has been largely responsible for the rejection of the arbitration demand. The fact is that there was no middle way between the Union's insistence on accession and the Nizam's persistence in independence. If the Union Government had seen this at the outset—as the people of the Union did see it—there would have been no room for the present complications. It was their refusal to face realities which had encouraged the Nizam to a policy of exploring loopholes and exploiting the situation. The Security Council can hardly be expected to appreciate this nicety but it was faced with a crisis in which it can do nothing effective. India had experience enough of the weakness of the Security Council not to be frightened by it. And the Security Council too was not likely to provoke a disobedience by going against India.

Speaking in Bombay before a mammoth gathering, Pandit Jawaharlal in a discursive utterance dwelt at length on the fidelity with which the Congress Government of India held to Gandhiji's message of peace. He referred to the Kashmir and Hyderabad campaigns as though they were evils necessitating a departure from that message. Obviously, this was an answer to foreign observers who have ridiculed the Government of India's departure from the Gandhian code. It is altogether a needless defence. If the countries of which the critics are nationals, practised non-violence, then there would be some justification for this reproach. But seeing the present state of international law and inter-national relations, it does not become any country to demand of India that it should meekly submit to every provocation in order to maintain peace. There are several other points in the dispute with Hyderabad which the Bombay public would have liked to learn but on which Pandit Jawaharlal was silent. These would have emerged out of the debate in the United Nations where the Government of India's policy was scrutinised by critical, and even hostile, eyes. In a statement synchronising with the meeting of the Security Council, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel congratulated the people of India on the exemplary patience with which they had waited for the Government of India's action and for the sense of unity shown after the launching of the campaign. This has undoubtedly been a source of strength to the Union Government.

MOHAMED ALI JINNAH

The death of Mr. Jinnah at Karachi last Sunday came as a surprise to the world, though there had been reports that he was ailing for some time. A dynamic personality has been removed from the political world, a man who knew what he wanted and generally got it. Mr. Jinnah was not the one to brook opposition. Fundamentally his opposition to Gandhiji and all that Gandhiji stood for, was the same as that of, say, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad. But by withdrawing into communalism he was able to create an effective opposition to the Gandhian Congress. Many of his triumphs against the Congress were due to his singleness of purpose. In all the discussions and correspondence between Mr. Jinnah and the Congress leaders, one is struck by the latter's frequent digressions even

into frivolities. Mr Jinnah never digressed. Often the Congress leaders were caught by their irrelevancies into fatal admissions. Mr. Jinnah's earlier nationalism stood him in good stead in later years when several of his old colleagues vaguely expected him to stage a sudden come-back to nationalism. It was only after Pakistan was established that Mr. Jinnah came out with an appeal to the people to be citizens of the State first, second and last, keeping religion as a purely personal matter. It was almost as though Mr. Jinnah found the atmosphere of Indian politics cramping and could only revive his natural secularism when outside it. No one denounced more violently than he did the communalism of the earlier Muslim leaders and the concessions made to it by the Congress. But no one later exploited this weakness of the Congress and the Muslim community more fully than he did. Mr. Jinnah was fond of referring to himself as a "cold-blooded logician." There was one sphere, however, where he showed considerable warmth, among students. First, in the Students' Brotherhood and later in the Muslim Students' Union, Mr. Jinnah's advice and guidance were never lacking to those who sought it. It is here that the more enduring part of his work lay, largely because it was here that he appeared most natural and unaffected. Few other Indian politicians have done as much for the student world as Mr. Jinnah. It is possible that Mr. Jinnah's later success with the Muslim League was also due to his limitation of being able to give his full powers only when his leadership was unquestioningly accepted, and the Leagu'es complete acceptance of subordination.

In his "Recollections and Reflections"—an astonishingly superficial book considering the full and many-sided life of the author and his intellectual qualities — Sir Chimanlal Setalvad throws some light on the personality of Mr. Jinnah. On two occasions, Mr. Jinnah felt he had been slighted and refused to have any further dealings with the other party. Once when Strangman and he were briefed on a case, Strangman is believed to have spoken in a manner which Mr. Jinnah resented. "Ever since," writes Sir Chimanlal, "Mr. Jinnah always refused to go to Strangman's chamber for consultation and they never talked to each other." On the other occasion, Justice Mirza pulled Mr. Jinnah up for contempt of court and Mr. Jinnah "hereafter refused to appear before this judge for some time." Though less sensitive in politics, Mr. Jinnah never forgot what he considered to be an insult or a slight; and he retaliated by raising his demands. In the context of Gandhian politics where little heed was paid by Congress leaders to the feeling of others, it was inevitable that the result should be the growth of two rival camps, devoid of any contact with one another; and from that Pakistan was inevitable. The fact that the Western mind understood, or thought it understood, Mr. Jinnah better than it did the leaders of the Congress, made the success of the former fairly certain in the kind of Dutch auction which ran through all political negotiations between the League and the Congress. Neither the leaders of the post-1920 Congress nor Mr. Jinnah took their stand on any basic principle. But Mr. Jinnah's concern for his personal dignity offered a good substitute and made him more unyielding in the last analysis than the Congress leaders in their dealings with the British. The complete acceptance of Lord Mountbatten which took place in India after partition would have been unthinkable in Mr. Jinnah's Pakistan.

The domination of Mr. Jinnah over the Muslim League was complete, in a sense in which Gandhiji's over the Congress was not. It resulted in an elimination of anything which looked like an effective opposition. The great names of the last two decades in Muslim politics are all to be found outside the League—with the single exception of Sir Mahomed Zafrullah who entered the fold very late and managed to stay out his time. Yet it is significant that Mr. Jinnah insisted at every stage on observing democratic forms and formalities whilst Gandhiji was often drawn into the undemocratic method of fasts to have his point of view accepted. Moreover, none of the leaders of the Muslim League can be called the creation of Mr. Jinnah as nearly most of the Congress leaders are creations of Gandhiji. But none of the League leaders would have dared to oppose Mr. Jinnah in the manner in which Gandhiji was opposed. In the ultimate analysis, neither League nor Congress could stray very far from the orbit of the two leaders but the Congress was permitted several times to make the attempt with the result that the question of succession presented less difficulties in India than in Pakistan. Besides, Gandhiji laboured strenuously to point the succession to Pandit Jawaharlal.

As the head of the new State of Pakistan which he had fought so hard to establish, Mr. Jinnah was called upon to unite the different factions and to resist the demands of religio-communal fanatics. It was not easy going. Intolerant as always of opposition and criticism, the Pakistan Governor-General was ill-fitted to function as a constitutional head of the State and all the precedents he set are precedents of autocratic rule. The Pakistan Constituent Assembly hardly ever met and the fundamental principles of the new constitution still remain undecided. In dealing with immediate problems, however, Mr. Jinnah was prompt and decisive. The desire to introduce important reforms was present. In his first speech to the Constituent Assembly, Mr. Jinnah denounced corruption and black-marketing and roundly condemned provincialism and communalism. But little was done to put through a considered policy, though one or two political opponents and some glaring scandals were dealt with. Thus the foundations of the Pakistan State remain still to be laid by Mr. Jinnah's successors.

THE LANGUAGE PROBLEM AND THE EDUCATIONIST

(By MARGARET AHMADI)

Much ink has flown, during the last few months on the subject of languages and the position of English, so much that the result has been confusion and still more confusion. While political leaders have expressed opinions mainly theoretical and subjective, few have troubled to ask the educationist and the teacher who is directly concerned with the teaching of children how the decisions arrived at can be implemented in schools.

A curious fact comes to the notice of a keen observer, when looking through this mass of opinions and speeches on the subject. There is a strong under-current of a sneaking desire to retain English at some stage. While advocating the use of an Indian language for all speeches and circulars—there are large and very large splashes of English in these speeches which is proof enough to show that the time for an immediate and sweeping change is not ripe. A case in point was the recent confusion that arose in the Assembly because of the babel of tongues.

This is not written by an Anglo-phile. Nor can any thinking person deny that English must now be pulled down from its pedestal and relegated to a position subordinate to Indian languages, but to accomplish this in a spirit of iconcoclasm, in the first flush of hatred and reaction to anything English, as has been done, seems hardly to suit the dignity of a free country. How has this abrupt change affected our educational institutions? Orders were issued in March 1948 that English must cease immediately in Standard I and by progressive stages in Standards II and III in 1949 and 1950, and all instruction was to be in the mother-tongue. (I am told on authoratitive sources that this decision was taken against the considered advice of the Advisory Board of Secondary Education). The English-teaching schools were to be exempt from these orders. The immediate result was a deadlock in several cosmopolitan schools in Bombay which contained a school population of several representative mother-tongues. This deadlock was not only from the point of view of pupils but also of teachers—books—materials and teaching equipment. Migration began from the Anglo-vernacular schools to English-teaching schools for two reasons—one, that the mother tongue, Marathi or Gujerati, did not happen to be the mother tongue of large numbers of children in Bombay-two, that public opinion could not possibly switch on to this sudden change and parents in a large majority still wanted their children to learn English.

To stop this migration orders were issued that no English-teaching school could admit a child whose mother-tongue was an Indian language. A Bengali parent seeking admission to such a school had little choice—he had the option to send his child to a Marathi or Gujerati teaching school and have all his education in one of these languages—or to send the child to a Bengali school if any, and even if it was five miles away from his home, or send the child back to Bengal! Another interesting factor comes to light. How many children are there left whose mother tongue is English—unless you include all the Christian and Indian Christian children? Is it not a strange state of affairs that a school in *India* should be debarred from taking Indian children whose mother-tongue happens to be an Indian language? This will automatically result in the so-called English-teaching schools ceasing to exist after a couple of years. If this is the object and ultimate motive of the orders issued, then it is certainly a short-sighted policy.

Schools in Bombay city cannot cope with the demand. They are overcrowded and it is pitiful to see parents being pushed from pillar to post with the same cry—"There is no room we are full up." It is these fundamentals that require the immediate attention of Government before anything else. More literacy, universal education—but the first essentials must come first, and these are to help and encourage schools that are doing sterling work and the establishment of more and still more schools.

If there is a great shortage of schools, there is a greater shortage of teachers. The profession hardly holds out any bright hopes to attract any one worth the name. Unless all this dribbling nonsense about the sacrosanct and noble nature of the profession—about the teachers working in a philanthropic spirit of social service goes overboard and unless those in high places, born with silver spoons in their mouths, stop expounding this nonsense, there is no hope for the future citizen of India. If this change is to take immediate effect, schools must have sufficient teachers available. Nor have we sufficient text-books in the Indian languages. We are told all these will come by and by; if there is a demand, the supply will come. Is this not rather putting the cart before the horse? The present text-book in an Indian language is hardly a thing of beauty—cheap paper, bad printing and worse illustrations—will commercial enterprise alone (which is always ready to supply a demand) make it a joy forever?

Another vital aspect of this change in schools is the question of languages in the Universities. The language of the schools in Bombay Province has been presumably settled—the controversy of the language of the University still rages. It seems too obviously absurd to point out that the two must come under one comprehensive overall planning. If schools, English-Teaching or otherwise, are to fall in line with the policy laid down by Government they must know *now* what the future and final policy of the Government is to be in all stages of the educational field.

While on the one hand talks of national solidarity are rife, and rightly so for national solidarity is the foundation on which India can

retain her new-found freedom, on the other, encouragement is being given to fissiparous elements such as regional language schools, and regional universities. 'Communalism must be rooted out'—such is the sum and substance of recent circulars issued to schools. But in the new scheme of things - the Marathi-speaking Hindu child is going to be segregated from the Gujerati-speaking Hindu (for a school can choose only one mother tongue as its medium of instruction). Indian children of different communities will now be given less chances of meeting one another and learning together, and this will be carried over to the university where ground is being prepared for the Maharashtrian University and the University of Gujerat etc. There is a very important problem of heterogenous elements of the population of a city or a district. Should Bombay go to Maharashtra or to Gujerat, Marathi or Gujerati will be the recognized mother-tongue and the medium of instruction. What happens to the 50,000 South Indians that inhabit the city? This is only one example.

What is then to be the solution out of this morass of difficulties involving problems that must be faced by the parent, the teacher and the political leader?

Undoubtedly English cannot occupy the same place as it has done so far - but English must have an extremely important place for the next few years during the period of transition, because English is now a world language and will continue to be so for many years to come. What the country possesses already should not be thrown away in the first flush of hatred for anything 'made in England.' Some of our greatest men and women have given their best to India through the medium of English. The history of our own vernaculars shows that English has not affected them as adversely as is commonly imagined. More books in the vernaculars have been produced during the last one hundred and fifty years than ever before. The novels, dramas and essays bear the stamp and finish of English novels and essays. Are we to cut ourselves off completely from the rest of the world in our attempt to revive Indian traditions and culture? Hard lessons have taught the world the impossibility of isolationism and a need for a collective responsibility with the other nations of the world for the maintainance of 'world peace'. Or are we to have the mentality of the "Chinese Emperor who refused to enter into diplomatic relations with England because he could not see how his realm being so perfect, could benefit by contact with strangers"?

Language is one of the strongest bonds of unity for a country like India with so heterogeneous a population. It must be *one* India as a solid whole and one language alone can make it so. In other words, this means the choice of one Indian language as the lingua franca of India. It may be Hindi, it may be any other Indian language but it must be a language that has a literary and cultural value, a language that can lend itself to scientific use. There must be a studied plan for the perfection of such a language—the writing and translation of books by experts in all the fields of knowledge. The problem is not easy and cannot be accomplished in a short time and in this connection the experiment of the Osmania University is a standing example before us.

The transition stage cannot possibly be five years as visualised. It must be at the very minimum fifteen years for the task before the country is colossal. During the transition stage the mother-tongue and English must remain. It will not be possible to produce great works in the vernacular, worthy of study in five years. Those that are there are not enough—many are time-worn and it is not enough, in a fast changing world to live in the hoary past alone. Once the Indian lingua franca has gained a substantial status, and only careful planning and hard work can make it, it must be the medium of instruction for *all* schools all over India—the provincial languages taking a second place. English can then be an optional subject or a subject taken at a much higher stage of education or perhaps only for those who desire to go in for the diplomatic or other services involving international communication or the place of English may then be examined in the light of subsequent world developments.

Most of all there must be a comprehensive over all planning embracing all aspects of education from the primary to the post-graduate stage. The planning must be done by a body of experts in educational and linguistic matters. The planning must give special consideration to cosmopolitan cities like Bombay which will always remain cosmopolitan. The plan must be a fifteen or twenty year plan—liberal in its outlook—remaining permanent in the broad outlines and ultimate ideals to be achieved but elastic enough to provide for modifications of changing times but not so elastic as to be amenable to the fads and fancies of any political party in power.

DUTCH FOREIGN SERVICE

(*From Worldover Press European Bureau*)

To equip youths for foreign official representation the Dutch Training Institute for Foreign Service has been established in the ancient Castle of Nyenrode, between Amsterdam and Utrecht. Amid great beauty in natural surroundings, 125 selected young men are given a two-year course which includes several foreign languages, physical education, cultural knowledge of other countries and Dutch policies. Those who enter are already wellprepared in a general way, but round out their skills and gain perspective useful to them as individuals and to the nation.

Many foreign visitors come regularly to the Castle, and the idea has encouraged other nations to develop their own diplomatic and commercial training programmes. Here in the Castle which Goering took over because of its fine art relics, the students study law, economics, philosophy and technical problems in a world spirit, with special stress on international cooperation.

T. V. A. AND ORGANIZED LABOUR

(By W. A. SHAFFER)

Following the second annual conference to establish a schedule of rates for trades and labour employees—held in the fall of 1936 in accordance with the procedure established by the T.V.A. Employee Relationship Policy—the 14 participating unions and their local union constituents set up a permanent organization known as the Tennessee Valley Trades and Labor Council. In forming the Council, the unions believed that relationships with the T.V.A. had developed to a point where a permanent coordinating body was needed (1) to systematize the informal cooperation among the several organizations; (2) to deal more effectively with problems affecting all trades and labour employees, regardless of craft; and (3) to provide effective group support of the interests of a particular craft.

The Tennessee Valley Trades and Labor Council is a body in which the different organizations can discuss their problems and propose a solution, with the result that matters of mutual concern are brought to the attention of the T.V.A management only after they have received the approval of the majority of the organizations representing the T.V.A.'s trades and labour employees. At the present time, 14 international A. F. of L. unions are affiliated with the Council, with a representative from each organization serving on the executive board of the Council.

Although the Employee Relationship Policy defined certain areas of collective negotiation and laid, the basis for collective bargaining and union management cooperation, it was a unilateral document bearing the recorded approval of the T.V.A. only. During the fall of 1938, the Council therefore requested the T. V. A. to negotiate a written agreement to formalize the relationships and to cover the conclusions negotiated which had been embodied in correspondence, joint committee reports and other statements short of a signed agreement.

Between February, 1939, and August, 1940, five drafts of a proposed agreement were analyzed and discussed by representatives of the T.V.A. and by representatives of the Council, separately and in joint session. Following these negotiations, the agreement—known as the General Agreement between the Authority and the Tennessee Valley Trades and Labor Council—was signed by the international presidents of 15 unions affiliated with the Council and by representatives of the Council and the T.V.A., and was approved by the T.V.A.'s board of directors, to become effective on August 6, 1940.

The General Agreement formally recognizes the Council as representing all employees in the trades and labour classifications. The 14 unions affiliated with the Council and one not so affiliated —the International Association of Bridge, Structural Ornamental Iron Workers—are recognized as representing individual crafts in matters affecting only one craft. The General Agreement supplements the Employee Relationship Policy and subscribes to it in its entirety, except as specifically modified by the terms of the General Agreement.

In addition, it (1) defines and secures the benefits of joint labour-management conferences and action, recognizing that union membership is conducive to the furtherance of the purposes of the General Agreement itself; (2) provides for the effective and rapid handling of jurisdictional questions and employee grievances and other disputes, and for the increased efficiency and uninterrupted work on the T.V.A.'s programme of construction, flood control, navigation, power production, experimental chemical manufacture and national defense; (3) creates joint conference machinery to regulate and determine labour conditions and labour standards, to promote training of employees, to improve efficiency and economy in construction and operation, and to prevent hazards to health, life, and property; (4) provides for the joint determination of prevailing rates of pay in the area during annual wage conferences; (5) provides for the maintenance of an adequate system of apprenticeship in the skilled trades under the administration of a Central Joint Apprenticeship Council under standards approved by the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship; and (6) establishes a machinery for adjustment by an impartial referee of disputes not adjusted satisfactorily by the grievance procedure, to assure uninterrupted work during the course of negotiations and settlement of disputes.

These relationships involve primarily the trades and labour employees of the T.V.A. and constitute a large proportion of the total employment. More than 5,000 T.V.A. employees, however, fall within that category generally referred to as "white-collar" employees. This group includes office workers, administrative personnel, research specialists, technicians and professional employees engaged in a wide range of programme activities. Organizational activities among these employees, who are referred to in T.V.A. as "salary policy employees," have not developed as rapidly as has been the case with trades and labour employees.

Seven organizations of salary policy employees had been recognized by the T.V.A. as representative agents for defined bargaining units by 1943. Supervisors and employees identified intimately with management are excluded from bargaining units.

These seven organizations have formed an over-all organization—the Salary Policy Employee Panel—which was recognized in 1943 by the T.V.A. as authorized to bargain collectively for all salary policy employees on negotiable matters affecting these employees generally. The formation and recognition of the Panel marked a forward step in the development of collective bargaining relations between the T. V. A. and its "white-

collar" employees. The great advantage of the Panel lies in its wide representative value. Matters which affect all salary policy employees could not, of course, be negotiated heretofore with bargaining agents representing only one unit of these employees. The Panel provides a channel for dealing with the problems that affect all these employees This means that since the Panel was created, many more subjects are dealt with on a collective bargaining basis by the T. V. A. and its "white-collar" employees. The plan, which is proving very effective, is somewhat unique in collective bargaining patterns.

After the seventh annual wage conference in the fall of 1941, representatives of the Tennessee Valley Trades and Labor Council indicated a desire to develop cooperative relationships on the level specifically provided for in the concluding statement of the Employee Relationship Policy and in Article XI of the General Agreement. A tentative plan for setting up a joint cooperative committee programme was developed by representatives of the Council and of the T. V. A. and was considered by a joint conference in March, 1942. In June, 1942, a Central Joint Cooperative Committee was established, with its scope stated as follows:

"The Central Joint Cooperative Committee shall promote, guide and coordinate the organization and work of such local joint committees as are mutually agreed upon. It shall review the conclusions reached and actions taken or referred by the the local committees, and take such other cooperative actions deemed desirable by it in keeping with the purposes expressed in Article XI of the General Agreement and not properly provided for by other established machinery."

No description of the development of the T. V. A.'s labour relations programme and the processes used in achieving real employee-management cooperation should convey the impression that there have been no difficulties. There have been troubles—some of them serious. It is fair to say however, that the system and methods of conference-room negotiation, adjustment and decision did stand the tests of speed and precision in building and producing for war as well as peace.

It cannot be stated without qualification that the labour policies and practices developed in the T.V.A. are applicable in all public employment. It is difficult at best to make generalizations in a problem so fraught with legal distinctions and variations.

One generalization does seem justified on the basis of the experience on record: if public managers foster policies and practices designed to frustrate normal employee aspirations and merely to control their activities, they will, without question, promote the negative features and abuses of unionism. On the other hand, if they have the good sense to remember that public employees are human, being no different from employees in private enterprise, and if they have the vision and patience to meet employee aspirations halfway, great benefit can redound to the public service and to the taxpaying public.

This is the second and concluding article of a series especially prepared by a member of the T.V.A. staff for publication in the "International Free Trade Union News."

AS OTHERS SEE US.

ROBERT ROOT, Worldover Press Correspondent, writes from New Delhi:—

The land of the late Mahatma Gandhi is hastening to perfect a modern military machine. The speed with which militarization is being undertaken raises anew the question of how far Gandhi's ideas have permeated into the population.

Almost everyone pays tribute to Gandhi's teachings, including non-violence. But a remarkable aspect of the present trend is the scant open opposition. One exception was the response to a proposal for military training as a requirement for graduation from the University of Bombay; there was considerable hostility to this step, some of the objectors pointing out that the revered Gandhi himself could not have received a diploma if enrolled under such rules.

The government recently announced that it will open a national war academy at Kharakavasla, near Poona. Candidates from 15 to 17 are to be admitted on merit. Pending construction of the institution, an inter-service academy will be started next year at Dehra Dun.

Defence Minister Sardar Baldev Singh has announced plans for raising a Territorial Force, to start with 130,000 men, which would be a second line of defense in addition to the regular army. He said that he proposed the formation in answer to "persistent demand" from the people for youth military preparedness.

Projects are also being put forward for military training in the schools. The United Provinces is inaugurating a plan for compulsory military training of all high school students, both boys and girls. Plans call for extending this to all the secondary schools of this large section. The students are to be organized in platoons, and rifles and other military equipment will be used.

Madras province also has a scheme for school military training. In discussing the plan, teachers brought forward the usual alleged advantages to discipline and courage, and some wished to include girls in the undertaking. There was opposition to the plan, as a whole, but it was not substantial. A concession was made providing that use of rifles might be dropped if there were objections.

Indian forces have been fighting a virtual war in Kashmir, of course, and the threat of combat in Hyderabad is serious. Yet when questioned, few Indians appear ever to have any particular enemy in mind. Pakistan is usually mentioned as a danger, and some express a vague fear of Russia.

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"*I will* be as harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard*".

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the LIBERATOR.

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NOTES

Gandhi Jayanti:—In accordance with the Indian custom of observing the birthdays of great men rather than any other day in their lives, the country is celebrating Gandhiji's birthday on October 2. This is the first birthday observed by the nation after the death of Gandhiji and it is signalised by a drive for fund collection. As we have already observed, the method of celebration by collection does not appeal to us. But it has the advantage of being easily organised and of bringing in everybody into the observance of the occasion. It is strange to find some of our leaders exalting Gandhism into a cult. Mr. Morarji Desai, Bombay's Home Minister, for instance, made frequent references in his recent speeches in the Bombay Assembly to "the Master". We are glad that Mr. Rajagopalachari has issued a timely warning against attempts to deify Gandhiji. The Mahatma's chief insistence was on a sturdy independence and a reliance on oneself in all things. His very satyagraha was based on individualism of the strongest type. To turn this kind of leader into a general guide for men in all contingencies is rather a denial of Gandhiji's whole teachings. In India, we have escaped the plague of one-man leadership which has appeared in Pakistan. This was largely due to Gandhiji's insistence on his colleagues in the party deciding things for themselves. It would be unfortunate if we threw this away after Gandhiji's death.

Social Reform and Legislation:—To Mr. F. B. Dhabhi goes the credit of moving in the Bombay Assembly on Tuesday the two non-official bills concerning social reform. The first seeks to remove official recognition of caste distinction among Hindus, and the second aims at restraining the system of taking or offering dowries in marriages. Progressive opinion will favour both bills, although it is by no means certain that they will both be passed, by the Assembly. Social customs die hard. And legislation by itself achieves little. The Congress Party has passed a large number of legislation removing the main evils of the caste system, and yet one cannot but note that caste consciousness has not disappeared to date. In some provinces the scales have merely been turned against the once favoured caste-the Brahmin, notably so in Madras and now in Bombay. In Madras the anti-Brahmin agitation has reached nauseating intensity, although perhaps inevitably seeing that the Brahmin of the South has been the most class-conscious person in the country. Mr. Dhabhi's bill, if passed, will aid considerably in hastening the end of caste consciousness. For one of the reasons why this consciousness has endured so tenaciously is that with caste have been associated privileges and discriminations. Once official recognition of caste distinction is withdrawn and men can vie for posts and positions solely as Indians there will be no advantage to be gained from belonging to a particular caste. And when this is recognized, the last rites over caste may be said to have been pronounced.

Government and News Agencies:—There is another side which has received little attention in the Indian Press which is only too prone to condemn others for undue influence over news presentation in other countries. The distortions in Pakistan have been well publicised in India. Recently, the United Press of America came in for severe condemnation for revealing an anti-Indian bias, and there have been reports that the U. P. A. in Hyderabad had been closely involved with the reactionary Laik Ali Government. But, it is well to bear in mind that in India itself conditions are far from satisfactory. The A. P. I. was responsible for circulating a report about the Khan of Kalat's accession to India which had to be contradicted; it also circulated a story that a member of the United Nations Commission on Kashmir had toasted Sheikh Abdullah as "the man who saved Kashmir"

which was flatly denied; it was again the A. P. I. which described from Delhi the contents of a Communist pamphlet circulated in Hyderabad. The Press Trust of India is to take over the functioning of the A. P. I. and the papers have been signed. It is to be seen whether this control of India's leading news agency by the Indian press will mean an improvement in impartial presentation or a deterioration into complete subservience to the Government.

Prohibition Exemptions :— The report that the Madras Government is exempting Anglo-Indians from the scope of its total Prohibition policy, will be received with amused surprise. There is something to be said for Prohibition; there is something to be said even against it. But for a policy which makes its tortuous way through exemptions and dispensations, there is nothing that can be urged. If India is to have a common citizenship, then all these communal discriminations should go at once. We can assure the Madras Government that the Anglo-Indian exemption will let liquor in through the back-door. And the exemption is the more difficult to understand as it is not based on any religious sentiment but on pure communalism. Does the fact that no mention is made of them mean that Europeans and Americans are automatically exempted? We have had this kind of "partial Prohibition" tried before and there is no excuse for taking the country once again through the lawlessness of the partial enforcement.

Big Power Tension :—The crisis that had arisen over Berlin continues, unabated. The General Assembly of the United Nations is witnessing a conflict between the Western Democracies and Soviet Russia which threatens at any stage to flare up into open war. The Berlin issue, it is said, will be placed before the United Nations. We do not know how much good that will do. Obviously, the Western Powers failed badly in not securing connections between their zones and Berlin. The consequence is that Russia which has Berlin in its zone completely, is master of the situation and appeals to this or that charter are of little avail to change that position. The Soviet representative at Paris has suggested a one-third cut in the armed forces of the Big Five and a ban on the Atom Bomb. But this proposal has been received with cynical incredulity by the powers to whom it means the most. Mechanical formulae for reducing armaments will not serve to bring peace. Today, the only hope seems to be fear of war and horror of suffering untold destruction. The two sections threaten one another because they do not expect war but it is a dangerous game which might carry them well over the brink.

Reuters' Misrepresentations:—During the negotiations in London for the taking over of Reuters and A.P.I. in India, one of the Indian delegation drew attention to instances when A. P. I. had sent out two different stories of the same event and at the same time, one to India and the other to Pakistan. To Pakistan it had issued news that a particular town had fallen; while to India it had sent out a different story, quite the reverse. The story as issued to Pakistan had appeared in the "Civil and Military Gazette" of Lahore. The defence of the office in India was that it would be impossible to work in Pakistan unless they submitted to this kind of censorship. Expression was also given to the dissatisfaction regarding the way Reuters reported the proceedings of the United Nations. While the speeches of the Pakistan representative were treated extenso, the Indian delegate's speech was dismissed in a few hundred words. The New York representative of Reuters seemed to have said that he could send out only a certain number of words a day and therefore that was all the wordage he could devote to Gopalaswami Iyengar's speech. There had been faulty coverage of Gopalaswami Iyengar's speech. The Indian delegation had been greatly at fault in ignoring press arrangements. Immediately a P. R. O. was appointed to the delegation Reuters and all the press received cooperation from the delegation. A further protest was registered against the habit of Reuters of sending despatches of special correspondents in India, back to India. These contained more misstatements than anything else. Special correspondents had their own prejudices and bias. All these grievances have arisen since the British Press took over control of Reuters and it should serve as a rude awakening to those who sincerely believe that the change will bring about better reporting and a finer news sense.

Palestine—Arab Dissensions : — Although there had been reports circulated that the Arab rulers had been induced by the King of Egypt to accept the final verdict of the Palestine Arabs on the future of that country, the report that the Mufti's associates are bidding for control has created further division. The Transjordan, ruler, Abdulla, it is revealed, has plans for annexing the territories held by the Arab forces where his Arab Legion dominates already. In these differences lie the opportunity of the Jews whose State of Israel has had a flimsy existence so far in spite of support from the Big Powers. If the Arabs cannot stay united in the face of this threat to their existence, then they might as well recognise the Jewish State and have done with it. It is a symptom of Arab unrealities that the Syrian leaders are pursuing the shadow of Indian "aggression" on Hyderabad and forgetting the threat to Palestine Arabs.

CZECH ECONOMY

Production in key industries is lagging in comparison to the period before the Communist coup, partly because there is indifference among the workers and partly because essential raw materials promised by Soviet Russia have not been adequately forthcoming. The food situation is not critical, but is far from satisfactory, reductions having recently been made in important staple articles. Public protests against any further lowering of the meat ration forced the regime to continue purchases abroad at a cost in currency the budget cannot long afford.

THE INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER
BOMBAY, October 2, 1948

AFTER THE U. N.

The close of the Hyderabad capitulation saw the Nizam virtually withdrawing all his delegations abroad and directing his representative at Paris to withdraw Hyderabad's case from the U. N. Nawab Moin Nawaz Jung, however, stood on technicalities and refused to accept instructions which had not come to him direct or sufficiently straight to suggest a Nizam who was free and unfettered. And the Nawab was assisted by other nationals, like the Argentine, Colombian and Syrian delegates at the U. N. The insistence on directions that he could vouch for, would have been all right but for the financial transactions indulged in by Nawab Moin Nawaz Jung, notably the transfer of large funds from the Hyderabad account to the Pakistani High Commissioner in London. This does not show as much fidelity to the Nizam's interests as the Nawab's insistence at U. N. suggests. In the discussion at the Security Council itself, there was a concerted attack on India launched by Argentina, Colombia and Syria. Assumptions that India had coerced the Nizam were general to all the members and Sir Mahomed Zafrullah, Pakistan's chief delegate, set the ball rolling by referring to the censorship imposed by India over Hyderabad. Though this charge was denied, the Union Government could not catch up with a lie which had twenty-four hours' start. From demanding the despatch of observers to Hyderabad to report on conditions to asking for the Nizam's personal appearance at the U. N., the Argentine delegate threw out numerous suggestions. It was, however, generally realized that the Security Council had very little ground to work on in the light of the Nizam's withdrawal and the Council was adjourned to Saturday to consider the authority of Nawab Moin Nawaz Jung to speak for Hyderabad. Subsequent lobby talks have disclosed that the Argentine-Colombian-Syrian bloc would request the Security Council to demand a new delegation from the Nizam, which would be tantamount to withdrawal. The Chinese delegation has hinted that Canada and China will ask for Hyderabad to be removed from the agenda. In any case, it may be taken that the U. N. skirmish will be over by the week. The latest report that the Hyderabad item will be allowed more or less to lapse by default, is far from satisfactory from the Indian point of view. Once an issue has been raised, there must be a positive decision one way or the other. However, we have in Sir Ramaswamy Mudaliar a leader who is steeped in the technicalities of the United Nations. He will hardly insist on an acquittal. It is said that India's case was presented in so convincing a manner that the Security Council saw the justice of it. Admittedly only a meagre report was flashed to India. Still, it should have carried at least some indication of the strength of the presentation. To Indians, it seemed weak and halting. Evidently, the Hyderabad item had not roused much enthusiasm.

Inside Hyderabad, the revelations that are coming to light, are surprising. Political adventurers from all over seem to have exploited the Laik Ali Ministry's need for foreign friends. The State Treasury would appear to have been depleted by these depredations and the full extent of the loss is not yet known. It has been suggested in the local press that the Nizam's personal responsibility for the growth of the Razakars and the chaos in the State should be investigated. This is an unnecessary process which might well be given up. The Nizam was absolute ruler until the Union forces marched in. All authority in the State derived from him. Therefore, the responsibility is entirely his for all that has taken place. It is ridiculous to maintain that the Razakars rose to strength suddenly on August 15, 1947 after the British left. The Nizam could certainly have gauged the menace of the Ittehad's communal fanaticism. With Paramountcy still present, he could have obtained assistance from the then Government of India to clear the State of this pest Instead, he chose to submit to the Razakars and to shape his government according to their wishes. For all this, the responsibility is the Nizam's and no one else's, and it calls for no elaborate inquiry or investigation. The reconstruction of Hyderabad's civic life demands much more constructive work than these preoccupations with the Nizam suggest. The Government of India have wisely set themselves to a thorough overhaul and they have left the Nizam alone for the present. The public need not concern themselves with what after all is a constitutional technicality.

There is no doubt that the best solution fo. Hyderabad would be a complete merging into the Union. The attempt to start a linguistic redistribution between Maharashtra, Andhra and Kanara might be actuated by a desire to break up the historic Hyderabad but it is, to say the least, premature. We have not the provinces in the first place which are supposed to claim these territories as theirs, and linguistic provinces will be yet long in coming. If Hyderabad can be retained as a unit, and administered as a province by itself, then the country and Hyderabad will benefit by it. If, however, the ruler is to be retained, then the present Nizam is preferable to those who are today visible as likely successors. Any tradition that attaches to the office, is connected to the present incumbant and it will have to be built up round anyone who replaces him. A monarchy limited to the lifetime of the Nizam would admirably suit the transition which is inevitable. Such a course of action would have no stigma attached to it as vindictive since it concedes prestige and position to the Nizam himself and, at the same time, it keeps before the people the ideal solution which must come in all States for complete integration. But the Government of India are more inclined to pursue the path of expediency than to proceed along any fixed principle

THE CURRENT ECONOMIC DISTRESS—I

(By S. K. SARMA)

(Author of "Indian Monetary Problems," "A note on the rise of prices in India," "The Exchange Crisis," "Towards Swaraj," "Papers on currency and the Reserve Bank for India", etc.)

On August 15th, 1947 when Great Britain withdrew her sovereign power over India, she left behind two legacies of incalculable peril, the communal tangle and the economic muddle. I do not know which is worse, for both of them are not capable of easy appraisement. The former is attempted to be solved by those who in their own way contributed for the creation of the situation; but the latter is singularly left adrift though threats are held forth that it will be tackled in no distant future, in the jargon of the descriptive reporter, at Cabinet high-level. For the present, we are told, the communal trouble throughout upper India, which has led to immeasurable suffering and loss to human life and property and the wholesale migration of population from one part of the country to another, with all its attendant woes, has preoccupied the minds of Cabinet Ministers in finding suitable means of retrieving human misery; and, when the tension is relieved a bit, they will turn to the still wider and not less acute economic distress that is afflicting the entire population, silently but all the same effectively, and replace the piecemeal attempts now made by departmental heads.

A community is seldom run on the principles of the joint family system. It has always required the sanction of some superior power to enforce such a system and the steadiness of such a communal organisation is only measured by the extent to which individual freedom is voluntarily surrendered to that power. It is open to the State to declare that a child shall earn the cost of its education; that a man or a woman can be clothed only by the yarn that he or she spins; that every citizen shall be fed only by the quantity and quality that is measured out to each; and shall be housed only in a building of an approved pattern. And so on. The success of these commandments can never for long depend upon the enforced allegiance of the subjects; but only upon the extent to which they are prepared to surrender their love of freedom. Where there is no such willing surrender, the efforts of the state must fail in the long run, however severe the sanction, and however stringent the methods of policing its enforcement. If ever any man may be presumed to know about these imperfections of human nature it was Mr. J. R. D. Tata of the Tata Iron and Steel Works, which employ the largest number of skilled and unskilled labour. The other day he railed at labour on its "go slow" policy though it was conscious of the loss it was likely to sustain in the bonus for distribution. We are hearing every day from all and sundry the severest condemnation of black-marketers and homilies to the people to expose them. We are also hearing every day of increasing corruption in the services, especially in those employed in procuring and distributing controlled articles of food and clothing. Has anybody enquired, Why? How is it that these things are happening under our very noses and we are helpless? Have we understood human nature?

When Mr. J. R. D. Tata launched his public protest against the attitude of labour, he only voiced the feeling uppermost in the minds of most employers of labour. A similar cry has been heard from everywhere—from the departments of Railway administration, especially from their workshops, from the managers of textile and other mills, from owners of factories, in fact from all large employers of labour. In some cases they have even worked out the loss due to this "go slow" policy. But has any employer, till now, endeavoured to estimate the degeneration in the stamina of the labourer who has been during the last five years continuously kept on short commons? That the controlled distribution of food, insufficient in quantity and inferior in quality, has had an adverse effect upon the physical equipment of all kinds of labour and has led to a steady deterioration in its enduring power, is an experience common to all but those who have not had the advantage of relying upon the conveniences of the rationing depot. What is the caloric value of the food now consumed by Labour and what percentage of fall does it show in the barometer of human endurance and capacity to work as it stood five years ago? Is there no connection between the food that is available for the sustenance of Labour and the work that is turned out by it? There are no doubt certain facilities afforded to Labour in large industries and by considerate employers for procuring the food it needs; but have they afforded the relief generally anticipated and necessarily desired? I have looked with anxious care for a statement from some responsible employer of Labour as to the comparative effect of, what I have no hesitation in calling, the famine conditions obtaining among the working class as such and their natural ineptitude to work, on the resultant production. Especially in those concerns where a generous system of profit-sharing is in vogue, if Labour is incapable of putting forth its utmost exertion, the fault cannot be laid at its proverbial ineptitude, but on the more natural conditions that impair its efficiency. The incentive to improve its standard of living is there; only it may be lacking in the vitality to take full advantage of it. Man is not a mere machine to deliver a constant quantity of goods at stated hours; even machines need repair. But when the more delicate human mechanism gets out of gear, it cannot be set right as per schedule; it must take time to come back to the mark if it would recover its wonted usefulness at all. I wish that Mr. Tata and his fellow employers fully realised the importance of keeping the human machine in as efficient a condition as possible. I wish they would assure the world by the collection and publi-

cation of relevent data that they are fully alive to this importance before they realised at its growing weaknesses. All the safeguards in the Factory Acts enacted for the protection of labour must only take a secondary place compared with securing an adequate supply of food of the caloric value found vital for existence—the minimum of 2400 calories, not a third of it as now supplied in some places on an 8 oz. ration basis!

The "go slow" policy attributed to labour as a deliberate attempt to undermine production is not the only economic heresy advanced in explanation of the current economic distress. Another and a more serious and growing menace to society is alleged to be the unsocial activity of the dealer of controlled goods in black-markets. That the dealer feeds on the misfortunes of the needy is an undoubted fact; but he is essentially a war-product, the product of war-time controls and of the failure of rationing. His activities which originally spread over a large number of controlled goods, now persist more virulently in those articles of food and clothing which are essential for human life and where private trading has been eliminated. The fundamental fact about economics is the law of demand and supply and when the pressure of demand is high the sources of supply will try to reach it in some common meeting-ground, unless they are completely cut off. If this truth is realised, those who are mainly responsible for the mal-distribution or inadequate distribution of available commodities can have no cause to complain against the dealer in black-markets who performs the more effective function of correcting the mistake. Official wisdom has so far failed to evolve a satisfactory, I do not care for a scientific, method of controlling production or even the distribution of controlled goods; and experiment after experiment has been made at the expense and cost of the consumer to meet in a reasonable measure his demands. Their failure is a tremendous outstanding fact. Bales of cotton fabrics may be secreted in godowns underground and tons of corn in undisclosed granaries awaiting a better price. And the man in the street may be famishing from want. It is then that the dealer in the black-market steps in. He ferrets the goods out from their places of concealment to satisfy the compelling demands of the needy. The thing is, of course, done at a price. But can the Government plead not guilty to the charge of having fixed prices without the least concern to the travails of the consumer? Is a twenty-five per cent difference between ex-godown price and the retail price of cotton fabrics best calculated to promote the interest of the consumer? Is a fifty per cent difference between the price paid to the paddy producer and the cost charged to the consumer a token of official philantropy or even its business capacity? And if even after paying such a margin of profit the consumer is only half-fed and ill-clothed and finds himself unable to have his bare physical needs satisfied, the black-market is the only door open to him for succour. When he finds himself provided with only a morning meal and himself and his children starving for the night, it is not part of social duty or even a principle of morality that he should report the dealer in the black-market who is prepared to feed him for the night though at the price he demands. But for his timely services the country would have been exposed to food riots and cloth riots to an extent before which political riots are only child's play. The black-marketer may be under present conditions a social evil; undoubtedly he is; but all the same he is an economic necessity. He is the best peace squad the country has known.

I wonder if it is possible to estimate the cost of the financial loss sustained by the consumer by trading in the black market which none would seek to justify. Judging from the expansion of the market and the confidential nature of the transactions the price must indeed be a heavy one. The difference between the controlled price and the black market price of the essentials of food and clothing is generally known to be one hundred per cent and, even if it is a little more or less, the dealings in the black-market must represent a colossal figure. The Bengal Famine Commission estimated the profit made by speculators and black-marketers at 150 crores while 2 million men actually died of starvation. At that rate the annual bill for the whole of India may reach the stupendous figure of 500 crores. I regard this as the cost to the country of official trading; but I am more concerned here to point out that the index figure as published by the Government showing the price level is a hopelessly misleading one as not reflecting the true state of things. I imagine in working out the index figures, only the controlled price of commodities is taken: but when I actually know that for every essential article I am paying four times what I paid in pre-war days and in some cases six or seven times, I cannot help holding the official index figures as entirely out of touch with the realities of the case. The cost of living index figures must be a little over 400 instead of oscillating in the neighbourhood of 280, which is bad enough. That this burden is borne by the people does not show that they are capable of bearing it; but that even under such a pressure it is possible for them to survive by avoiding non-essentials or stinting on essentials. While the dealer in the black-market has stepped in to delay actual physical starvation, he, in his turn, has been forced by various official controls to invest on properties which have since acquired a bloated value. If the Economic Department of the Government would take a census of the transfer of immoveable properties and securities during recent years which continue in the free market it might indicate the extent of the profiteer's money that has been made in the black-market, though approximately, as well as the direction of the change-over of properties from class to class. An economic survey of such a kind would further indicate to what extent

the distress is being liquidated by those who had saved and invested in transferable properties. As for the still larger mass who have no savings to their credit and no store of earning capacity proportionate to the increase in their cost of living, the sufferings could only be understood in terms of their enduring capacity—the hereditary capacity to endure hardships, and privations. The situation is well-stated by the reply of an astrologer to his fortunes that he would be poor till he was forty—and after that he would be inured to his state. Yes, that is the lot of the average Indian citizen, the lot of silent suffering, inured to life-long poverty.

CHANGING VALUES IN RELIGION AND LIFE

(By CURTIS W. REESE)

A half century is not a long period in terms of the span of time on this planet. Yet in the cumulative ratio of change, the last half century represents rapidity and radicality of change far beyond that of any previous similar period. Opinions long in the making have come to fruition, ideals but dimly held from ancient times have burst into bloom, and values only intermittently sensed by choice souls through the ages have come to dominate the conscience of enlightened people throughout the world. So rapid and far-reaching are these changes in opinions, ideals, and values that we can hardly grasp their significance. So varied and multiple are they that we can scarcely comprehend them.

It will be useful, therefore, for us to summarize at least a few of the changes in religious opinions, societal ideals, and motivating values that appear to have come rather fully into the consciousness of our time.

First, let us note that, in the field of societal ideals, functions, and responsibilities we have undergone remarkable changes, particularly in our understanding of the nature and use of government. Many of us can remember when the dominant idea was that the proper functions of government should be limited to the areas of defence, of maintaining order, of establishing rules, and of adjudicating disputes between citizens. It was commonly said that the least government is the best government. The positive promotion of the public welfare was unduly limited.

But within the last half century we have become accustomed to public regulations and controls in wide areas of our social and economic life. And still more important, we now think of government as a positive instrument in the hands of the people by means of which great cooperative endeavours can be carried out. The Tennessee Valley Authority, rural electrification, public housing, and the guaranty of bank deposits are striking and significant examples of the changed attitude toward the functions of government.

The shift in opinion from the idea of government as a policeman, or at best as an umpire, to the ideal of government as a means of cooperation in the carrying out of common purposes for the commonweal is a shift of tremendous importance. I do not believe that in America the idea of the State as an end can ever take precedence over the idea of the State as a means. It yet remains to be seen how effectively we can use government as the instrument par excellence of serving the best interests of all the people and of guaranteeing the well-being of all the people. But today we are at least making explicit that which was implicit in the language of our founding fathers when they said that this government was ordained and established "to promote the common welfare."

Let us note also that the last half century has witnessed revolutionary changes in our conception of the very nature of values, motivations, and goals.

We have moved from an individual-centred salvation to a social conception of the very nature of souls. The teaching that no man liveth unto himself alone has taken on new meaning. We are what we are because of what others are and have been. We all go up or down together. We have come to see that there can be no widespread individual regeneration without the regeneration of the social structure.

We have moved forward in our understanding of what constitutes a good man. We have come to see that nebulous piety is not enough, that a sense of awe in the presence of mystery is not enough, and that good intention is not enough. A good man is one who inquires diligently into the meaning of facts, who is concrete in his devotion to worthy causes, and who translates purpose into action.

We in our time have witnessed the passing of other wordly goals and the emergence of goals related to the world in which we live. It was easy to lift our gaze above the misery of a real world and fix it upon an unreal world of wish fulfilment. We have found it more fruitful, if more difficult, to commit ourselves to the achievement of values related to our world and to our time.

These changes in opinions, ideals, and values have the effect of placing squarely on the shoulders of man responsibility for determining the kind of world in which man shall live. We can shirk the responsibility and drift into chaos or we can accept the responsibility and make the very atoms serve the spirit of man. The basic knowledge that is at our disposal, the technological instrumentalities that are at hand, and the means that we have of acquiring greater knowledge and more refined instrumentalities are such that no insuperable obstacles stand in the way of the realization of the age-old dream of a good life for good men in a good world. If we will it so, it can be so.

Chiefly, however, let us note changes of opinion in the field of religion. The development and refinement of opinions regarding the nature of religious sources, personalities, and doctrines are such as to frighten those who look to the past and

are encumbered by tradition, but to brighten with hope those who look to the future.

In the matter of religious sources we think first of all of the sacred literature of the world religions. In past ages, before the advent of the critical scientific study of documents, religious literature had a way of getting itself approved as peculiarly authoritative. This authority derived from the supernatural origin of the literature, or from the unique place held by its human author. Usually the human author merely mediated the message. When few people could read and write, and when still fewer could understand what was written, it was comparatively easy for writings to gain credence as the very word of God, or, at least, as the Modernist would say, the norm of religious experience.

So the Vedas and other sacred writings held sway in India; the Zendavesta in Persia; the Tripitaka in Buddhist lands; the Classics in China; the Old Testament in Orthodox Judaism; the whole Bible in Orthodox Christianity; the Book of Mormon and the Pearl of Great Price in Mormonism; Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures in Christian Science.

But in recent times critical students have successfully challenged not only the verbal inspiration of sacred books but also the very idea of authoritative books as *norms* of valid modern religious experience. In Christianity, the smoke of the battle over higher criticism still lingers on the far horizon: but for the most part the fundamentalists have been put to flight. In the various religions critical heretics have blazed away at the scriptures, with varying results; but with the general effect that now the educated leaders of all religions look with an expression of dismay upon their fellow religionists who still appeal to the authority of sacred volumes.

With the passing of the unique origin of the sacred scriptures, their unique nature ceased to have unique authority. In other words, the trend is definitely away from regarding any ancient writing as the norm for modern religious life. The effect of this is not to rob the people of religious life, but to increase the literary material available for religious purposes. All literature, ancient and modern, that is profitable for spiritual purposes, is the sacred literature of modern religion.

It is likewise with the institutions of religion. In spite of the teaching of many great religious leaders to the contrary, their followers have generally regarded organizations, institutions, and places as religious sources. At times it has been a certain line of succession, at times a particular mountain top, at times a temple or a cathedral or a shrine. These and other visible and invisible evidences that peculiar sources of religious life were possessed have resulted in streams of pilgrims to these sacred sources from the most ancient times. It has taken a long time for even a portion of the race to learn that the spirit of religion is not bound, that all worthful organizations and institutions and places are holy. But the present-day trend is definitely in the direction of regarding all inspirational movements and places, all experience of art and skill and wonder as sources of religious inspiration. While this may finally have a sad effect upon the institutions of organized religion, it will, nevertheless, have a wholesome effect upon the life of mankind. The religious institutions that would survive must do so in open competition with all other human institutions. This again gives us not fewer but more sources of religious inspiration.

THE DEATH OF BERNADOTTE

(By DEVERE ALLEN)

Worthy of analysis is the special shock manifested throughout the globe when a Count Bernadotte crumples up before the guns of fanatical terrorists. The public's horrified reaction can hardly be due to a mere revulsion of feeling over the loss of a life; everyone, no matter how little aware of it, has grown a trifle callous in an age that has seen the destruction of human beings, often brutally, by the millions. Nor can it be ascribed to a simple aversion to the taking of life; it is hard to find a tender spot on the tough and crusty planet where young men are not scientifically trained to kill if it is thought essential.

Mankind recoiled in the case of the Swedish mediator much as it did over the murder of Mahatma Gandhi, and largely for the same reason. The Count was a man of peace, courageously carrying out a peace mission. Bernadotte was no superman; he is perhaps revered the more because he was not an intellectual giant and had at times even been charged, unfairly or otherwise, with being a snob. He was great because with all his human limitations he had come to symbolize the slumbering conscience of the race. Most people, in the quiet of their inmost thoughts, honour sincere peacemakers and secretly wish they themselves might somehow fill a more useful and constructive role than they can usually find to play.

In a world more consecrated to force than that of the cave men, in a world which uses force to eliminate force-loving dictators only to find new ones in its path, there is an obvious challenge from a personality seeking bravely to solve a painfully violent crisis. Like Gandhi, Bernadotte held the world's admiration because he sought to carry peaceful methods into the field of international politics, a field at once so delicate and so monstrous.

Terrorism is a problem because apprehension of the guilty can not bring back the dead, and because in order to get at the guilty it is usually necessary to exterminate large numbers of wayside innocents. Evil as it is, does it not bear a startling resemblance to the war system with which it is generally connected? The fanatical killer fancies he is going to get rid of obstacles by eliminating them; the seeker after justice and

order, fighting back, finds it necessary to employ almost every means used by terrorists and glorify them by philosophical justification. Victory turns sour in every generation; the friend of today becomes the enemy of tomorrow. Nobody likes it, everybody wishes it were otherwise, but few can find a point of working contact at which to do anything but follow the fruitless trend. Reluctantly, we use force to get a safer world; only to learn, time after time, that while force remains a method, there can be no safety.

Some surprise was shown because of Bernadotte's cool courage in the face of danger. But why should not a man of peace show bravery? If humanity is ever to be extricated from the frightful vicious circle of force against force, peace martyrs will be necessary. So curiously twisted has our thinking become that we take it for granted that men will be heroic in war, while it appears strange when men of peace face fearful odds and calmly cast their lives into the balance. Peacemakers no less than warmakers must pause at times to bury their dead, then go on into fire.

When H. G. Wells once wrote of peace, he said with understanding: "It is no part of the modern religion to incur needless hardship or go out of the way to seek martyrdom. If we can do our work easily and happily, so it should be done. But the work is not to be shirked because it cannot be done easily and happily. The vision of a world at peace and liberated for an unending growth of knowledge and power is worth every danger of the way."

Bernadotte's real distinction lay in his superb normality. For the job we face, after everything else has been considered, is to make peace the normal, and violence the anti-social freak, in human estimation. The Count did in his task what thousands of less famous folk will have to do in theirs. The liberating work of peace will mean for a few the daring entry into explosive situations in the hope of peaceable settlement. For others it will mean a simple routine risk in the discharge of duty, as in the case of two Quakers last year on mercy missions, who lost their lives in airplane crashes, one in Europe and one in Asia. For some it will mean that devastating loneliness which can come from non-cooperation with an equally sincere mass opinion.

William Ladd, the early American peace worker, declared 100 years ago that his peace efforts could no more be qenched than a volcano might be extinguished by a snowball thrown into its crater. To prove it, he made some of his most electrifying speeches on behalf of a national peace federation—first in the world—when stricken with disease, kneeling on the platform and supporting himself by the back of a chair. If killers are want. on and fanatic, lifesavers also may need a small measure of fanatical devotion. For the average person, the trouble is it seems so definitely in vain.

An element of truth, however, is in the perspective of history suggested on one occasion by the British writer John Galsworthy: 'The idealist said in his heart, 'The God of Force is dead, or dying.' He has been proven the fool that the man of affairs and the militarist always said he was. But the fools of this world—generally after they are gone—have a way of moving men which the wise and practical believers in force have not. Fools of the former camp, drowned out and beaten to their knees, in due time will get up again and plant their poor little flag a little farther on. 'All men shall be brothers,' said the German fool Schiller; so shall the fools say again when the time comes; and again, after every beating!"

—*Worldover Press.*

THE FRENCH WORK ON

(By MAURICE CRANSTON)

Behind the France of political upheavals and the land that tourists know, there is another France—a country of people working hard and slowly struggling to their feet. A good example of the steady progress that defies partisan differences is the great Genissiat Dam. This construction project is one of the hugest pieces of engineering carried out anywhere since the war. It is the first stage in a plan, conceived years ago but delayed by the late conflict, to harness the entire Rhone River.

France will be raised to the top rank of electricity-producing nations when the scheme, now well under way, comes to completion. The Rhone will be effectively opened to navigation, creating an important waterway from Switzerland to the Mediterranean. The river has been turned from its course to form an artificial lake 17 miles long, big enough for steamers. Ten years' labour and nearly 45 million man-hours have gone into the building of the dam and the power plant, which is to be first of 22 plants down the whole course of the stream.

Although at the end of the war all work on the project had been stopped, and all technicians and other personnel scattered by order of the Germans, in three years the French succeeded in transporting the enormous quantities of materials and going on with the work, until today two out of the six turbines are already functioning.

To gain an idea of what this means in a country suffering from the war, one has only to learn that in 1947 as much as 195,000 tons of concrete was poured into the site. The pair of turbines in operation are supplying current at the rate of 500 million power units a year to Paris, and next winter there will be no blackouts in the capital.

Inside the dam, where the plant is housed, is a scene reminiscent of an H. G. Wells novel. Hundreds of neon lights line the sides of the hall-over 200 feet high, containing the turbines. Outside, over a concrete spillway 400 feet high, the river thunders in an impressive torrent. Two other stations downriver have been started, and will soon be producing another 2,000 millions units per year. The entire programme is a part of the famous "Monnet plan" for France's economic recovery.

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"*I will* be as harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard*".

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the LIBERATOR.

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Labour and Profits

NOTES

Labour Schemes:—Among the many schemes mooted for the benefit of Labour is the one inaugurated by the Governor-General last Tuesday—the Employees State Insurance Corporation. Mr. Rajagopalachari made a significant hit when he told workers that, despite Labour's power of non-co-operation successfully demonstrated in the past years, industrialists were neither discouraged nor disheartened. "They not only kept business going... but paid much higher wages than they ever did before and made handsome profits still." Here is warning to workers which is no less pointed because it is couched in the subtle phrases of Mr. Rajagopalachari. The attempt to establish that all that is sacrificed through strikes and disturbances is national production, is however too much for the economic world to swallow. There have been frenzied appeals to the industrial world to produce more and to observe an industrial truce. But there has been little to show that the worker himself stands to gain much by increased production and all the savings schemes that are published with so much flourish. The general capitalist outlook towards Labour is not very different from that of the employer who, welcoming a trade union formed of his employees, told them, "So far I have had to think of you as well as plan for profit; now I can leave you to look after your interest whilst I devote myself to my job." The wide prevalence of black-marketting to which our politicians and publicists repeatedly address themselves is only one manifestation of the malpractices in industry. Like the iceberg, the submerged nine-tenths is there even more a menace than the towering one-tenth.

Veteran Labour Leader:—Few Labour leaders have enjoyed the universal respect Mr. N. M. Joshi has always commanded. His courage and integrity, his sincerity and his steady refusal to allow party politics to interfere with the trade union movement have made him invaluable to its progress. His resignation of the General Secretaryship of the All India Trade Union Congress comes, therefore, as a shock. His retirement from active participation in the Labour Movement removes from the scene a figure who had the wisdom to realise that the Indian Trade Union Movement could not afford to fritter away its energies in political squabbles. Mr. Joshi's statement announcing his resignation is characteristically generous. He firmly reiterates his belief that the All India Trade Union Congress can only survive if its members hold together irrespective of their party loyalties. Significantly he adds that the Communist group within the organization had always acted in a spirit of mutual accommodation. He deplores the inability of the Working Committee to select unanimously a delegate to the Industrial Committee of Textiles of the International Labour Organization. This lack of unanimity is evidently only the immediate cause of Mr. Joshi's resignation, for he states that he had no intention of standing for re-election of his office at the ensuing session of the A. I. T. U. C. Indian Labour leaders would do well to heed Mr. Joshi's final appeal for concerted action. Of late, they have entertained the public far too frequently to the unedifying spectacle of mutual recriminations and bickerings. Their recent conduct has given rise to the suspicion that they are making the worker a pawn in the political game. And the condition of the Indian worker is still much too deplorable to warrant such callousness from those who profess to be their leaders.

Towards Thrift:—The Central Government has issued a directive to all provincial administrations to cut down all wasteful and unnecessary expenditure. It has failed to indicate what, in its opinion, is extravagance. It has been suggested in more than one quarter that policies like Prohibition involve unnecessary expenditure in enforcement

and unnessary loss in revenue. Others have hinted that the diversion of public energies in tasks of fund-raising is wasteful. It is well that Governments should guard against extravagance. But it should not be forgotten that, as is exemplified in business, the Indian trend is in the direction of skeleton staffs engaged on giving effect to almost mammoth projects. Should Governments give way to this tendency, the result will be an eternal poising on the brink of a precipice which is wearing on nerves. Economy is a quality that can only come with experience in administration. In the first stages, it is natural that there should not only be large spending but even unwise spending. It is more essential that the Governments should show themselves capable of learning by their mistakes than that they should seek never to err.

A National Park:—About thirty years ago when a project was being considered for a residential University for Bombay, the site which appealed to several was the Kanheri Caves, of which one archaeologist had said "they are waiting to be re-inhabited by human beings". That plan was given up. The Kher Ministry, however, has now on hand a five-year plan to build a national park at Kanheri and on October 1, the Prime Minister laid the foundation-stone of a pavilion there in memory of Mahatma Gandhi. It is proposed that communications will be developed, carrying people to the Park and back and rendering the spot easy of access. This is a project about which there can be no two opinions, and it is a happy omen that Congress administrators are not all bereft of aesthetics. In many ways, it might be considered the special contribution of the Prime Minister, Mr. B. G. Kher, to the public life of the city and province; and, if a suggestion might be ventured, some step should be taken to associate his name with the first Nationl Park permanently. It was Sir Mirza Ismail who, during his dewanship of Mysore, first developed the idea that, if places of beauty and colour are cultivated, the public will more than show their appreciation. Krishnarajasagar today stands as a living testimony to that faith. If one thing more than any other strikes the visitor to Krishnarajasagar, it is the stream of people of all classes visiting the gardens. Incidentally, there have been curious complaints in the local press about the inaccessability of Kanheri today. This is surprising since Kanheri has long been a picnic spot for middle class families who reached it through the long but not always tedious medium of a journey by train and foot. Evidently the Government project has attracted the attention of a more comfortable and leisurely class of "pioneers".

International Health:—There is considerable satisfaction to be derived from the decisions taken by the Regional Committee for South-East Asia of the World Health Organization, which is establishing its headquarters in New Delhi. International organizations have not been operating particularly successfully to date, with the exception of the I. L. O. It is now joined by the World Health Organization, the proceedings of which have so far been brightened by the spirit of cooperation that has prevailed among its members. The cordial manner in which this Organization has worked augurs well for the decisions of the South-East Asia Regional Committee. There is every reason to hope for sympathetic consideration of its plans by the Executive Board of the main body. Dr. Brock Chisholm struck a significant note when he remarked in Delhi that it is no longer possible to acknowledge a citizen as adequately developed if he has not attained a reasonable standard of phyiscal and mental health. With this observation Dr. Chisholm set up a wholesome ideal for the members of the Committee—an ideal which will take some time to realize since South—East Asia is one of the most backward regions of the world in its existing standard of health and nutrition. Nevertheless, the goal having been pitched high, one can legitimately hope for appreciable progress in reasonable time. The assistance which the Committee can render to individual countries in training experts and organizing research, is great. But it is well to remember that the actual work of improving and expanding medical services will have to be undertaken by the governments of the member countries themselves. Not the least difficult of their tasks is the attracting of suitable personnel to their health services. In India at any rate the investigations af the Bhore Committee have revealed the woeful shortage of qualified men and women for manning an adequate health service.

Historian's Verdict on English:—Writing in the current "Modern Review", Sir Jadunath Sarkar, the well-known historian, has pleaded strongly for the retention of English. He says, "For years to come the English language must continue to be used as the medium of communication at the top level (in the Centre and the Provinces alike and also between province and province). It should continue as the medium of instruction and examination for the highest stage of learning in the country. Furthermore, for the benefit of the inevitable and gradually expanding all-India services, there should be maintained in every province some schools and colleges with English as the principal language and one Indian vernacular (preferably some simplified genderless Hindustani) as a compulsory second language—exactly on the lines of the schools teaching in India for the Cambridge Senior and Junior examinations. These have been found most useful for their sons by the military, railway, engineer and other officers of high rank who, as members of all-India services, have to be transferred to widely distant places." Sir Jadunath's pupose is evident but he should have displayed greater clarity in expounding his views. He seems to favour what in effect will result in a caste of all-India service members whose children will be educated in English and presumably assured of appointment in the jobs held by their fathers. It is a vicious circle that Sir Jadunath seeks to perpetuate and his attempt to beat down opposition by denouncing critics as guilty of a "foolish and ignorant patriotism" is unworthy of a scholar.

THE INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, October 9, 1948

INFLATION

When the Prime Minister invited leading economists to submit proposals for meeting the economic crisis, it was assumed that this step was in effect a vote of no confidence on the industrialists who had exploited the decontrol policy of the Government—if not actually advised decontrol for personal ends. It was generally expected that drastic action would follow such an unorthodox step. But, as the discussions ranged between various other interests, it was realised that the usual high pressure tactics of the capitalists were proving successful again. By now, very few expected anything but a mouse to proceed from the mountain in labour.

In fact, the Government's proposals to curb inflation—the high cost of living in matters like cloth and sugar, is admittedly a product of the unholy scramble for profit—lead precisely to the aggrandisement of the class at whose machinations, the Government got sufficiently alarmed to cause the whole move. The main plank in the proposals of the industrialists to increase production was that they should be assured that Capital will receive its accustomed share of the wealth of the people, that taxation should be reduced, that wages should be fixed, that they should receive concessions for the favour conferred on the country of starting new industries, that they should have security in the realm of exploitation. They described the crisis a crisis of confidence—they lacked confidence in the motives and measures of their fellowmen. All this and more form the basis of these proposals of the Government. True, dividends are supposed to be limited to an average of the past two years. But, the moment this talk of limiting dividends started some time back, they called extraordinary general meetings to convert the reserves of their companies into share capital. These reserves were intended to replenish the worn-down machinery of the companies in more favourable times. Now, there are no reserves and dividends have been maintained at a high level on the amalgamated share capital. In fact, the last two years or so witnessed a scramble for purchasing companies in which large reserves existed for the sole purpose of enabling war profiteers to transmute the reserves into share capital in their private hoards. Apart from this, as even Mr. Jagmohan Kapadia has pointed out, they started dissipating the assets of the companies by borrowing against them to lend on sharafi to other people. The reason is not far to seek, in all probability, the loans were to connected parties, and the object, evasion of company law provisions to prevent loans to Managing Agents. It will also be noticed that, while dividends may be limited, there is no limit on Managing Agency commissions on sales or production, on the various methods of taking profits out of companies into the pockets of the Agents. There has been a good deal of talk of reforming Company Law, but nothing has yet been done. The law relating to the Managing Agency system needs drastic changes. In fact, this system is a corruption of its origin whereby foreigners could conduct their business overseas. In the hands of our capable exploiters, it has meant a shovelling of the wealth produced by the companies into the pockets of the owners of majority of shares. Sir N. N. Sircar, a Law Member in the past British Government, used often to describe Managing Agents as "as worthy to live as reptiles". Evidently, under an independent government of our own, they have become producers of wealth. In no country in the world today has capital its rewards in industrial concerns as in free India.

The fact is that capital today is neither shy nor does it lack confidence, but because it is the product of tax evasion and black-marketing, because it is concentrated in stained hands, it is afraid of coming out into the open, where the Tax Investigation Committee may scrutinise it. Not that this Committee will do much. It has been computed that, even if it decides on each case in a fortnight, it will take a generation to decide all cases. But, probably the next step for the capitalists to urge, when even these proposals bring no further capital out of the vaults, is abolition of this Committee and recognition of their black money as white. This is precisely what the bankers proposed to do, by the issue of Bearer Bonds, though strangely enough, Mr. Jai Prakash Narayan fell into the trap (so much for Socialist economics).

Then, there is the talk of a drive to savings. Where are the savings? A curb on consumer spending? Is there anything for the common man to spend, even on necessities? No doubt, the Post Offices are badly managed as regards this department. Anyone who tries to take out money deposited by a deceased relative, knows it. The proper course, instead of raising the rate of interest and starting drives, which means more posters and talk, is to appoint a good banker at the head of this department of the Post Office and run it as a banking department is run by a competent executive.

Then, the Government talks of reducing prices. The latest scandal is stocks of sugar piled up in spite of transport facilities being open to sugar mills. No one is likely to believe in this pious talk of Government inducing capitalists to lower prices.

The French Government has tightened up its income-tax methods. You pay, at the commencement of the year, a certain percentage of the tax you paid last year and for the current year, you go on paying further percentages until you have paid, at the end of the year, the same amount as before. If your income is proved to be less, you can claim refund. In fact, they went further, they demanded for the current year, one and a half times the income-tax of the past year. Why cannot these

methods be adopted here? Actually, barring salaried people and dividend earners, who pay at source, the bigger income group is always in arrears. Their income-taxes are collected after several years; there is examination of accounts, production of books, appeals and so on. All this process can be short-circuited and taxes gathered in current year, when the national need is greatest.

Sardar Patel is fond of asserting that he needs constructive advice, that he is not moved by capitalists, that he needs young people to shoulder the heavy burdens. If he thinks that these Government proposals bear any stamp other than that they are made in the offices of profiteers, we must assume that his well-known sense of humour, has, for once, deserted him.

CURRENT ECONOMIC DISTRESS. II

(By S. K. SHARMA)

The official policy has been to fix up the prices of all controlled articles at about two hundred per cent over pre-war prices and operations in the black market have further doubled their price. As for the uncontrolled articles they have shown a still greater rise. But the producer of no article appears to have been satisfied. He wants a further increase in prices to keep his concern a running one. There is hardly a commodity which appears to be capable of being produced even at the current abnormal level. Steel wants a higher price; sugar wants a higher price; cotton wants a higher price; paddy wants a higher price; textiles want a higher price; so every product of manufacture. Labour, therefore, cannot be content and it too wants a higher price. In this competetive race for higher prices, success comes to those who can hold out longest; and the consumer is the worst sufferer. If there was a rise in the general level of prices, the economic equilibrium of society can safely be preserved; but unequal distribution of purchasing capacity can only produce social disturbances and economic cataclysms. The Government cannot plead ignorance of how much their own policy has contributed to this disequilibrium. As the largest employers of Labour, Government must know how little the allowances given by Government to the services have gone to meet the dearness of the cost of their living and how little margin of income is left them on their salaries, if any at all, after incurring the inflated expenditure on the necessary articles of daily domestic consumption. The unusual threats of strike coming from the village schoolmaster to the clerk in the Collectorate have been provoked by the exaggerated prices which official policy has forced them to pay without sufficiently recompensing them. The revision of salaries of many grades of public servants recently announced, which at the same time has given no satisfaction to them, must again fall on the consumer, the general tax-payer. When the distress is such that even public servants amenable to rules of discipline are provoked into revolting against them, we can easily imagine the state of mind of Labour employed in agriculture and industries. The working hours lost by periodic strikes are undoubtedly matters of grave national concern, as they diminish the value of the annual income fund and the supply of essential consumer goods. But they represent all the same the discount value if not of a higher standard of life, at least the preventive measure to arrest the decline to a lower standard of life. No employer of Labour, not even the most enlightened among them, the Government established by law, is selfless and humane enough to regulate the wage-bill according to the cost of living index: everyone is afflicted by the imperfections of man I have already adverted to. Strikes, lock-outs, bread-riots and disturbances are the inevitable though regrettable concomitants of a social system whose policies are only regulated by cloistered economics and juvenile statesmanship.

The causes that have accounted for this extraordinary rise in prices, may be classified under two heads, those that relate to commodities and those that relate to currency. The former are visible and apparent, but the latter are insidious and unperceived. If the demand for commodities is greater than the supply, prices undoubtedly rise and that was the case during the war. The diversion of production from civilian to military purposes, the purchase by the military of indigenous supplies for their own consumption and for export abroad and the stoppage of imports combined to create a scarcity of goods which necessarily forced up prices. The cessation of the war was expected to bring about a return to old conditions, but the economic deterioration of the importing countries and our own incapacity to keep up production are assigned as causes for the non-restoration of the normal state of things. The fact that £ 5475 million (21,900 million dollars) was estimated as being required to build up devastated Europe and that a credit af 3,500 million dollars had been used up by Great Britain much in advance of time, shows that the economic recuperation of Europe is yet far away; they must build up before they begin to engage in the development of healthy international trade. The sterling debt of £ 1,200 millions standing to our credit represents the country's abstinence from the purchase of capital and consumer goods during the period of the war; but does it represent the depletion of commodities to the extent of causing the scarcity value now prevailing? Those prices affect both imported and indigenous goods and in so far as they are not identical or substitutes there must be a relative change in their price. The variation in the price of indigenous products must be accounted for by causes different from those that affect imported goods. The rise in prices of articles of food like rice, wheat, sugar and millets must be governed by considerations not akin to those of imported goods, say, like coal, chemicals, iron, automobiles, watches, etc. The price of imported goods depends upon the price level obtaining in the supplying country and, as it is everywhere considerably lo-

wer than in India, the best corrective would seem to be the adoption of a policy of free and unrestricted imports. That policy should have been allowed to be limited only by the non-availability of commodities in producing centres. Nothing could prevent the economic recovery of the country more seriously than restrictions imposed upon imports and, if Government were aware of the difficulties of the consumer, the first step they should take is the removal of all controls and impediments such as licences and tariffs that make his hunger remain unappeased. If the Dominion Government want to show the world the way for economic freedom and recovery, they should embark upon a bold policy of sweeping away every obstacle preventing the free entry of goods and of establishing in India an international market for world's goods.

CHANGING VALUES IN RELIGION AND LIFE—II

(By CURTIS W. REESE)

With the passing of scripture and institutions as final authoritative religious sources, the Modernist type of mind fell in with the traditional mystical way and declared *experience* to be the authoritative religious source. This had a scientific sound. It made a universal appeal. It gave great promise. But the appeal to experience is already going the way of former religious sources. In its place will come, is now coming, *experimental experience*; that is, scientific method applied to the spiritual experience of man. Uncontrolled and uncritized experience is no safer guide than the older authorities. Experiences are varied, multiple, and belong to their setting. It is only by controlled experience, under conditions of testing, that we have good hope of using it as a dependable source. We can no longer appeal to uncontrolled experience as authority in religious matters.

The study of religious sources tends definitely away from the superhuman and authoritative to the human and experimental.

There is similar change of opinion in the appraisal of the dramatic religious leaders of history. Most of the religions have been built around the real or supposed teaching and personality of real or mythical founders. Hinduism and Shintoism are possible exceptions. The names of Zoroaster, Moses, Buddha, Confucius, Jesus, Mohammed, Joseph Smith, and Mary Baker Eddy are associated with the origin and history of the religions with which their names are so intimately connected.

To a considerable extent the same is true of the sects. Even John the Baptist is claimed by the sect that bears his name. The name of John Calvin is linked with Presbyterianism, John Wesley with Methodism, Alexander Campbell with Disciples, and so on. Most of the religions and sects are the lengthened shadows of dominant personalities.

But nothing is surer today than the fact that social theory and the democratic spirit tend to discount the dramatic leader, and to magnify the cumulative notions of many people. Cooperative study and research, and the consensus of the competent, are replacing the dominant personality.

Nowhere is this trend away from the domination of dramatic religious leaders more forcibly set forth than in the changing attitude toward Jesus of Nazareth. Only a little while ago the Christian world regarded Jesus as nothing less than very God of very God. Then the Modernists, emphasizing his humanity, made him a depository of all modern idealism. Others, however, challenged the doctrine of the adequacy of his moral and spiritual leadership. They pointed out that he said nothing against slavery although slavery was general in his day; that he said nothing against war although war was the chief honorific profession of his day. To the argument that his general teaching implied opposition to slavery and war they replied that the highest ethical leadership is not in abstract principles nor in pious professions, but in the concrete and the specific. Meaningful words must be tipped with steel and accurately aimed.

In my judgment, one of the greatest services rendered to religion in our time is the freeing of it from the grip of the historic ethnic religious leaders. Thousands of modern-minded souls in the midst of the new social setting and by means of the scientific spirit and method are more competent in the spiritual realm than were the fathers of the world religions and of the sects of Christendom.

The trend is away from one-man religion and in the direction of a social quest to find satisfactory values for all mankind.

The trend of modern religious thought evaluation of doctrines is away from the dogmatic and in the direction of the experimental. It is perhaps here that we find the greatest difference between the older and the newer mind in religious matters. The older mind thinks of religion as consisting largely of a set of doctrines, and of doctrines as rather definitely fixed. The newer mind thinks of religion as consisting largely of experimental quests, and of the conclusions of the quests as tentative.

The older mind did not hold doctrines as hypotheses but as certainties. He was concerned with finalities. He felt the need of anchoring to some rock of ages. To doubt was to be damned. But the newer mind thinks of nothing so little as of certainty. In fact he rather doubts whether any certainty exists. He feels the thrill of novelty. For him it is postulates and hypotheses, not dogmas and certainties.

The more modern-minded of even the conservative clergy regard such basic doctrines as God, soul, and immortality as hypotheses. They defend these hypotheses on much the same ground as the scientists do theirs, namely, as working theories to be judged by their results. It is a far cry from this modern attitude to the old order in religion when a Jonathan Edwards spoke with absolute certainty of the will of the Calvinistic God to the

immortal souls that hung on his words. There was a dramatic situation. Heaven and hell were as real as Northhampton. Immortal souls hung in the balance. This situation accounted in large part for the great preaching of those days. It was likewise in the eternal. But today it is difficult to get oratorical, much less eloquent, over the tentative hypotheses that must constitute the metaphysical message of the modern preacher.

The trend is away from doctrines considered as authoritative pronouncements about the eternal, and in the direction of doctrines considered as the orderly arrangement of the convictions by which we live.

Thus may be seen the necessity for a restatement of the nature of religion itself. Here again the trend is away from religion understood as man's response to "the determiner of destiny," or even as man's response to superhuman sources of fortune; away from religion understood as "man's conduct facing Godward," and from the fascinating and poetic theory that religion is "the life of God in the soul of man"; away also from the notion that religion is necessarily tied up with any theistic interpretation of cosmic existence.

Rather is the trend in the way of regarding religion as a human effort to find satisfactory modes of living, in the course of which many personal, social, planetary, and cosmological theories may be postulated, tested, and abandoned; the abiding thing being the urge to newer and newer efforts to reach ever-receding goals.

The vernacular use of the term *religion* is illustrative. When a man commits himself to a great *cause* we say that cause becomes his religion. We speak of men who make their art or their business or their social theory, their religion.

It is not likely that religion will cease to concern itself with the effort to understand man's cosmic setting, nor should it abandon such effort. It is natural that man should forever attempt to push back the veil of mystery that hangs so tantalizingly about him. Modern minds are well aware how painfully inadequate is our total knowledge; but they feel that the little knowledge man does possess is his instrument and his hope of further conquests of the dark. In controlling life situations a little factual knowledge is worth words of mystery.

Religion as thus understood is developing new ideals and techniques for accomplishing its purpose. Fact finding becomes more significant than wishful petition. What man really wants becomes of more concern than what has been said that he should want. Aesthetic expression is regarded as superior to monastic repression. Scientific apparatus ranks higher than sacred images. The free play of free minds replaces the submissive will.

In sum, the trend in modern religious developments is away from the transcendent, the authoritative, the dogmatic, and toward the human the experimental, the tentative; away from the abnormal, the formal, the ritualistic, and toward the normal, the informal, the usual; away from the extraordinary mystic expression, the exalted mood the other worldly, and toward the ethical, the social, and the worldly.

We are beginning to see that no particular philosophy or theology of the nature of the universe is prerequisite to religious living, and that no particular historic religion is adequate to meet the needs of our time. We are coming to understand that the liberal attitude of inquiry, implemented by scientific method and motivated by social values, is the proper way for mature people to face the mysteries of the universe and the problems of society.

SECRECY AND LEAKAGE

The struggle between Congressional spy-investigating committees and the White House over the non-release of confidential loyalty files is only one aspect of a larger question still agitating Washington and more recently reaching out to international proportions. If documents concerning the war are confidential, why are they sometimes released? If released to a few, why not to others? The London Sunday Times reports that Winston Churchill, wishing to include in his war memoirs a part of his wartime correspondence with President Roosevelt, wrote to President Truman asking permission, but met with a courteous turndown. Later, the former Prime Minister discovered that some of the correspondence appeared in Harry Hopkins' papers, edited by Robert Sherwood. Annoyed, Churchill wrote again more vigorously, this time with greater success.

—*Worldover Press.*

THE EUROPEAN DILEMNA

One problem of European Recovery Programme administrators is to cut through the pressure from American marketing organizations and clear up popular thinking, which has been dangerously warped by propaganda. Countless Americans believe that one reason why Europe did not come back more quickly after the end of the war was its insistence upon importing luxuries, such as unnecessarily rich foods and tobacco. The fact is that European budget makers have for some time been confronted by a drive to make them purchase less goods of the urgent type, such as desperately needed machinery, and more things they would rather get along without. In cotton tobacco, and especially grains now that the United States has had a bumper crop, efforts have been made to boost European buying.

—*Worldover Press.*

LABOUR AND PROFITS

By Prof. S. K. RUDRA M. A. (Cantab)

The recommendations of the Government of India's Committee on profit-sharing published a few days ago must be regarded as highly important. The significance of the recommendations for the future of industrial enterprise in the country cannot be minimised. It is to be hoped that the report itself will soon be available to the general public. In its absence comment is difficult. Yet the matter is of such concern that it cannot await the publication of the report. Government reports are often not had early enough to assist in informed discussion of the problem with which they deal. It must, however, be indicated that the Committee have accomplished a difficult task in record time. They are to be felicitated upon their performance.

The Committee have set the attainment of a threefold objective as their purpose. The objectives in themselves are commendable. For instance to secure greater production is an end which is desirable from every angle. In these times of acute scarcity, and a commodity infused inflation, the necessity of accelerated production is obvious. Every device and incentive that can be considered should be applied. Never before in our history has the gravity of the economic situation been so universal as it is today. It is, however, to be doubted whether the particular device recommended by the Committee is the method that will yield immediate and satisfactory results. One is constrained to say that the type of profit-sharing recommended by the Committee will not achieve ready results. For one thing there will be no distribution of profits till at least they accrue, and for another, till a twelve months' period will have elapsed. While there can be little doubt that in times like these even the most inefficient unit in any industry will be able to secure some margin of profit, the award will be so belated that it is a matter of speculation whether it will have much or any appreciable effect on the question of production. Students of the problem are aware that workers everywhere, and no less in our country are proverbially short-sighted. The long range point of view is seldom considered by them. The fault is not of labour alone. Various factors, particularly in our country, operate to strengthen the normal tendency of overestimating the immediate as against the remote. So the timing of the award must be regarded as delayed action tactics. It cannot be expected to furnish fruitful results. Probably a reduction of the period from 12 months to 6 may be more appropriate for this purpose. A six-monthly declaration of profits is not beyond the range of practicability. Balance sheets are prepared and profit-and-loss accounts struck in the majority of cases of joint-stock and other concerns. Net profits, with certain margins, could be calculated. Distribution could be effected. Over the next half of the financial year, if profits disappear, nothing would be distributed. But such a procedure cannot be recommended with any confidence for a variety of reasons.

The Committee have attempted to relate reward to amount of production in an indirect manner. By fixing allocation of profits according to wages earned over the preceding 12 months minus dear food allowances and other bonuses, they have linked it in round-about manner to output. Since the sector of industry, they have selected for their particular treatment, has adopted the piece rate system of wages payment, it must be admitted that on the whole, the amount of profits earned will, broadly stated, refer to amount produced. In parenthesis, however, it must be indicated that there are many jobs, processes and departments where the system of industrial remuneration is on time-rates basis still. Such workers, operators and others will have also to be duly rewarded. Differentiation in the matter of profits distribution will throw out of gear the wages stratification in industry as a whole and specifically in industries selected for the purpoce. Balance of various sectors of labour will be upset. Reactions possibly will not be healthy. These proposals may well slow down rather than accelerate the tempo of production. The experiment is more adventuresome than wise. On the other hand I am not impressed with the contention that enhancement of income of the worker by way of profit distribution, will engender slackness, absenteeism, and deterioration in the quantity and quality of output. The danger is there true enough. This cannot be denied. But even if it should occur, it will not be wide spread. Neither will it be long-lived. The study of labour history supports this belief. The positive contribution of enhanced income has invariably led, in the long run to greater out put. Even workers of the lowest standards of living soon move into a higher social level. They then strive to earn for themselves and their families a larger income. In these days of high prices and ever-increasing cost of living, the apprehension of a fall in regularity of attendance and slackness in production cannot be taken too seriously. After some time lag, the monetary incentive must have its due effect. But this period will be far too long to meet the immediate purpose which the Committee has in view.

My own suggestion would be to attack the problem of increased production in a more direct manner. I would, therefore, commend for serious consideration the adoption of a suitable system of production bonus. Different varieties exist and can be fitted into the respective industries with the technological adjustments. The production bonus selected must be adopted with the consent of the representatives of the workers. No good will result without the active consent and collaboration of the leaders of the workers. Such a system of payment will have immediate effect upon production. It will have the dual advantage of joining reward to output in a most direct manner, as it well also possess the merit of incentive secured by immediacy of payment, conforming to the wage-payment

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By Prof. S. K. RUDRA M. A. (Cantab)

The recommendations of the Government of India's Committee on profit-sharing published a few days ago must be regarded as highly important. The significance of the recommendations for the future of industrial enterprise in the country cannot be minimised. It is to be hoped that the report itself will soon be available to the general public. In its absence comment is difficult. Yet the matter is of such concern that it cannot await the publication of the report. Government reports are often not had early enough to assist in informed discussion of the problem with which they deal. It must, however, be indicated that the Committee have accomplished a difficult task in record time. They are to be felicitated upon their performance.

The Committee have set the attainment of a threefold objective as their purpose. The objectives in themselves are commendable. For instance to secure greater production is an end which is desirable from every angle. In these times of acute scarcity, and a commodity infused inflation, the necessity of accelerated production is obvious. Every device and incentive that can be considered should be applied. Never before in our history has the gravity of the economic situation been so universal as it is today. It is, however, to be doubted whether the particular device recommended by the Committee is the method that will yield immediate and satisfactory results. One is constrained to say that the type of profit-sharing recommended by the Committee will not achieve ready results. For one thing there will be no distribution of profits till at least they accrue, and for another, till a twelve months' period will have elapsed. While there can be little doubt that in times like these even the most inefficient unit in any industry will be able to secure some margin of profit, the award will be so belated that it is a matter of speculation whether it will have much or any appreciable effect on the question of production. Students of the problem are aware that workers everywhere, and no less in our country are proverbially short-sighted. The long range point of view is seldom considered by them. The fault is not of labour alone. Various factors, particularly in our country, operate to strengthen the normal tendency of overestimating the immediate as against the remote. So the timing of the award must be regarded as delayed action tactics. It cannot be expected to furnish fruitful results. Probably a reduction of the period from 12 months to 6 may be more appropriate for this purpose. A six-monthly declaration of profits is not beyond the range of practicability. Balance sheets are prepared and profit-and-loss accounts struck in the majority of cases of joint-stock and other concerns. Net profits, with certain margins, could be calculated. Distribution could be effected. Over the next half of the financial year, if profits disappear, nothing would be distributed. But such a procedure cannot be recommended with any confidence for a variety of reasons.

The Committee have attempted to relate reward to amount of production in an indirect manner. By fixing allocation of profits according to wages earned over the preceding 12 months minus dear food allowances and other bonuses, they have linked it in round-about manner to output. Since the sector of industry, they have selected for their particular treatment, has adopted the piece rate system of wages payment, it must be admitted that on the whole, the amount of profits earned will, broadly stated, refer to amount produced. In parenthesis, however, it must be indicated that there are many jobs, processes and departments where the system of industrial remuneration is on time-rates basis still. Such workers, operators and others will have also to be duly rewarded. Differentiation in the matter of profits distribution will throw out of gear the wages stratification in industry as a whole and specifically in industries selected for the purpoce. Balance of various sectors of labour will be upset. Reactions possibly will not be healthy. These proposals may well slow down rather than accelerate the tempo of production. The experiment is more adventuresome than wise. On the other hand I am not impressed with the contention that enhancement of income of the worker by way of profit distribution, will engender slackness, absenteeism, and deterioration in the quantity and quality of output. The danger is there true enough. This cannot be denied. But even if it should occur, it will not be wide spread. Neither will it be long-lived. The study of labour history supports this belief. The positive contribution of enhanced income has invariably led, in the long run to greater out put. Even workers of the lowest standards of living soon move into a higher social level. They then strive to earn for themselves and their families a larger income. In these days of high prices and ever-increasing cost of living, the apprehension of a fall in regularity of attendance and slackness in production cannot be taken too seriously. After some time lag, the monetary incentive must have its due effect. But this period will be far too long to meet the immediate purpose which the Committee has in view.

My own suggestion would be to attack the problem of increased production in a more direct manner. I would, therefore, commend for serious consideration the adoption of a suitable system of production bonus. Different varieties exist and can be fitted into the respective industries with the technological adjustments. The production bonus selected must be adopted with the consent of the representatives of the workers. No good will result without the active consent and collaboration of the leaders of the workers. Such a system of payment will have immediate effect upon production. It will have the dual advantage of joining reward to output in a most direct manner, as it well also possess the merit of incentive secured by immediacy of payment, conforming to the wage-payment

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"*I will* be as harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard*".

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the LIBERATOR.

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The Wrangle for Peace:—The controversy between Soviet Russia and the Western Democracies is not so much over war and peace as between two factions both of which insist on having peace on their terms. Obviously the solution to this cannot come unless there is a third force outside both and strong enough to make its will and its views effective. The United Nations should have been able to provide such a factor but it has failed even in the disputes and it is not likely to succeed in the long run. It is an unfortunate fact that the moment any dispute comes before the U.N. Assembly, British spokesmen on either side set about tearing the world wide to pieces and proving to their own satisfaction that there is no room for peaceful settlement. The United Nations has not yet developed a body of detached observers and commentators who rise superior to national interests and prejudices. This makes the task of conciliation an uphill one all the time. M. Vishinsky, Russia's chief delegate at the U. N., has done little to help matters on by his disarmament proposals. The proposition of the West, shows how little they have learnt from the war they fought before last—a World War makes since equally strong appeal. The revival of the old Soviet plan of a League of Nations and the protest of the United Nations delegates against the Soviet plan for settling of the Berlin crisis by applying themselves to the President Truman's controversy over Berlin Chief Justice Fred Vinson with the idea of sending discussions with Mr. Stalin to Moscow for direct city to the plan evoked a storm of protest and Mr. Marshall, Secretary of State, flew back to America for consultations with his President. The plan had to be abandoned but its very suggestion had revealed a serious rift in the Democratic Front. It was not the first time that the U. S. A. had thought of acting in disregard of the views of Britain and France. Mr. Marshall has tried to heal the breach by statements whitewashing the incident. But they fail to convince the observer. Mr. Truman explained the conference with Mr. Marshall as necessitated by the desire to acquaint himself with U. N. sentiment and to convey to Mr. Marshall the American determination to hold fast to its views. These are both superfluities since it is apparent that Mr. Truman has stiffened his own attitude after his conference and even Mr. Churchill admitted at the Tory Convention that the speeches at U. N. of the Democratic delegates left little unsaid. At a later function, President Truman ruefully observed that he held world peace more dear than the Presidentship. This was an admission that his chances of election have been marred by his precipitancy in approaching Soviet Russia. American diplomacy, never at a very high level, has suffered another loss in reputation.

Prohibition:—The adoption of total Prohibition by the Madras Government, despite the warning of the Union Government, is not an accident. Probably Madras is the one province which holds to Prohibition almost as a faith. None of the arguments which were used in other lands—the effect of alcohol on health and longevity, and the witness of insurance companies—were adduced in the years of campaigning in the South under the guidance of Mr. Rajagopalachari. There was one argument and one alone: Mr. Rajagopalachari once said that, when he read "liquor", he saw the picture of a woman in tatters with her two children clinging pathetically to her. The evidence of insurance companins in the West has tended in the past thirty years to falsify the view that total abstinence gave a better 'life' than drinking in moderation. But nothing can destroy the picture that inspired Mr. Rajagopalachari to his sustained effort against drink.

Rajaji's Testimony:—In his speech at the Doon School on Founders' Day, Mr. Rajagopalachari exploded in his own quiet way all the agitation for

doing away with English. He said that compromise rather than compulsion was what was necessary in education. And he was quite positive that English had a place in the Doon School, There are schools all over the country not dissimilar to the Doon School. Mr. Rajagopalachari referred to the synthesis of modern Indian culture and observed that 150 years had left their mark on India. This is the first time that a Congress leader of the first rank has admitted openly the permanence of the English influence on this country and advised his public to make every allowance for it. The analogy of educational reform being like the repair of a railway train whilst it is in motion might not be very apt but it conveys, as nothing else could, the feeling of the Governor-General that education is a going concern and cannot be stopped for a moment. If this is so then why should the teaching profession have been put to so much trouble by the hasty policies initiated by educationists in different parts of India? It is time the Centre took stock of the situation and formulated a definite policy for giving effect to.

The Importance of English:—In all the discussions on the place of English there has been mostly an emphasis on what is called the "practical side". Little regard has been paid to the contribution which contact with the English language has drawn out from Indian thought. Gandhiji has said in his Autobiography that his first acquaintance with Indian scriptures came from Edwin Arnold's "Song Celestial". And he was not by any means the only Indian to experience this. Apart from this, however, the greatest achievement has been the rousing of the Indian critical faculty as nothing else has done. Therefore, it has often seemed that an attack on English will be an attack on Freedom—individual freedom. Sir Sankaran Nair used to say that you cannot talk another into slavery in the English language. It has been the fear of most social reformers that the adoption of an Indian language would mean the complete loss of all that has been achieved in the matter of women's progress to equality. These are not negligible issues in a nation's life, and perhaps the fact that the nation is on guard against these dangers is a safeguard that any downward process will be checked. Only, there is the point to be reckoned with, that social changes come suddenly and unaccountably and very often cause much damage before curative work can be undertaken.

The Drawback:—The advantage of retaining English has been so much spoken of that it is worth considering its drawbacks. For one thing, years of education have shown that education in English cannot be made widespread. But the recent change in the national attitude towards Britain of which Pandit Jawaharlal spoke so feelingly in London, adds to the importance of English for Indians. With a language like Hindi in the Devanagri script, for obvious reasons there is the best chance o extending literacy to the largest number. Hindi education, unlike English education, does no create any caste or isolated community which is segregated from the main current of nationa life. The position today is frankly this: We cannot make either English or Hindustani serve the full purpose of a national language—both are necessary. We cannot make Hindustani supreme, eliminating local and regional languages, without detriment to all-round progress; nor can we do away with Hindustani, concentrating on regional languages. In order that progressive ideas should circulate as rapidly as possible—and otherwise what is language for?—it is essential that the country launches on a programme of linguistic development which should include a regional language in—the vast number of cases it will be also the mother-tongue of the students,—Hindustani in the Nagri script, and English. Naturally development will be uneven. Some will learn English well, others Hindustani; whilst for all education in the regional language will give familiarity with the neighbourhood and for most facility in learning since it will also be their home language. There is no need for long controversy on this subject. It is necessary in the interests of national development and it must be done. Unless the problem is tackled in this light, there is bound to be delay and retarded progress in developing a national language along with general literacy.

HUNGARIAN NATIONALIZATION

No fewer than 625 enterprises with 142,000 workers have now been brought under nationalization by a recent law in Hungary which combines new units taken over by the State with those formerly owned by the government. About 95 per cent of all mining is now run by the State, and 82 per cent of manufacturing.

Much nationalization is carried out by the 20 directorates which control both government and private industry under the ministries of finance, industry and agriculture. A government auditing board has been set up to manage all businesses in which the government has a financial stake. State-owned enterprises may have only one account, and this must be kept at the National Bank. The credit policy continues to be strictly deflationary. Foreign trade in certain articles has been entrusted to state companies, but for the time being private firms of established experience are able to function, sometimes in cooperation with the government companies.

By May of this year the index of industrial production reached 98 per cent of the 1938 figure, and there has been a further increase in recent months. On the other hand, farming is still considerably behind, though there has been a good harvest. Some increases in production are due to greater manpower employed; in most mining establishments the output per man-shift is still lagging as compared to 1938.

—*Worldover Press*

THE INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER
BOMBAY, October 16, 1948

INDIA AND THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH.

The cordiality with which the British have welcomed Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on his visit to London in connection with the Dominions Premiers' Conference, the flattering importance paid by the British Press to India and the renewed personal contacts with Lord and Lady Mountbatten have produced an effect on Pandit Jawaharlal which will in all probability prove decisive in keeping India within the Commonwealth, when the time for decision comes. In spite of Pandit Jawaharlal's reiterations that no decision regarding India and her position in the Commonwealth can or will be taken at the Premiers' Conference, the general feeling is that it is exactly this which will be determined in London. It is unlikely that the entire British Press would be devoting their thoughts to the meaning of Dominionhood and the effect of India's becoming a Dominion on the existing British understanding of the status unless there is something brewing. And, though Pakistan and Ceylon are also involved in the discussion, it is obvious that the main interest centres on India. The concentration of so much attention and good feeling has been so strong on the Indian Prime Minister that Pandit Jawaharlal would have been less than human if he had failed to respond to it all. Moreover, for all the extremism that has been expressed, the British influence has been all pervasive and most of our leaders are products of the British system far more completely than they realise themselves. Pandit Jawaharlal, in his public utterances, has striven hard during this present visit, to keep himself to the less serious things of life and to avoid anything which might look like a commitment. But he was very definite in his view that cooperation between India and Britain was near to him. This candid avowal, as well as the admission that both Britain and Indian Nationalism had made mistakes in the past, must have come as a surprise to the British who have been fed on the biased reports of press correspondents of British newspapers and the pessimistic forebodings of retired British officials from India.

Speaking at Kingsway Hall, Pandit Jawaharlal covered a wide range of topics from the Mountbatten contribution to Indian political solutions to the refugee question. If there are two views on partition and the fruits of it, Pandit Jawaharlal certainly has no room for the pessimistic one. Perhaps in the light of things as they are today—and will be for many a long tomorrow—it is well that this should be so. At any rate it is evident that the Indian Prime Minister and the Mountbattens have impressed one another profoundly, and that the influence has been responsible considerably for bringing about a changed attitude in India—and less emotionally in Britain. This is a development which must be welcomed unreservedly. Whether we like it or not, India must for some time to come fit herself into some system of political relationship with one or other inter-nation group and in the Commonwealth she finds a group with which she can effect the most natural adjustment. It can be made into the middle way between the Russian and American extremes, and India could play a part in bringing this about. In the long run, Britain without India will be reduced to greater reliance on the U.S.A, just as there is a likelihood of India without Britain encountering greater difficulties in counteracting Communist influence in India as well as in Asia. In a wise cooperation, there lies also the best hopes of Democracy flourishing in both countries and, therefore, in the Commonwealth as a whole. The fact that India's national leaders have realised this, is itself the best token that the British political genius had not forsaken it when it inspired the transfer of power. It must be an encouragement to those elements in Britain which are genuinely casting about for adjustments in the Commonwealth not only to retain India as a member but even to securing her active cooperation in making the Commonwealth strong and enduring.

What are the adjustments that are called for? The first of these is essentially the establishment of racial equality. There are difficulties no doubt but, they are by no means insuperable. The chief difficulty is the British record of racialism which has left long memories in Asia and Africa. But, even at its worst, British prejudice has never been in line with the attitude of South Africa. It has meant accommodation to South African racialism but the end of the Smuts regime has made such compromise impossible. The Malan Government is out of tune with modern progressive thought. A showdown is inevitable—sooner rather than later. And the British will be forced into the opposite camp. Time is with Asian and African nationalism and this is a known fact. If the British Commonwealth declares itself now for racial equality and takes concrete steps to implement that decision it will have stolen a march over the United States of America which has a longer way to travel in the same direction. The second adjustment is in securing a common approach to foreign policies. It is a disservice to world peace when units in the British group pursue divergent policies at the United Nations. But it will be no service if the Dominions meekly accept the responsibility of supporting the British attitude without asserting their right to participate in framing British policies. In the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the problem was met by Hungary having its Foreign Minister in the Imperial Cabinet. In the Commonwealth, it will be desirable to have Commonwealth consideration of all issues before discussions are taken up at the United Nations meetings. All inter-Dominion disputes should be settled internally as well. This calls for the setting up of a Commonwealth tribunal and for a machinery of consultation which can meet often and despatch business effectively. The development of rapid communications makes this easy of achievement.

West in pro-Soviet strongholds. The granting of a credit to the Czechs by the International Monetary Fund; the sale of essential materials by Britain to Tito after Russia boycotted Yugoslavia; the work of the Economic Commission for Europe at Geneva in outlining methods for reciprocal trade through the Iron Curtain—such moves give a measure of hope and normality to an otherwise warlike scene, and inspire a lingering faith that sanity may still prevail in time to halt a shooting conflict.

BRITAIN'S GALLANT EFFORT

(By DEVERE ALLEN)

One miracle across the Atlantic is the constant rise in British productivity. Despite post-war fatigue, irritations over austere living, and uncertainties in the world situation, nothing has been allowed to interfere with one of the most remarkable successes in history. In many key industries, production has long since doubled that of pre-war days, while in actual output by volume, a better test than that of pounds or dollars, the British have reached the boom level before the 1929 depression.

Small wonder that Paul Reynaud, looking wistfully across the Channel, declared in France: "While our exports are barely one tenth of our imports, Britain may boast a magnificent achievement". In outside countries there has sometimes been a feeling that the British have been neglecting agriculture. All the more significant is M. Reynaud's comment: "Whereas the French peasant produces enough for five people, and his American counterpart for 13, the British farm worker feeds 17."

The catch in all this is, of course, that Britain still has to import tremendous quantities of raw materials and foodstuffs, and buy them in a market of increasingly high prices. The production rise has to be measured against this disconcerting factor; the gap between export gains and import expenses cannot be closed without further herculean effort over a long period ahead, even with American aid. Yet for the Americans who must supply assistance, there is encouragement in the British attitude and output.

The Labour party has a right to be proud of its leadership, but it would be wrong to assume that conservative industrialists have not also contributed materially in many cases. The true picture is obscured by Tory politicians, who like to blame Labour for whatever inefficiency can be found, while at the same time refusing to admit that it dates back to the times of their own rule. The growing open-mindedness of management is shown by the fact that 38 out of 54 leading industries have recently reviewed their arrangements for joint consultation through production and works committees, and by the willingness of 23 industries to make new agreements for the re-shuffling and development of their businesses toward greater production, in labour-management cooperation.

It still remains a troublesome truth that British output per man-hour, by the individual worker, lags sadly behind that in the U. S. A. That is why a joint international commission is beginning to go over British resources and methods, to utilize the brains of both countries. When Sir Stafford Cripps announced the formation of this body, he had to wade through hostile criticism from Labour and Conservatives alike. But as the purpose behind the idea has become better understood, a more favourable reaction has been shown.

The facts alone look bad, on the face of them, for British alertness and initiative. Going back to a fair period for comparison, such as 1936-37, the British National Institute of Economic and Social Research found a glaring discrepancy in favour of the American worker. Taking the output per man-hour in pig iron and charting British production at the figure of 100 as an index, the U. S. figures was 364. Contrasting figures in steel were 100 and 207; in rayon weaving 100 and 143; in grain milling 100 and 174; in soap making 100 and 266. British superiority existed almost solely in fish curing, where its rate of 100 compared advantageously with the American figure of 54.

No laziness or mere personal inefficiency, no mere stubbornness in clinging to antiquated methods (though in some cases these factors are not wanting) will explain the difference in favour of America. British genius has developed a way of making radio sets by mass production which will long be a challenge to American producers; the Newton Chambers steel works near Sheffield has introduced methods that would push American ingenuity hard. But there are reasons for the low British record per man-hour which need to be explored. The country's wonderful achievement as a whole may be considerably bettered.

Natural conditions often favour the United States. Coal mines in Britain rarely present the thick, easily worked seams found in the U. S.; the iron content of ore is lower, with the necessity of greater handling. But the chief difficulty in Britain is the lack of capital equipment. Machinery has always been used less; now, when new machines have been desired, it has not always been possible to obtain them in the post-war situation, or to afford them when they could be procured. The Labour Government is convinced that given the most modern methods, especially under the advantages of planning, Britain can be moved even more rapidly ahead on the road to self-recovery.

No patronizing smugness in the United States will help in this joint procedure, but friendly mutual respect may accomplish still greater miracles. Working together, advances may be forthcoming which will bring new understanding between the British and Americans in other fields to come.

Worldover Press

ed by the late President Roosevelt and signed by President Truman.

Uncle Sam restored civil government in Puerto Rico soon after the Spanish-American War, but U. S. citizenship did not follow the flag. In 1917 a new act was passed, conferring citizenship, but a constitution did not follow.

The forthcoming arrangement is a step forward, much bigger than is generally realized here. It is still not completely satisfactory to anyone because it does not get far enough away from colonialism. Most people in the island feel that reforms should have included power for the Puerto Ricans to decide whether they want independence, statehood, or one of the alternative schemes that have been proposed.

Just the same, the present set-up is the sort of advance most likely to pave the way for a more democratic form of government. For example, the Governor-elect will be entitled to appoint a commissioner to re-orient the island's school system. By one of the paradoxes in the current interim period, this official has not been selected because of doubt whether he should be nominated by the President or by the island's first native-born Governor—the last appointed at Washington.

There are three candidates for residence in the oldest executive mansion under the Stars and Stripes. The most likely to be elected has had the most colourful life. Luis Munoz Marin was born shortly before the *Maine* blew up in Havana harbour. Spain had just granted autonomy to Cuba and Puerto Rico; and his father was nothing less than a prime minister. President Roosevelt, returning from the Atlantic conference with Winston Churchill, introduced Munoz to Hyde Park guests as "almost" a prime minister. Were he alive today, Mr. Roosevelt would probably call him "almost" a president.

It is hard to single out Munoz Marin's most outstanding contributions to his 2,000,000 fellow islanders. His role as a tropical New Dealer is well known, but friends and enemies are quick to agree that he has endowed the soapbox with a dignified simplicity that is rare in Latin American rhetoric. At one time a White House secretary was terribly worried by Roosevelt's lack of fluency in French, which, it was supposed, might be a common medium, and implored Munoz to speak it as slowly as he possibly could. "Can't Monsieur le President," asked the Puerto Rican, going on in perfect New Yorkese, "talk just plain United States?"

The fact that Martin Travieso, his more important opponent, is not as picturesque should mislead no one. Travieso has resigned the chief justiceship of Puerto Rico's Supreme Court to accept a three-ticket nomination—a rarity anywhere. Such a coalition might be formidable against anyone else. On top of it, Travieso is a practicing Catholic, though in Catholic Puerto Rico religion has never been a burning issue at the polls. Wilson appointed Travieso Acting Governor during World War I—the only Puerto Rican to be so honoured. In 1920 he was elected Mayor of San Juan.

The Independence Party, a new organization whose precise strength everyone is free to guess, has nominated Dr. Francisco Susoni, until recently Speaker of the House. He was second only to Munoz in the latter's Popular Party, but is said to have disagreed with the popular position that the island's future status would not be an issue in November. He thus became a dark horse in an enemy camp.

As in the past the Nationalist Party is boycotting the election, largely on the claim that it is nothing short of collaborationism. This extreme independence stand may actually weaken the Independence Party by drawing away potential voters, but no one knows how much. The Independence Party has a chance to elect a senator or representative at large under provisions for minorities.

Puerto Ricans are more articulate, possibly even more mature, than mainland Americans about politics. Recently a local movement in support of Wallace got nowhere after the party's plank, favouring independence, was adopted. Dissidents took the position that all views are entitled to expression, and that the right course therefore is a plebiscite. Communists are giving support to the Independence Party.—*Worldover Press*.

AUSTRALIAN TRADE UNIONS

(By J. D BROWN)

Australian trade unionism discarded its swaddling clothes in the face of great opposition from governments and employers in the latter half of the last century. During that time there were six separate Australian colonies. Each was concerned with working out its own destiny, with little regard to what the others were doing.

To put an end to this confusion the Commonwealth of Australia was inaugurated in 1901. The trade union movement followed the political set-up. Its leaders realized the need for an organization having Australia-wide authority, and the Australasian Council of Trade Unions is that organization. It was formed in 1926.

Once a union was established, it quickly became obvious that its power and influence was greater than that of an individual worker. This had two results. Employers banded together in associations to protect their interests also, and the unions set about to form a body that would represent all unions, in the hope that it would be stronger than an individual union. The central body set up by unionists in each state was called the Trades Hall Council or Trades and Labour Council.

There are minor differences in methods and titles in the various states, but an accurate overall picture can be drawn by outlining the procedure in Victoria.

The Trades Hall Council in that state is composed of delegates elected by each of the affiliated unions. It thus becomes, in effect, the parliament

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NOTES

Kashmir:—On October 25, 1947 the Maharaja of Kashmir called on the Union to aid Kashmir in repelling the raiders. On October 27, Indian forces marched into Kashmir on what has been described as an unknown adventure, not aware whom they were fighting and in what strength and with little experience of the terrain. The week under notice saw what might be described as Kashmir week. It has been said that after a year of effort the raiders were not able to get any further than they did in the first few days preceding October 1947 and that there have been several reverses suffered by their side. Now that Pakistan has been named as aiding the raiders and virtually running the whole campaign for the "Azad Kashmir Government." the nature of the Indian effort can be well appreciated. Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, Pakistan's premier, has indicated that his talks with Pandit Jawaharlal at Mr. Attlee's dinners in London had not brought about better understanding between the two. It is incidentally rather humiliating that news agencies should have had to report of the failure of Pandit Jawaharlal and Mr. Liaquat exchanging ideas until the British Prime Minister provided the opportunity. It would be interesting to know if any effort was made, and on whose part, to have a free and frank discussion, and if it was spurned. However that apart, the Pakistan Premier's reaffirmation of his country's policy makes it obvious that the Indian Union cannot let things stand at this point. It is not like a debate or discussion round a conference table but it is active war. If, as has been established, the throwing out of the raiders from Kashmir requires following the issue into the Pakistan bases, that will have to be undertaken. As it is, the border strip held by raiders cannot be cleared effectively without attacking the bases. That means trouble with Pakistan—war, undeclared or declared. We hope that Pakistan statesmen who were able to resist the temptation to interfere in Hyderabad, will display a similar realism on the Kashmir problem.

The Prime Ministers' Conference:—The London Conference of Commonwealth Premiers concluded last week-end with a communique, paying tribute to the three Asian Prime Ministers and significantly dropping the word "British" from all reference to the Commonwealth. It has been commented upon that even the word Dominion has been abandoned for the phrase "Sovereign, Independent Countries"—an initiation of the objectives phrasing of the Indian Constituent Assembly that is flattering. None of the really important issues seem to have been decided, even in broad general policy. Seeing that Eire is uneasy in the Commonwealth and that India is due to consider early next month the desirability or otherwise of staying in the Commonwealth, the first consideration for the Commonwealth, one would have felt, was the status of the independent units. Secondly, the race issue has been completely ignored though the presence of South Africa with India, Pakistan and Ceylon at any conference must make race relations a matter of extreme urgency. Thirdly, though the Conference went so far as to confer a belated approval on the Western Union plan, nothing has been done to secure a declaration on colonialism. India has been striving hard to win for herself the leadership of Asia and she is pledged to full support of Asian nationalism. Unless her membership of the Commonwealth squares in with this aspiration, India will be confronted with a choice between two loyalties and it will be the Commonwealth that will suffer. But still no notice has been taken of this aspect by the Conference. It will be some time before India, Pakistan and Ceylon shake off what has been termed the satellite habit, and till then Britain is assured of all success in deciding important matters for the "Dominions". Pandit Jawaharlal has been so eager to convince Britain and the other Dominions of the goodwill

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BOMBAY, October 30, 1948

HYDERABAD—A LONG VIEW

The internal politics of Hyderabad needs greater attention than has been accorded to it by leaders in India. The latest developments have been a certain amount of Muslim approaches to the Hyderabad State Congress, the dissolving of the party of Progressives, the isolation of the Communists, and the complete demoralisation of the Ittehad-Razakars. Somewhat in the manner of Muslim Leaguers in India who, after the creation of Pakistan, felt the vacuum caused by the migration of League top-rankers to the new State, the youth of Osmania University, it is said are feeling blindly for the light. Left to itself, Hyderabad would pursue an extremely radical policy. A natural culmination of all the intrigues and exploitations of the past feverish year would have been the deposing of the Nizam, the overthrow of the feudal lords and the setting up of a socialist regime, after a period of anarchy. But the same force which holds anarchy in check, also prevents the accomplishment of much else that seems inevitable. If a widespread revolt could have taken place, there is no doubt that numbers of Muslims who suffered equally from the domination of feudal landlordism, would have participated in it in a spirit of bitter disillusionment. The Union intervention made revolution impossible. But it could have been guided wisely into channels where the consequent dislocation could have been turned to advantage for Hyderabad as a whole. A student of Hyderabad politics indicated to this writer recently that a declaration of a general amnesty, except to those accused of offences against the law and against public security, and an assurance that no one would be penalised for membership of any political party, would have left no room for the apprehensions of the present day and would have conformed with the statement that the Union had taken police action in entering Hyderabad. The psychological effect of such an approach would have been tremendous. But the opportunity was not used. According to reports so far received, the situation in the districts is not quite satisfactory and there has been a crowding into the cities of Hyderabad and Secunderabad of Muslims who were nervous of popular reprisals in the countryside, a development that could easily have been anticipated. In the cities too, there are reports, some of them exaggerated no doubt, of Sindhis infiltering and seeking openings for industry and commerce. It is enough to say here that there is inevitably a certain amount of apprehension of city Muslims who were leading the business life of the State, and equally inevitably a certain desire on the part of others to exploit these fears to their own advantage. It is also possible that some Muslim businessmen will attempt to salvage the future by seeking non-Muslim partners.

The problem now is how to dispel the mutual fears of Muslims and non-Muslims and restore normal conditions in the State. Hyderabad has several generations of Muslims trained in the habits of a ruling class. At the same time, it must be mentioned that Hyderabad Muslims have not been alive to the opportunities they had and have not risen to the occasion adequately. Few Muslims of the State have held the highest office in the Government; even Osmania University has failed to give one individual who could guide its destinies. The only indigenous effort has been the Ittehad-Razakar movement which, after the worst excesses of communalism, has now ended in smoke. The significance of all this is that, whilst nothing constructive in a big way might be hoped for from the Hyderabad Muslim, there is every danger of petty intrigues and manipulations from the experienced intelligentsia. On the other hand, the Hyderabad State Congress is not in a much better way. There are few men of marked ability in the party and the general low level to which the majority community was reduced in the Nizam's autocracy, killed all initiative and leadership. In a party in opposition, where the only need was determination and obstruction, this did not greatly matter. But for reconstruction, the lack of experience is a great handicap. It is now being greatly felt. It is possible that the Hyderabad State Congress will in the next six months acquire the necessary personnel and its leaders will be able to apply themselves to the tasks that await attention. But until then there must be some administration in the State

Conscious of these conditions and of the difficulties created by the absence of any political leadership worth the name, anxious students of Hyderabad are inclined to demand a continuance of the Military Administration until such time as Hyderabadis themselves show their capabilities or otherwise. But it would be a mistaken decision if the Military regime is kept on, with all its shortcomings and its necessary ignoring of the larger issues in the State. It is very necessary that the Centre's guiding hand should continue during the transition period. But it is a point for consideration whether the McArthur experiment in Japan should be repeated, or even could be successfully carried out in Hyderabad. Up to now there has been a fairly close parallel. But it cannot be kept up for any long term without serious detriment both to India and Hyderabad. We fail to see what objection there could be to an interim administration with a Prime Minister, not from Hyderabad, who would naturally have more power vis-a-vis the Nizam than the Prime Ministers of other States. Law and Order and Finance might be secured as the special responsibility of the Central Government by insisting that the Minister in charge of the portfolio be appointed in consultation with the Union Government; and a similar proviso regarding the

Hyderabad Army head can also be made in the interim arrangement. The Interim Government might be charged with the task of holding elections to the Hyderabad Constituent Assembly and of carrying on the administration until the new Constitution framed there comes into force. It is admitted that Hyderabad is politically underdeveloped. There should be no objection to a form of Diarchy, limited in time to a couple of years at most, during which popular representatives could obtain the necessary administrative experience. If such a procedure is followed, we are sure that the better mind of Hyderabad will support it. For several reasons, we would commend Sir Mirza Ismail as the best selection for the Hyderabad Prime Minister, if Sir Mirza could be persuaded to accept what threatens to be a burden rather than an honour. But if it is necessary to seek other talent, then there is a wide field of choice in India which could be searched. What is essential is that civil power be made superior to the military in Hyderabad.

GANDHI—THE INFLUENCE AT THE INDO-AMERICAN CLUB*

(By GEORGE P. CONGER)

In the Indo-American Club we are particularly aware of the oft-noted comparisons, as well as of some of the striking contrasts, between the careers of Gandhi and of Lincoln. Lincoln, born in poverty, became reasonably well-to-do in his public work; Gandhi was born in a well-to-do family, but in his public work voluntarily adopted poverty. Each was a lawyer—Lincoln self-taught, Gandhi with the advantage of training at the University of London. Each, drawn into public life, became an emancipator—Lincoln freed perhaps 4,000,000 slaves, Gandhi was the chief instrument in freeing 400,000,000 persons from political domination. The one, in his emancipating work, against his will was compelled to resort to war; the other achieved his amazing victory by the amazing method of non-violence. Each, just at the moment of victory, was struck down, and a great stab of pain went into the heart of the world. Now the work of each is crowned by martyrom, and "he belongs to the ages."

For Gandhi, this is the first birthday anniversary since his taking off. It is appropriate that we observe his birthday, rather than his death-day, just as in America we remember the birthday, of Lincoln, February 12, more vividly than his death-day, April 15. A death-day somehow connotes the end, or the suspension of a life-work, whereas a birthday carries the suggestion of henceforth continuous new life and growth.

It is a commonplace to say that Gandhi inspired and transformed the lives of those around him. Three of them I remember especially well. There was Vinoba, who was trained to be an outstanding Sanskrit scholar; I found him living in a village of untouchables, setting up an ashram there, devoting his life to the life of those despised and rejected people. They told me that he, the Sanskrit scholar, was getting up before dawn and with his own hands sweeping the streets and cleaning up around the wells of the village, which before that no caste Hindu would enter. There was Jamnalal Bajaj, a rich man, a hereditary banker, devoting his life, his fortune, and his sacred honour to the cause of Gandhi and India. And there was Madeline Slade, Miraben, brought up in all the tinsel and glamour of British society in India, leaving it all behind her in order to go and serve the poor.

When I looked beyond these, and others, whom Gandhi had so transformed, to find the transformer himself, it was astounding to see how plain and poor he was. Sitting there, with a loincloth, a pair of slippers, a bottle of water, an alarm clock, a wheel for his spinning, a reel on which to wind the cotton thread, an old bedstead out on the balcony—the man was simply destitute. And yet that man swayed his contemporaries by the millions and the hundred millions. He had more influence on the men of his time than any other man in history ever had. What was the secret?

I think that for an answer we may borrow a formula from atomic physics, and assign its symbols new values. In the work on the atom, the fundamental equation, which unlocked the devastating power of the atomic nucleus, is Einstein's $e=mc^2$; that is energy equals mass times the velocity of light, squared. The mass involved in nuclear fission is very, very small, even negligible, but the factor c, the velocity of light, 186,000 miles per second, is enormous, and c^2 is stupendous, so the total energy as it bursts forth exceeds anything dreamed of in ordinary processes. Now let us substitute other values, the Gandhi values, in the formula. Let e be the effectiveness of life, m the man, and c the cause he serves. Like the factor for mass in the Einstein formula, the man may not be so much; Gandhi the man was plain, in some respects ordinary, in others archaic—but *he multiplied his life into a great cause*, the cause of India, free India. (Notice that the formula calls not for an addition, as if it were $m\,c^2$, but for a multiplication, mc^2; the m is, as it were, used not once, but many times, c^2 times. Gandhi gave himself not once, but again and again, over and over like Lincoln, with "the last full measure of devotion.") And because the cause was magnificent, the man was multiplied to the measure of a magnificent triumph.

We may go further. We are still too close to the life and death of Gandhi to be sure, and these matters develop very slowly in the course of history. We should not be surprised, however, if in the course of time, in function, perhaps, after all, his grand achievement for India represents only the mc of the formula, and not yet the mc^2. Perhaps the mc^2 is yet to come. We should not be surprised, I say, if Gandhi in time comes to be the symbol, if not the embodiment, of the unity of the

*At The UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA October 2, 1948.

world religions. Hinduism and Buddhism may call him an embodiment or incarnation; Judaism, Christianity, and Islam may call him a symbol, but as one or the other, Gandhi, more than any man, may come to have that all but transcendent function. See how well fitted he is for it. He was a Hindu, and his heart was in that faith. But in his teachings of compassion and love, and in his life, he was near to Buddhism. Christians admit that, even if he was not the world's truest Christian, he was more like Jesus than Christians themselves are. In his presence Hindus and Muslims forgot their differences; he told me that he had learned much about brotherhood from Islam. He was human enough for the followers of Confucius, and victor enough to appeal to the Jains. The Jews can find in him a new fulfilment of the most sublime teaching of all their prophets—the fifty-second and fifty-third chapters of Isaiah. "When we shall see him, there is no beauty that we should desire in him. Surely he hath borne our griefs and carried our sorrows...The chastisement of our peace was upon him; and with his stripes we are healed".

Eighty-three years ago in America, when our nation was bowed in grief as Lincoln's body was being taken from Washington to Springfield, the outstanding Christian preacher of the day was Henry Ward Beecher, who had been a friend and councellor of Lincoln. In that dark time the great Beecher stood in his pulpit and pronounced words that, with all their nineteenth-century characteristics, we may today repeat for Mahatma Gandhi:

> Cities and states are his pall-bearers, and the cannon speaks the hours with solemn progression. Dead, dead, dead, he yet speaketh. Is Washington dead? Is Hampden dead? Is any man, that ever was fit to live, dead? Disenthralled of flesh, risen to that higher sphere where passion never comes, he now begins his illimitable work. Pass on, thou who hast overcome! Ye people, behold the martyr, whose blood, as so many articulate words, pleads for fidelity, for law, for liberty!

FRENCH FARMERS' TREK TO CITIES

(By a Worldover Press Correspondent)

Troublesome as are strikes and political instability, French officials are sometimes even more deeply concerned about a problem for which there appears no easy solution. It is the continuous abandonment of country life for the big towns.

In 1901, the rural population of France was about 23,000,000; by 1936, it had dropped to 19,900,000. During the same period, the number of farm workers fell from 5,450,000 to 4,180,000. What gives cause for alarm is the current trend, which by all signs is going on at the same rate. The country's economy will not permit making offers in the form of sufficiently ample subsidies, or any other devices, to keep people on the farms. When new types of machinery reduce the number of hands required on a farm for the same production, the workers do not seek other rural employment, but flock to city factories. Another cause for the migration is the lack of recreational facilities, and improvements which for many make city life more attractive.

BRITAIN'S INDEPENDENCE

(By DEVERE ALLEN)

Time after time the British Labour Government has shown that it stands beside the United States in resistance to the ideas and methods of the Russian Politburo. That position has been taken notwithstanding serious misgivings in sections of the rank and file, though protests have recently become less shrill. Yet strangely enough, Britain does not stand entirely on the American side so far as either Russia or the U. S. is concerned, for from both the great powers she is subjected to a flow of criticism, propaganda, and political pressure.

Twenty-eight years ago there was a clash of wills at London. The government of David Lloyd George was bitterly anti-Soviet, and as one of its members, Winston Churchill was going about the land raving against the "bolshevist baboon," and reaching the point where it was assumed he was about to promote an open war to overthrow the young revolutionary Moscow regime. Suddenly a dramatic meeting took place: a trade union delegation of 17 called on the Prime Minister and told him that British Labour would not tolerate a war, but would, if need be, break the war effort by organized non-cooperation. The spokesman of that Labour group was Ernest Bevin, present Foreign Minister.

Yet today Bevin is the special target of Soviet propaganda and ill-will. Says "New Times", the Communist-line Moscow organ: "Bevin's whole career has been built on service to imperialism." Every possible invention and invective are hurled his way. Taking a double crack at Bevin and Washington, "New Times" also came up with this one: "A circumstance that has only recently come to light helps to explain the patronage the fascist (Oswald) Mosley is accorded by ruling Labourite circles. The American Office of International Information and Cultural Affairs has published a report, approved by Marshall. From this report we learn that, since the Labour Government has come to power, representatives of this Office, on instructions from the State Department, have been regularly subsidizing Mosley. More, it is suggested that Mosley be entrusted with the distribution of American funds assigned for fascist groupings in European countries."

One would think that American spokesmen, in the light of constant barrages from the Kremlin, would be grateful enough for British support to refrain from putting any squeeze on British Labour. Yet in a hundred small and serious ways, there is pressure from Washington to make Britain change the majority decisions of its people, so as to conform more closely to what most Americans perhaps desire in the United States. Paul Hoffmann, Marshall Plan administrator, said some time ago in a Washington press conference that if the British nationalized the steel industry (as Labour is pledged to do), the Recovery Administration would be opposed "if it caused confusion

in a transitory period." When asked if he thought such confusion would arise, Hoffmann said: "Yes, I do."

British Labour thinks its record shows little confusion and marked stability. New figures on production under its crisis controls are very striking. The tremendous over-all gains are well known and have impressed the whole world. It has recently been shown that farm tractors, so vital to recovery, are now being turned out at the rate of 27,000 every three months, as compared to 2,900 before the war—in the mythical non-confusion of Conservative rule. Every quarter now, 9,000 ploughs are produced, as against 3,000 in 1938. And while no harvesters at all were manufactured in 1938, they are now rolling off at the rate of 257 each quarter. Where is the confusion? Is it not in America?

And in Russia also? "New Times" recently jibed at British difficulties, and declared: "The American plutocracy is preparing to impose a new social regime upon the part of Europe it has brought under its sway. The forces which regard Western Europe as a new colony and a source of unprecedented super-profits have issued an ultimatum demanding the adoption of resolute measures to bridle the European working class. This is not one of the most important tasks assigned to the West European governments which have thrown in their lot with Wall Street. Foremost among them is the British Labour Government, which only three years ago announced the coming of an era of 'social justice' and 'democratic socialism' in Britain. The blow at the British working class is to be struck by the hands of Attlee, Bevin and Cripps."

Mr. Hoffmann, meet Mr. Stalin. You have many differences, but with respect to pressure on the Labour Government and the millions giving it support, you have much in common. From your respective sides, the squeeze is on. It may not be given up, unless the menace from Moscow becomes too dangerous, and the British indispensable. Unless you are talking for nationalistic ears in the United States, and carrying water on both shoulders. Unless you find that the British will not sell their cooperation, but extend it gladly for no other price than independence in doing what they think is right.

—Worldover Press

POLITENESS

Sir,

The Government of India's recent Circular on politeness is a reminder that politeness costs nothing and gains everything though cynics would swallow the recipe with a grain of salt. Politeness of course gains a good many things including sometimes politeness on the part of the opposite party, since obviously it would be difficult to be obnoxious in the teeth of unflinching urbanity.

It is not correct to suppose as is often supposed that politeness is a matter of peripheral decoration, an extraneous quality of refinement consisting mainly of proper approach and expression. On the other hand, politeness of speech without politeness of the spirit is just the opposite of politeness. Politeness is politeness when its roots lie in the depths of the personality. It is then that politeness shows itself in its true descent of being of ethical merit.

To be rude and deaf, dark, dumb and dismal, is to set too high a price on one's own self-suggested eminence and to strut in the public eye with an obstreperous trumpet. It is the privilege of pride conscious of its security to chuck out the unpretentious suitor with a pompous look or sign: to consign a letter to the waste-paper basket instead of sending a reply to it in courteous style: to confront a friendly step with coldness and disdain: to suppress a smile with a frown, and depart. The times are unpropitious and discourtesy often brings handsome returns!

But a secular state unbuttressed by scriptural injunctions has to shift the burden onto civic virtues and qualities. It is a herculean task the Government of India has undertaken—this rehabilitation of tidiness and politeness in the manners and affairs of the nation.

Aren't we going to become as undoubtedly we had been once upon a time the politest people in the world?

N. K. Venkateswaran.

"TB" VICTIMS FIND EDUCATIONAL HAVEN

Swiss educational and medical leaders, who for 25 years have conducted a remarkable sanatorium for the mountain cure of tubercular university students and teachers, have launched a programme for the extension of their work to university undergraduates of the whole world. Already successful in enabling Swiss students to continue their studies while being cured, the expanded project will bring hope to many in various countries otherwise doomed to broken careers.

The scourge of tuberculosis is particularly disastrous when it overtakes a young man or woman in the prime of youthful ambition. In most cases it requires a complete interruption of learning. Not so for many Swiss students, thanks to the University Sanatorium, which is located 4,750 feet above sea level in the Vaudois Alps at Leysin, not far from Lausanne. Sixty beds, each in a separate room, are provided for Swiss students and teachers, and even for those of other nations when facilities will permit.

In addition to the best of medical care, patients are provided with ideal moral and intellectual surroundings by means of which, within the limits of their strength, they can follow their chosen studies. Even when unable to pursue formal courses, cultural opportunities are offered, something of great psychological value to recovery.

Not only is there a library of 17,030 volumes and more than 150 periodicals in various langua-

ges; there are lectures by professors and visiting experts from Switzerland and many nations. There are concerts by famous artists, motion pictures, phonograph recitals of fine music, and a radio system tuned to programmes of educational worth. A great deal of systematic teaching is carried on, and sometimes students may even leave for a day or so to return to their universities for examinations. No fewer than 1,830 teachers, men of science, authors and artists have given their help to this unique educational sanatorium.

Back of this unusual experiment is the colourful story of a man's devotion to a dream. Thirty years ago Dr. Louis C. Vauthier, of the University of Geneva, began enlisting the Swiss university world in the creation of the project. At length, his imagination and fire were communicated to others. Today, every person at a Swiss university, at the Federal Technological School, and at St. Gall Commercial High School, pays an annual subscription of 12 Swiss francs (about $ 2.85), or in the case of teachers 20 francs, which reduces by half the cost of maintenance to patients taking part in the plan.

During treatment, 650 examinations have been taken, and 315 theses completed. Even in the case of students not so fortunate, enduring friendships have been made, and there has been none of the usual loss in intellectual interest.

Dr. Vauthier and his associates are not satisfied, however, for they have an international outlook. They are campaigning to awaken an interest in many countries, looking toward the building of a great new plant, adequately endowed, and based on world-wide cooperation in all aspects of the work. An Action Committee pushing the scheme is determined to make it serve the poor as well as the better-off. Treatment is to be at as low a rate as possible, and special funds are to be set aside for students of limited means. The Committee is composed of outstanding leaders in the fields of medicine, learning, and finance.

Financing of the proposed sanatorium is proceeding through the sale of 500 franc "shares," together with "founder shares" amounting to 25,000 francs. Already, 36 founder shares have been subscribed, and many of the smaller shares. Donations, too, will be needed, from various countries. Appropriations are sought from cities, national government, colleges, and student associations everywhere. The campaign is backed by the League of Red Cross Societies, the International Union Against Tuberculosis, the Rotary Clubs of Europe, and similar bodies. The Swiss Parliament has granted $118,000.

Dr. Vauthier, among other tributes has recently been made a Chevalier of the Legion of Honour. If this will help in the realization of his dream, that is all right with him. But it is trivial in his sight compared to the chance of curing students from all over the world, keeping up their intellectual work at the same time, and helping a new generation on toward international understanding.

(Worldover Press European Bureau)

CONSCRIPT LABOUR AND CAPITAL.

(By S. K. SHARMA)

Appeals to the nobler instincts of man smack of the ridiculous and only have a tendency to lower the administration. The experience of Madras shows that stocks are freely released at even controlled prices when Ministers go about persuading: they have gone underground only because of official rationing and the incomprehensible policy and methods of official procurements. It stands to reason then that unofficial procurement at an economic price ought to be more successful and it will save the Government crores now wasted in this untried Bania business. I would suggest that as a preliminary to any order to decontrol, the Food Department appoint a permanent non-official body called the "The Food Grains Marketing Board" of seven to eleven businessmen who will be charged with the duty to maintain a minimum of six million tons of food grains which they will now purchase primarily from abroad and secondarily from within the country. The Dominion Government will give interest-free the capital required for their purchase. This Board need not necessarily sit in New Delhi: they will have their headquarters in some central place and store the grains in convenient centres. In times of emergency the stock will be released in those places where they are most needed for distribution through marketing agencies. The Board will replenish the stocks as and when food grains are available, by freely entering into the international market. The responsibility of the Government will be confined to finding the initial capital for the purchase, only suffering the loss of interest on the sum and the cost of erecting buildings for storage. The Board will buy and sell through their own agencies and try to keep always the minimum in stock. The very fact that the Marketing Board will make a minimum of six millions available to the people where there is a crisis will prevent hoarding, and drive away the dealer in the black-market. The reserve may be more than 6 millions in minimum or may be five: it can be easily decided upon. What is required is the restoration of confidence among the people that food is available and cannot be cornered or rationed.

A responsible member newly appointed to the Food Council by Mr. Truman told us that there was forcible feeding of pigs on wheat. Surely Christian Americans will agree that between stuffing pigs with wheat and saving men from starvation, the choice must rest with the latter. We are entitled to put forward this preferential claim on the ground that it was in feeding the American and other white troops that Indian stores were used up during the war. A trip to Canada for a million ton of wheat may be equally fruitful of results if it was for building a reserve. If between America, both North and South, Australia and Canada four millions are assured for 1948, we could win from Soviet Russia another million unless they want to store it for the next war which I contemplate will

have broken out in twelve months. We can make up the balance or even more, whatever is available, in rice from Burma, Indo-China, the Philippines and Indonesia. Non-official procurement by the Marketing Board, the delegation having canvassed for it at the first instance, will turn out considerably cheaper to the general consumer who will be spared all the cost of inefficient departmental procurement which has forced up the general level of prices in the wake of the prices of food grains. I commend the proposal in which I have made no mention of what could be locally procured—by a competent and trustworthy Board,—to the earnest consideration of the Dominion Government for suitable and speedy action.

The rising cost of clothing presents an enigma the key to whose solution seems to rest with three people, the Textile Commissioner, the Mill-owners Association, and Labour leadership. The orders and counter-orders issued by the Textile Commissioner, in the distribution of available piece-goods and the principles, if any, guiding him in such distribution as between province and province, baffle us. The Mill-owners Association appear to have resolved that the Textile Commissioner has not as much to distribute as the textile mills have the capacity to produce. And Labour leadership has indirectly helped in the mill-owners reaping the full benefit of strikes by increased cost of the manufactured goods, whatever advantage they gained thereby. It is not necessary to detail the sordid story of the combined mismanagement of all the three in the costly supply of just a loin cloth to 350 millions of human beings.

Ten years ago I estimated on the strength of the available material that the supply from Indian mills would be sufficient to meet the requirements of the people and our dependance upon Lancashire would cease in five years. In 1939-40 our production reached the four thousand million figure and rose to 4½ thousand millions in 1941-42. The next year saw a fall; but we soon recovered. The peak was reached in 1943-44 when 4,871 million yards were produced; it dropped next year to 4,676 millions and again to 3,925 million in 1946-47, a fall of 87 millions from 1939-40. With the conclusion of the war and the switch-over to civilian production, it was anticipated that the target of 5,000 million yards would be reached by this year, which would give a family of five 90 yards of mill cloth. But calculations have all been upset and various excuses are given.

The hours of work are reduced; there has been no corresponding reduction in wages; the cost of all materials has gone up; the man-days lost by periodical strikes have multiplied many times; and so on and so forth—indisputable facts of course. But you cannot clothe people by plausible arguments and balanced paragraphs.

We have cotton enough in the land: we consume just 50 per cent of the cotton grown on the soil. We have the mills capable of working three shifts though they have suffered some damage and need renewal. We have the Labour requisite in plenty, if we knew how to harness it. If we cannot make these subserve the sacred purpose of clothing the people at an economic cost, the folly lies not with these implements, but with the State authorities who simply look on. Perhaps I am wrong. The State does not simply look on. It meets the mill-owners now and then with incredible anxiety to save them from possible financial embarrassments.

I submit that it is high time we gave up this nonsense and had the State intervening at once and acting with a firm hand with the elements that stand in the way of supplying to the people an essential requisite of daily life. They must plainly warn both Capital and Labour that they should co-operate in the common endeavour of working to their fullest capacity and producing the maximum they can at a price which will not yield Capital more than the normal interest on investment, namely, the bank rate, and Labour a reasonable wage, till the situation is eased and men and women are provided with their usual requirements. And, if the response is unsatisfactory, they should take over the management of the textile industry wholesale and work it till there is perceptible release from the tentacles of the cloth famine. Such a determined stand must have an immediate effect upon the industry. It is a matter of supreme satisfaction to know that the impulse of Labour at present is to co-operate with the Dominion Government in preserving the freedom that is now ours; and there is no meaning in the freedom which condemns a fifth of the human race to semi-nakedness. The five-yard ration is a disgrace to any civilised system of administration. There is a light-hearted reply to the savage life we are called upon to lead that there are enough handloom clothing available in the country. It is something that the informed statesman did not rely upon the supply of Khadi. The All-India Spinners Association at any rate seem to know better. But the price of handloom clothing has gone up to an indefinite extent, many times over the inflated price of mill clothing. The exaggerated price of handloom clothing whose annual production was nearly 2,000 million years—just fifty per cent of the mill production—is accounted for by the inadequate supply of yarn which keeps the weaver idle for twenty days in the month and the consequent high wages charged for the working days. The weaver's cost has been officially estimated in Madras to have increased fourteen times and no wonder that, what with black-market prices of all commodities and the inordinate price of clothing, the general consumer is reduced to a state of abject poverty and wretchedness. It is as cruel and wicked to ask him to forget his privation in the enthusiasm of the new liberation as to ask him to starve once a fortnight to reduce the pressure on food for the remaining days. A little act of heroism there in conscripting Capital and Labour to maximise production of mill-clothing and mill-yarns for the handloom weaver would reflect credit on the Dominion Government.

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"*I will* be as harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard*".

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the LIBERATOR.

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NOTES

U. S. Presidential Elections:—In the American presidential elections, the issues between the two candidates had narrowed down to merely personal matters. On foreign policy, Mr. Dewey had intimated privately to M. Stalin that in the event of his becoming president, Russia's further expansion would be resisted as strongly as Mr. Truman expected to do. So far as personality goes, there is little to prepossess the voters in Mr. Truman's favour. The fact that the American press was rather sceptical of him, suggests that, on that section of the public on whom his influence was most exerted, Mr. Truman had created a bad impression. In these circumstances, it was something of a surprise that Mr. Truman was returned by the majority of the voters in a convincing manner. The vote has to a large extent given Mr, Truman the prestige he lacked whilst he was President by usage rather than by vote; and this is the more since the Senate too has emerged with a Democratic majority. There is a great deal of mystification as to the reasons for Mr. Truman's return and one American newspaper has credited Mr. Truman for what it calls a striking personal triumph, won virtually single-handed. Others have charged Mr. Dewey's failure to his having a "negative personality", whatever that phrase might mean. It seems that the American public is growing to distrust glamour and the eerie light that showmanship draws on its practicer. Mr. Mr. Truman, it would be fair to observe, won the Presidentship from a more colourful rival because he convinced his public that he was a safe man. The Labour vote, it is said, has been decisive and Labour was drawn to Mr. Truman because of its dislike of the Rapublican Taft-Hartley Law. But it would be surprising if that Law is completely removed from the statute-book.

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does not necessarily come from single-minded devotion to ethical principles, it surely does not follow that we have discarded all ethical principles—a nonsensical proposition. But it is—and it was intended to be—a warning that not all who have served humanity in some way or other, can be held up to the people as exemplars of virtue. This tendency to ascribe all the virtues to those we would commend, leads to lowered standards and even to misrepresentation. Where the facts are generally public knowledge, the eulogist is soon dismissed as one who speaks without weighing his words. In the instance discussed in the Note, the friend, who has wide experience of public life in Bombay, may profitably tell us what he thinks of Mr. Kher's idea of 'journalistic integrity' after reading the Prime Minister's tribute.

Communist Advance in China:—Reports from China indicate that Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek has increased opposition to cope with from the Communists. The fall of Manchuria to the Communists places Nationalist China in a greatly straitened position and the Generalissimo will need all his political skill to tide over the crisis. On the other hand, the Chinese Communists, it has often been observed by American journalists, are very different from the Soviet breed. Their coming to power cannot be a complete asset to Russia: and it is more than probable that with the establishing of one more centre of Communism, World Communism will undergo radical alteration. The adherence to Communism will certainly prove an important factor in the event of war, but in peacetime it will be seen that Tito's resistance will be emulated in other Soviet-influenced zones. A long period of peace would in fact involve Russia in all manner of complications, compared to which the adjustments called for in the British Commonwealth would be negligible; and the larger the extension of Soviet influence and domination, the greater the opportunity for even small nations within its sphere to assert themselves. Chinese nationalism will influence the Communist manifestation in China as profoundly as Russian nationalism has affected Communism in Russia. There is a tendency to trace the reverses of Nationalist China to the defects of the Generalissimo's administration. But it is fair to remember that the Generalissimo has not had the necessary peace in which to attend to internal reform, even if the will to change was there.

Political Dualism:—In an able speech on the draft Constitution, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar dealt with the two dualisms which tend to continue in Indian politics: The Indian States and Indian minorities. On the question of the States, Dr. Ambedkar hoped that, before the Constitution was adopted, the distinction between Provinces and States would ceese to be. This is rather an optimistic view since the Kashmir trouble threatens to last for some months and, whilst it lasts, the States question cannot be completely settled. Apart from Kashmir, there is Sardar Patel's declaration that the Princes are not to be liquidated. So long as the Princes exist, the States must differ from the Provinces—even though some Princes, may be appointed provincial governors. As regards the minorities, Dr. Ambedkar remarked that the ideal way would be for the majority to recognize that there are minorities and for the minorities not to seek to perpetuate themselves. Coming from who has done everything in his power to maintain the differences between Casts Hindus and others by his demands for the Scheduled Castes, Dr. Ambedkar's advice to minorities is remarkable. We agree that to a great extent it rests with the majority to settle the doubts and fears of the minorities. But what is needed is the cultivation of a sense of national solidarity which will do away with all exploitation of communal groups. Of this, there is no sign at the moment. On the contrary, we are now faced with the clamour for provincial redistribution which cannot but detract from the growth of national unity. Dr. Ambedkar may take pride in the Constitution providing for only one citizenship but it will take some time before the people rise to this stature—and much effort. The main responsibility for "living up to the Constitution" which Dr. Ambedkar rightly stressed, lies on the Government and on the leaders of opinion in the country.

India's Premier Abroad:—Returning from the Commonwealth Conference, Pandit Jawaharlal has taken the opportunity of making known India's place in the world in two important utterances. At the U. N. Assembly which he was specially invited to address, Pandit Jawaharlal dwelt on the greatness which comes to men, even small men, when they pursue a great cause. Dr. Conger in his article in last week's "Reformer" developed this idea with great enthusiasm. Pandit Jawaharlal called on the U. N. delegates to bring a dispassionate mind to the problems they were discussing and to cast aside fear of war. His special remarks about India presumably reflect the stand he took at the London Conference since he spoke without notes and of that which was uppermost in his mind. He emphasised race equality, the scrapping of the colonial system, and consistent pursuit of peace. Asia, he said, was now playing a prominent part in world affairs and she would play an even greater part in the near future. In Cairo, he reiterated these principles to reporters and he warned Imperial Powers, particularly those interested in Indonesia, to eschew colonialism. In both utterances, a striking point was Pandit Jawaharlal's confidence that war would not occur. Pandit Jawaharlal's present visit to England and his utilizing the few hours he had in other countries to the best effect have done much to remove misunderstanding and correct wrong impressions. It has been very successful from the Indian point of view, and the Prime Minister has indicated that personally it has given him great pleasure.

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"*I will* be as harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard*".

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the LIBERATOR.

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EUROPE'S CONFLICT

(By DEVERE ALLEN)

Last Summer in Brussels, one of the sleek department stores called L'Innovation was doing its best to boost Benelux, the customs union slowly developing among Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxemburg. Colours of all three lands were brightly displayed, and a special exhibit explained how the plan would work and the benefits eventually to be shared. Tiny trucks carted exchangeable goods back and forth across frontiers; crops and factory products were shown on their way, busily serving mutual needs.

The immense obstacles to be overcome could scarcely be portrayed in such a show. It was a brave little affair, none the less, calculated to arouse shoppers from nationalistic ways of thought, intended to stir them to heartier cooperation for the common good. But around the corner, high in front of the Bon Marche, another great store, was an emblem of a contradictory nature. This firm was not interested in new economic ways; it was speaking for the old order. In giant letters it admonished the public to "Buy Belgian."

You could not find a neater symbol of the opposing impulses at work in Western Europe. Nor a simpler hint at the problems that must be solved before any federation of peoples, even in that limited area, can be brought to birth. You can, in fact, almost measure a person's knowledge of European affairs by the glibness with which he oversimplifies the tasks involved in federalism: Yet until Europe federates, no full prosperity or security can be achieved.

European recovery administrators from the United States have been showing impatience when they run into outworn, traditional arguments against a closer union. Much of that impatience is warranted; there is a sort of immovable stubbornness in some quarters. It is sometimes based on folk habits which cling to antiquated sentiment. The writer has a friend in the Belgian Chamber of Deputies who is quite a modern; but he has come up recently with a big idea—next year a national celebration of a defeat given by the Belgae to Caesar's legions exactly 2,000 years ago!

This is no joke, for I have witnessed day-long festivals in France, when school children laid wreaths on still-mounded graves of Vercingetorix's soldiers who routed Roman forces in a local skirmish during the Gallic Wars. In many parts of Europe you can see ceremonial tributes to pre-Christian victories; they are carried out, appropriately, in a quite pre-Christian mood.

The big job for federalists is not, of course, precisely in this field, though it can never be ignored. The enemy of federation is the prevailing economic nationalism which often has its roots in a dire temporary need. The British have come under fire because of lukewarmness toward federation; the Labour Party can hardly be blamed for feeling that Mr. Churchill's efforts will only serve further to anger the Russians. More dangerously, it might, in Labour's view, stimulate a crusade to undo the movement of Continental liberals toward a federation based on international social democracy. But the British are most of all forced to go slow until they close the gap between expense for imports and income from their exported goods. Nor can an unstable France fulfil fine words spoken by M. Bidault and Reynaud.

In this dilemma Connt Carlo Sforza, the Italian Foreign Minister, has brought forward with impressive warmth an idealistic proposal, but one which is tempered to reality. In a memorandum the text of which is not yet available, Sforza suggests that the 16-nation Organization for European Economic Cooperation now working on the Marshall Plan should retain its present functions after the Plan has run its course. More, he would add political and international tasks. This would not be a federation; but it would be, so to speak, an organized momentum—the very creative force, stemming from experience, out of which eventual federation might successfully grow.

Even in partial efforts such as this, Russian non-cooperation must be taken for granted. There are some who will be glad; it is, in fact, a major tragedy. But when the Kremlin rebukes its own Bulgarian leader, Georgi Dimitrov, for suggesting a Balkan Federation of Communist states; when it will not tolerate federation in its own sphere, it is folly to suppose that in any foreseeable future it would work cooperatively with Western Europe. Hence there is little sense in eyeing Moscow, and shaping federalist plans to win the East. The virtue of Sforza's programme is its practicality, in a task which has too long been sicklied over with a sort of disconnected utopianism. Growth is the thing; federalism cannot be achieved by fiat, or by a vote, or by an act of will. It must come with practice.

—*Worldover Press*

THE INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER
BOMBAY, November 6, 1948

THE COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS

The development of the Commonwealth idea is a matter of interest. In the early days when British political thinkers were conscious of the need for improving the machinery of Empire coordination, it was the idea of a Central control that was most prominent. Soon after the first world war, the Empire idea was vigorously argued and it was some time before compelling circumstances brought on the trend towards autonomous units. The Commonwealth continued as it were half slave and half-free. The Dominions developed along their own line; the colonies and India continued to be under British direction. There could be no complete system under an imperial council, and it was not possible to persuade the colonies which were growing politically conscious, to adjust themselves to a condition in which they automatically fell into an inferior status. The Dominion ideal was expanding and, as it expanded, the demands of the colonies also grew. Among the non-self-governing countries, India was in the forefront, and whatever occurred in India was of natural interest to the others. India had from ideological reasons turned her back on Dominion Status, and the non-British colonies took their cue from India's attitude. During the war years, 1939-46, the treatment accorded by Britain to India differed radically from that accorded to the Dominions and there was a consequent hardening of Indian opinion in favour of Independence. Britain could have taken the stand that the best Britain could do was to recognize India as a Dominion and that then it was up to India to decide whether she would stay a Dominion or elect for complete Independence. But with Mr. Churchill at the helm of British affairs and Mr. Amery at the India Office, this straightforward policy could not be hoped for. It is as a direct consequence of British Conservative obstinacy on India that today India has to be feverishly wooed to stay in the Commonwealth and drastic changes in the Commonwealth structure—such as the dropping of the adjective "British" and of the term "Dominion" and the stressing of the independent sovereign status of the nation-units—have to be effected.

In 1937, Mr. Lionel Curtis of the "Round Table", a group of young enthusiastic political ideologists in the British Empire, considered in his "Commonwealth of God" the future course of the British Commonwealth. He deplored the failure of the Dominions peoples to show an active and lasting interest in foreign and international politics. Most Dominions insisted on the right to make their own decision regarding war. But none of them showed any interest in contributing to the peace which all of them wished to save for themselves, in normal times and even in times preceding the outbreak of hostilities. Mr. Curtis felt that there could be no real Commonwealth of Nations until there were really free nations and he frankly asserted that none of the Dominions could be called effectively free and sovereign so long as they were apathetic to foreign politics His suggestion was that Canada was naturally linked to U. S. A. economy and could not develop independently of that country. But Australia and New Zealand could develop into independent units and there could be the nucleus of the Commonwealth of Nations, which Mr. Curtis thought would extend to all nations in time, between Britain, Australia and New Zealand. Within this triple union would lie India and other units which, according to Mr. Curtis, would require some time before they became self-governing. As a matter of fact, Mr. Curtis was more confident of several nations in Europe coming into this political system almost immediately than of the non-self-governing, also generally non-British, colonies rising to equal status with the three nations of the nucleus. In other words, Britain, according to this view, looked more to Europe and European-origin nations than to any policy of equality within its own system. The Second World War with its devastation of Europe has shattered this hope, and Britain has once more to build herself as a global Commonwealth. Out of this need has arisen the readjustment which is aimed at in keeping India in the Commonwealth system. And in the process, the very concept of Dominion has dissolved. The present developments are more natural than the one contemplated by Mr. Curtis and it has considerable opposition in Britain itself to overcome. But Mr. Curtis' Commonwealth contained no promise of integral development in the way of colonial peoples rising to self-government; it was a Commonwealth which provided for expansion and made room for improvements in the administration of the colonies without contemplating self-rule for them. The ideals that seem to have been evoked by the Prime Ministers' Conference, begin with internal development; as Pandit Jawaharlal put it, it is hoped that all the colonies will soon be self-governing. Mr. Curtis' Commonwealth was Imperialism redressed, with all the attendant dangers of a superior race theory. There might have been room in it for South Africa but not for India. The ideal that holds the field now can have a place in it for India but not for South Africa.

Despite the fact that the Constituent Assembly is to discuss the Commonwealth question at its current session, the question of India leaving the Commonwealth is not an immediate issue. But it is important whether India is to function as an active partner, seeking ways of contributing to the advancement of the Commonwealth ideal or whether she is to stay in it as a unit, out of the main current of Commonwealth life, searching occasions and opportunities to advance her interest and point of view. For both activities, her new posi-

tion in the political system gives her ample opportunity. From the British point of view, this is an important choice. It would be a frustration of all that was intended by the decision to withdraw from India, if Britain did not take every step to ensure that India can make her contribution. And that presumably was behind the concern of the Labour Government in the recent London Conference. The other "British" Dominions would see this the more readily if their own racial policies were not involved; it is a mark of the importance of this aspect that, as it is, the Conference showed unanimity of objectives and methods. Mr. Churchill and the Conservatives are differently situated. They repudiate the Labour Government's policy in India, though they were parties to it themselves, and naturally they are exerting every nerve to prevent the further extension of that policy. That, however, is a problem for the British Labour Government which they are fully competent to deal with.

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—*Worldover Press*

WILL THE FOURTH REPUBLIC SURVIVE?

(By MAURICE CRANSTON)

When the subway fare in New York went up from a nickel to a dime, the repercussions apparently were not great. Here in Paris, when the Metro fare rose from five francs to ten, it seemed as though the whole bottom had dropped out of the economic structure. And in a sense it had.

It is absurd, as only French politics can be absurd, but after nine months of steady economic recover, after an excellent harvest, October was one of the blackest months in the history of France. Prodigious effort had appeared about to be rewarded by the consolidation of the Fourth Republic. Instead, its collapse as a result of economic chaos is not impossible. Nor will anything more rapidly accelerate the end than the general belief of Frenchmen that the end is coming.

In the muncipal elections of October 17th the Third Force took on a breath of new life, and the Communists lost heavily. But Charles de Gaulle looms ever in the offing. And if one wants a sign of what de Gaulle implies for France, it may be found less in his confused and vague programme, centring in a strong presidency, than in an accepted practice of his party headquarters in the Rue Solferino. The house has two staircases, one on the side, one the main stairway; all visitors must go up and down the side one, for the great staircase is to be used exclusively by the General.

French opinion is always somewhat mobile, and the elections, however limited in significance, may put new heart in the elements whose chief concern is to hold back both the Communists and de Gaulle. But shortly before, it had been calculated by experts that 35 per cent of public opinion supported the Communists; 29 per cent backed de Gaulle; while 36 per cent, divided in half dozen political groups, still gave allegiance to a democratic Fourth Republic.

These figures did not mean that 35 per cent of all Frenchmen are themselves Communists; the elections make that clear, if previously it need ever have been doubted. But it means this, as a French factory labourer said: "The Communists are the only people who do anything for the workers." True or not, the fact that thousands think it true is meaningful. As a national force, French Socialists are woefully weak. And the workers are wretchedly paid—$56 to $84 a month is normal. The cost of living rockets upward. And in the main, the Communist-controlled C. G. T. (Confederation Generale du Travail) has been vigorous in seeking to mitigate the economic distress of the masses. So many a worker who assures you that he is not a Communist, adds in the next breath that only the Communists can consistently look after his interests.

Nothing like 29 per cent of Frenchmen want de Gaulle as a quasi-dictator. But 29 per cent are so afraid of Communism that they will back de Gaulle to save the country from Moscow-directed radicalism. Ask a member of the M. R. P. (centrist), Radical (conservative) or even off, he is likely to confess: "I would rather have de Gaulle than Communism if the showdown comes."

M. Queuille, who is Premier without any mass support, has the job of maintaining a moderate policy when the moderate parties can not find in themselves the discipline called for by the situation. On billboards in Paris there are transcripts of a speech by M. Queuille requesting sacrifices to enable the government to balance its budget. That budget has a deficit largely because of the huge defence bill and of insufficient revenue from taxes. In the same speech M. Queuille called for a halt to inflation; yet his budget-balancing policy is itself inflationary. Not only has the government put up the subway fare 100 per cent, but the cost of railway fares, food, cigarettes, and all the necessities of life has gone up during the last month by an average of 30 per cent.

Wages, however, have risen by only 15 per cent. And while wage rises come grudgingly, price increases jump startlingly within a matter of hours. In early October I bought a sandwich in a bar for 40 francs; a similar sandwich in the same bar a few hours later was 75 francs. A man bought a shirt one Friday for 1,500 francs, while on the following Tuesday an identical shirt cost 2,100. The shopkeeper explained: "The government increased our workers' wages; we raised the price. *C'est normal.*"

The fashionable streets of Paris are alive with touts for foreign money. They come up and whisper, "*Change*? Dollars, Sir? Pounds, Sir?" Many are Arabs, and fantastically enough, many of the Arabs tell you that they work for Jews. It is widely believed that a lot of the black market profits in Paris are spent by ardent Zionists on clandestine armament for Israel. The whole trade is surrounded by the trappings of illicit business —rumour, rings, and rottenness. Even refugee professors, formerly of high standing, have been known to take up black market money-trading on the streets.

There are two elements in France's economic structure which are at once a source of weakness and of strength. The first is agriculture, the second the luxury trade France has an almost ideal balance in peacetime between farm and industrial output. Unlike Britain, the country can feed itself. But the French peasants, incredibly rich in some cases, show slight inclination to sell their produce at anything less than a handsome profit. As a result, Paris is without butter and milk, while out in the countryside dairy products are fed to cattle.

—*Worldover Press.*

ADULT EDUCATION SETTLEMENTS

(By ANTHONY ELENJIMITTAM)

Sir Richard Livingstone, the most prominent among the creative educationists of England, wrote in 1943, amidst the blizzard and horrors of World War No. II.: "Education cannot be completed by 18 or 21, and by failing to provide adequate facilities for its continuance, we deny in practice what we affirm in words, that it is a life-long process. One of the chief problems of the day is to make it life-long. Opportunities for systematic adult study are needed on a wider scale, and these must not be limited to lectures or classes given in any hall or schoolroom that happens to be available. They must have a "local habitation", a focus in the Latin sense of the word, a hearth where the fire remains continually lit, and where education can be more than isolated individual study and becomes a life shared with the others. The educational settlements which have grown up during the century show how such a hearth can be provided".

In his well-known book, "Education For a World Adrift," Sir Richard Livingstone condemns in the most merciless and outspoken way the system of education now prevalent in England with its examinations, specializations, academic snobbery and public school "touch-me-notism", with its growing indifference towards history, literature, philosophy and fine arts. The harsh criticism of the author will become a hundredfold true when we turn our eyes from England to India, where the basis for healthy nationalistic education is still to be laid. The narrow idea that education is to be got through certain approved schools and colleges is strongly rooted in our people. The diplomas, degrees and titles become ends in themselves to be worshipped and adored, even to the extent of discarding the formation of personal character, and sense of civic duties.

But today the very fact that even mass-produced graduates and the glamorous Europe-returned gentlemen feel themselves compelled to hunt after jobs for a salary equal to, or a little lower, than, what office clerks get, has turned out to be a blessing in disguise. It should make us ponder dispassionately upon the inherent defects of our educational system and our educated mentality. The lack of self-reliance, self-respect and national pride, the lack of will-power, strength of character and creativity are all inseparably linked up with our present mercenary education. Whatever might have been the causes and results of such an education in the past, we are all agreed that in Free India we need the substance and not semblance of a healthy, national and creative education, more particularly for the adult population of the country, which is usually left out of our educational schemes.

To supplement and integrate the State schemes of national education in England, there are separate University Departments of what are known as —"Extra-mural studies and adult education". Then there are residential colleges for adult education, as the Ruskin College for both men and women at Oxford, Avoncroft College, near Bromsgrove, meant aspecially for agricultural and rural workers, and the Woodbrook Settlement in Birmingham managed by the Quakers for promoting social, religious and cultural studies. Non-residential colleges for adult education are numerous in England and are spread throughout the country, extending up to Wales and Scotland. Of these the principal adult educational settlements in London which are really doing pioneering work are the City Literary Institute, Mary Ward Settlement, Toynbee Hall, Walthamstov Educational Settlement, Oxford and Cambridge Settlements in the East End and the Working Men's College. As one who has attended and seen something of these settlements from inside, I must say that the real seminars for the future Peoples' Colleges are to be found in them. There is hardly any trace of formality or academic snobbery and this is the essential prerequisite for the free and full development of humanity within us.

Then there are various voluntary organisations and associations that are engaged in adult education, of which special mention should be made of the British Institute of Adult Education, International Federation of Workers' Educational Association, National Adult School Union, Workers Educational Association and the National Foundation for Adult Education, all having their headquarters in London. The settlements intended for improving the social status of the workers, the downtrodden and the unfortunate, the country-wide net-work of the Y. M. C. A.s and the Y. W. C. A.s all cooperate and work together for the spread of creative education among the adult population in England.

Even with the most efficient system of general education which they have devised in England, creative minds like Sir Richard Livingstone, T. G. Williams, the present Principal of the City Literary Institute in London, are raising their voice so that the people of England may get freed from the glittering hallowness and arrogant snobbery of the Public School system and a new healthy, creative, national and all-sided education be given instead.

Of all the European countries, perhaps the Scandinavian peninsula has progressed most in imparting adult education. By the beginning of the world war the Scandinavian countries had provided more than 200 Adult Education Colleges for their 16 million inhabitants. Proportionately and qualitatively England lagged far behind the Scandinavians. Inspite of the horrors of war in Norway, it is known that the adult education schemes are still being executed.

A great incentive to the Adult Education of

WILL THE FOURTH REPUBLIC SURVIVE?

(By MAURICE CRANSTON)

When the subway fare in New York went up from a nickel to a dime, the repercussions apparently were not great. Here in Paris, when the Metro fare rose from five francs to ten, it seemed as though the whole bottom had dropped out of the economic structure. And in a sense it had.

It is absurd, as only French politics can be absurd, but after nine months of steady economic recover, after an excellent harvest, October was one of the blackest months in the history of France. Prodigious effort had appeared about to be rewarded by the consolidation of the Fourth Republic. Instead, its collapse as a result of economic chaos is not impossible. Nor will anything more rapidly accelerate the end than the general belief of Frenchmen that the end is coming.

In the muncipal elections of October 17th the Third Force took on a breath of new life, and the Communists lost heavily. But Charles de Gaulle looms ever in the offing. And if one wants a sign of what de Gaulle implies for France, it may be found less in his confused and vague programme, centring in a strong presidency, than in an accepted practice of his party headquarters in the Rue Solferino. The house has two staircases, one on the side, one the main stairway; all visitors must go up and down the side one, for the great staircase is to be used exclusively by the General.

French opinion is always somewhat mobile, and the elections, however limited in significance, may put new heart in the elements whose chief concern is to hold back both the Communists and de Gaulle. But shortly before, it had been calculated by experts that 35 per cent of public opinion supported the Communists; 29 per cent backed de Gaulle; while 36 per cent, divided in half dozen political groups, still gave allegiance to a democratic Fourth Republic.

These figures did not mean that 35 per cent of all Frenchmen are themselves Communists; the elections make that clear, if previously it need ever have been doubted. But it means this, as a French factory labourer said: "The Communists are the only people who do anything for the workers." True or not, the fact that thousands think it true is meaningful. As a national force, French Socialists are woefully weak. And the workers are wretchedly paid—$56 to $84 a month is normal. The cost of living rockets upward. And in the main, the Communist-controlled G. G. T. (Confederation Generale du Travail) has been vigorous in seeking to mitigate the economic distress of the masses. So many a worker who assures you that he is not a Communist, adds in the next breath that only the Communists can consistently look after his interests.

Nothing like 29 per cent of Frenchmen want de Gaulle as a quasi-dictator. But 29 per cent are so afraid of Communism that they will back de Gaulle to save the country from Moscow-directed radicalism. Ask a member of the M. R. P. (centrist), Radical (conservative) or even off, he is likely to confess: "I would rather have de Gaulle than Communism if the showdown comes."

M. Queuille, who is Premier without any mass support, has the job of maintaining a moderate policy when the moderate parties can not find in themselves the discipline called for by the situation. On billboards in Paris there are transcripts of a speech by M. Queuille requesting sacrifices to enable the government to balance its budget. That budget has a deficit largely because of the huge defence bill and of insufficient revenue from taxes. In the same speech M. Queuille called for a halt to inflation; yet his budget-balancing policy is itself inflationary. Not only has the government put up the subway fare 100 per cent, but the cost of railway fares, food, cigarettes, and all the necessities of life has gone up during the last month by an average of 30 per cent.

Wages, however, have risen by only 15 per cent. And while wage rises come grudgingly, price increases jump startlingly within a matter of hours. In early October I bought a sandwich in a bar for 40 francs; a similar sandwich in the same bar a few hours later was 75 francs. A man bought a shirt one Friday for 1,500 francs, while on the following Tuesday an identical shirt cost 2,100. The shopkeeper explained: "The government increased our workers' wages; we raised the price. *C'est normal.*"

The fashionable streets of Paris are alive with touts for foreign money. They come up and whisper, "*Change*? Dollars, Sir? Pounds, Sir?" Many are Arabs, and fantastically enough, many of the Arabs tell you that they work for Jews. It is widely believed that a lot of the black market profits in Paris are spent by ardent Zionists on clandestine armament for Israel. The whole trade is surrounded by the trappings of illicit business —rumour, rings, and rottenness. Even refugee professors, formerly of high standing, have been known to take up black market money-trading on the streets.

There are two elements in France's economic structure which are at once a source of weakness and of strength. The first is agriculture, the second the luxury trade France has an almost ideal balance in peacetime between farm and industrial output. Unlike Britain, the country can feed itself. But the French peasants, incredibly rich in some cases, show slight inclination to sell their produce at anything less than a handsome profit. As a result, Paris is without butter and milk, while out in the countryside dairy products are fed to cattle.

—*Worldover Press.*

the common man was given in Germany and Italy during the reign of the Dictators. Their ideal was to give opportunities to all the citizens of the State to enable them to acquire that amount of useful knowledge that would make them the best citizens in their own sense. It may not be out of place to mention here the part played by the G. I. L. (*La gioventu italiana del littorio*) in Italy in the education of the youth of either sex during the last decade of the Fascist rule in Italy. It is no exaggeration to say that the common man gained more knowledge and experience about the economic, political and social problems of the day from non-academic and popular institutions than from the recognised schools and colleges of the Fascist State. State Education of children, of boys and girls, should later on be integrated by the efficient working of the Adult Education schemes, which, if rightly and intelligently organised, can benefit not only the literate and uneducated mases, but even University graduates and recognised professors.

Both the Wardha Scheme and the Sargent Scheme speak of the free and compulsory education of children between a certain age. The school leaving age is fixed at fourteen or sixteen. So far well and good. Sir Richard Livingstone, in his book entitled: "The Future in Education", analyses this idea of fixing the age at fourteen, as is the fashion in England, and says: "To cease education at 14 is as unnatural as to die at 14." The argument holds good if we admit that what is physical death to our body that, in reality, is lack of education to the mind. Obviously, it is better to have compulsory education terminating at the age of 14 than to have no education at all. But in an advanced society, as England is supposed to be, it is surprising that the limited view of education should hold ground as solidly as ever.

In a country like India adult education will have to serve many purposes. Its immediate and primary aim can be the uprooting of the curse of illiteracy from our land. Mass education of the adults, if undertaken immediately and wisely organised, can prove to be an effective remedy to the menacing cancer of illiteracy. Then, it is only through bringing together the common man of all the parts of the country that the living communion of minds and hearts can take place. What is fruitfully observed in our social clubs, debating and discussing groups of boys and girls, will prove to be more fruitful in these adult education centres.

It goes without saying that higher grades of Adult Education classes and courses given in advanced educational settlements, such as the City Literary Institute or Mary Ward Settlement in London, can profit also the University graduates. Time will not be wasted and we discover that there is always something new and fresh to learn from those grand, living, social and human phenomena, which are slowly being discovered analysed, classified and interpreted through the cooperative interaction of the members and associates of the adult educational settlements.

Another very important aim of such educational residential settlements is to provide a periodic seclusion and salutary withdrawal for workers and men of action so fully engrossed in the busy turmoil of the world today. Karl Mannheim, the distinguished sociologist, says: "It will become more and more a question whether something corresponding to the monastic seclusion, some form of complete or temporary withdrawal from the affairs of the world will not be one of the great remedies for the dehumanising effects of a civilization of busy bodies." These settlements thus meet the profoundly human needs and creative urges of men and women who, unfortunately, fall a victim to the grinding wheels of machine civilization.

Dr. H.C. Dent, a man whose realistic approach towards modern life is as keen as it is critical and sympathetic, in his book entitled: "A New Order in English Education", says: "Men and women must have in future the opportunity to apply themselves uninterruptedly for a sufficiently long period of time to exploration of a selected field of knowledge, mastery of a desired skill, or enjoyment of a worthwhile form of recreation. Only thus can they be enabled to meet the ever more exacting conditions of life in a modern industrialized society...

"The nearer we approach to full democracy the more numerous and more responsible will grow the common obligations of citizenship. The periodic withdrawal of the worker from the 'daily round and common task' that he may examine thoughtfully and objectively the nature of the society in the governance of which he takes so active a part will become more and more a necessity if muddle and mismanagement are to be avoided."

Whatever the final form of the National Educational Plan for Free India and the provisions therein for the furtherance of vocational training are going to be, adult education, through residential or non-residential settlements, peoples colleges, adult education centres, will become an integral part of our national life. They will become better and more efficient centres for creative education than the approved channels of University syllabus of studies. These are enterprizing experiments worth embarking upon, for the future of India will largely depend upon the sort of education we impart to her people now. In the great nation-building task that awaits us, creative education through creative channels will be next in importance to the economic development of the Nation.

TRAVANCORE

(By OBSERVED)

Seven months ago in Travancore the traditional office of the Dewan was abolished and a Cabinet responsible to an interim legislature assumed the administration. The predominant parliamentary bloc belongs to the State Congress and the Cabinet was composed of Congress members. The President of the Congress in its struggle in the previous 12 years, Sri Pattom A. Thanu Pillai, became the Prime Minister and two other top-ranking Congress members his colleagues. Three months later, the Cabinet was enlarged to contain 6 Ministers; perhaps it was thought that the enlarged body would keep in office for a proportionately longer time.

Politics is a daily topic in the common life of the State. There are 19 or so dailies so that the administration has always to reckon with a rather uncommon degree of publicity. It goes without saying that a parliamentary government short of the party system is prone to an undue sense of security and is not aware of the changes in public opinion, consciously or unconsciously. Of course Sri Pattom Thanu Pillai and colleagues knew their 'mandate' and must have been doing their best, but the Ministry's stock dropped in the estimation of the general public and of the Congress Party itself. A 'better government' is always a legitimate desire. The result was an expression of 'no confidence' in the Cabinet at a recent party meeting. Its consequent replacement by new personnel has just occurred. The same party continues in power with the same policy but a new Cabinet has come into being.

Whatever the merits of the position, such a procedure in the case of a parliamentary government without 'Opposition' in parliament is a healthy symptom. The soundness of democracy necessarily depends on the 'Opposition' waiting to catch the 'Government' napping to assume control. What has happened in Travancore is precisely this: in absence of an adequate second party in the Legislature the party in power itself provided a successful opposition. Looked at from this angle, the present ministerial overhaul may be considered a mile-stone in the march of parliamentary government in the State.

The new Prime Minister, Sri Parur T. K. Narayana Pillai, is one of the younger men of the Congress and one of the stronger. A man of no small talents, he brings to his office a passion to eradicate communalism and corruption from the State. to secure its enduring all-round progress.

CHINA AND INDIA

The recent successes of the Chinese Communists cannot be without their effect on India. The vague sentiments of neutrality between the two great contending blocs in the world cease to convey any meaning in the face of the Communist rise in neighbouring China. It is difficult to believe that the Chinese situation was not discussed at the London Conference; even though the fall of Mukden came after the Conference was dissolved, there must have been knowledge of the Generalissimo's fast deteriorating position. Indian neutrality will mean the virtual spread of Communism in Asia where long generations of imperial domination have made the peoples particularly susceptible to Communist inroads. Japan under General Douglas McArthur is inevitably with the Western Democracies and her position will be exploited to the full. The Japanese themselves might well regard the conflict as an opportunity to stage a come-back and recover much of the ground they had lost by backing the wrong side in the Second World War. In the struggle for Asian leadership India will be gravely handicapped by membership in the Commonwealth so long as British colonialism continues. At the same time, Britain can hardly be expected to hand over power to a Malaya, which bids fair to pass into Communist hands. It is India's task to convince the other Dominions that the best bulwark against Communists is to hand power over to the people.

EXILED CZECHS' NEW PAPER

When Czechoslovakia came under Communist domination last February, one result was the disappearance from London of the "Central European Observer," a paper with a world-wide following. While it was operated by the Foreign Office at Prague, and sometimes reflected strong nationalistic sentiments, it was broad in interests and respected for factual accuracy.

After the coup, a "New Central European Observer" replaced the old, and was sent to former subscribers. Not only did the new sheet consistently whitewash everything done by the Communist-controlled regime in Prague, but it backed all decisions of the Moscow Politburo.

In the hope of reaching the widespread audience once possessed by the original "Central European Observer," exiled Czechs are planning to publish soon from London a new paper, to be edited by Dr. Josef Kodlicek and others, and to be called the "European Guardian." Its sponsors say it will deal with all problems of present-day Europe from the viewpoint of democracy.

—*Worldover Press.*

Edited, printed and published by S. NATARAJAN at the Kannada Press, 109, Parsi Bazar Street, Fort, Bombay.

Jawaharlal has hinted, India too is likely to take the same line of action, but the Constituent Assembly will make the decision during its present session. Pandit Jawaharlal has virtually told the members that the objectives resolution which fixed the goal as independent sovereign republic, can remain without affecting India's pursuit of friendly relations with Britain and the Dominions. This is no doubt a great gain for Britain that she retains the three new Dominions within her political system. And she has indicated that she will go a long way to make their continuance in the Commonwealth easy; or to put it more correctly, severance of the links difficult, almost impossible. Whatever paper provisions there might be, Britain's lead in foreign affairs will continue and no assumption of special responsibilities by India's leaders will affect that leadership. The Chinese collapse before the Communists will be a determining factor on both sides since Indian Nationalism is as strongly opposed to Communism as Britain is.

China's Trial:—Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek provoked by rumours of peace talks with the Communists and America, categorically denied them early this week. He declared that Nationalist China was ready to prosecute the war for another eight years. Meanwhile the Communists have been registering rapid advances and the Chinese National Government has been obliged to adopt stringent economic measures. The Chinese, for all their traditional fortitude and endurance, will find it difficult to endure almost three decades of continued struggle, and civil war always causes greater ravage than any opposition to external aggression. The passing of the large land mass that is China, under Soviet influence is not a move which can be regarded with equanimity by the Democratic Powers. But there seems little that they can do now to help the Generalissimo. Though the United States of America has an easy stepping off ground in Japan, it is doubtful whether America can undertake any great responsibilities in China at the present stage. Much depends on how successful Britain is in meeting the aspirations of India, Pakistan and Ceylon. Though the latter two Dominions have suggested that they will continue in the Commonwealth, India is the key nation and anything that India secures will be claimed equally by Pakistan and Ceylon. The "Economist" in a recent article has dwelt on the strategic importance of India and Pakistan to a stand against Communism. That naturally increases with the progress of Chinese Communists. Asia is not receiving the attention she ought to receive from the Western Democracies which are occupied in holding Europe against Russia. But China's present plight ought to awaken them to the urgency of aid to this continent. The Generalissimo has a special place in the affections of Nationalist India because of his espousal of her cause during the Second World War. But his prevailing anxiety to maintain the present system of administration which has been widely criticised, makes it difficult for what would be a timely payment of that obligation.

U. N. Trusteeship:—A more or less open conflict has broken out in the U. N. Trusteeship Council over the South African attitude towards South-West Africa over which it exercises a League of Nations mandate. The Smuts Government rejected the proposal of the United Nations that South-West Africa be placed under U. N. Trusteeship but it steered a middle way by promising to maintain the mandate and to report to the United Nations. Mr. Eric Louw's outright repudiation of the U. N.'s authority was turned down by General Smuts who in a speech hinted that agreement to report to U. N. might mollify international opinion. Now that General Smuts and his Government are out, Mr. Louw has revived his old suggestion. Speaking at the U. N. Trusteeship Council, Mr. Louw questioned the right of the U. N. to regard itself as the successor of the League of Nations. He declared that South Africa was not following a policy of integration but was merely granting a greater measure of self-government to South-West Africa. Mrs. Vijyalakshmi Pandit on behalf of India vigorously opposed Mr. Louw's contention and with copious quotations from the United Nations findings on South-West Africa argued that South-West Africa had been gravely neglected by the Mandatory Power. The issue is of vittal importance and has brought to the surface the racial differences which split the United Nations. Britain has sought to induce the Trusteeship Council not to take the Charter too seriously but the opposition of India and China has to be reckoned with. The discussion is a revelation of the basic weakness of Big Powers which are tainted with intense racialism. This was the flaw which wrecked the Leauge of Nations and it threatens to bring down the United Nations in its turn. It is useless urging great objectives in the abstract and denying them on every specific issue.

Hyderabad:—Pandit Jawaharlal in a recent press conference expressed his dislike of any dismemberment of Hyderabad. In the interests of Hyderabad and India, he said, it was best that Hyderabad remained intact though it would, of course, accede to the Union. Considering both Hyderabad's central situation and the different linguistic and other groups it contains, its relation to India is analogous to that of Czechoslovakia in the Austro Hungarian Empire. If this is what Pandit Jawaharlal intends, then the linguistic redistribution of provinces will be postponed to the Greek Kalends. Without the relevant parts of Hyderabad, the re-formation of Maharashtra, Andhra and Karnataka is meaningless. Is this an indirect way of countering the agitations of linguistic groups?

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"*I will* be as harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard*".

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the LIBERATOR.

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NOTES

Linguistic Provinces:—Intervening in the Constituent Assembly debate on the draft Constitution, Pandit Jawaharlal made a passing reference to provincial redistribution. He remarked that he had hoped to meet the public demand for provincial redistribution by the appointment of a Committee to collect evidence and report on the matter. But this measure had only provoked controversy and the piling up of mounting claims. As a matter of fact, it has been a revelation to find so many conflicts coming to the surface. The unity of India, it is clear, has yet to be built and provincial loyalties are so strong that little attention is being paid to national needs. It is as though the partition of India had unloosened the entire fabric and the provinces like bricks had begun coming to pieces. Pandit Jawaharlal significantly told his audience that, in seeking to undo what was already there, they should not ignore the needs of the present. It is well that even at this late stage Congress leaders should realise the evils of provincialism. But it cannot be denied that both the Congress and the League had in their opposition days encouraged separatism and are now reaping the whirlwind. The importance of provincial redistribution is urged in the interests of administration. But enthusiasts tend to forget that today India lacks the necessary men of ability to run even nine provinces and the position will be even worse when these nine units are divided into eleven or thirteen. The standard of the provincial ministries is woefully low. The most that can be said,—and this too of only the best of them—is that they contain two or three men of known integrity and ability. Pandit Jawaharlal spoke of the Government not wanting regimentation. But unless a determined drive is made towards achieving national unity throughout India, there is no hope of provincialism being overcome. The Government alone can do this necessary work without regimenting the people. If it neglects its duty, then the task will be accomplished by political partisans who will not think twice before resorting to regimentation. The first measure that is called for, is a country-wide drive against communalism, accompanied by a frank and direct repudiation of provincial factions.

The Lure of Homogeneity:—In his evidence before the Provincial Commission, Dr. M. R. Jayakar pleaded fervently for a Maharashtra province. Such a unit, he said, could develop rapidly as a homogeneous area and it would contribute greatly to the progress of the country as a whole. Dr. Jayakar's views deserve attention. He has been very restrained on public questions and, when he does comment, he has a refreshing independence. There is a school of thought which would grant the benefits of homogeneity, provided the Centre's strength and stability is assured. This would mean not that the Centre should have overriding powers alone, but that, on occasion, the Centre would be able to meet effectively any combination of the units and hold them. As a matter of fact, the Union is coming to this position and the people as a whole favour it. But it is still a doubtful proposition whether homogeneity is an advantage for which everything else can be sacrificed. Those who observe the progress of Bombay and of Poona, can see the vast difference in development. On the provincial scale, Bombay in United India presented a challenge to the homogeneity theory. Despite the antagonisms which have arisen with the discussion of linguistic partitions, there is something complementary in Maharashtrians and Gujeratis, Andhras and Tamils, which gives balance to provincial life. Once that factor is removed, provincialism will reach its lowest depths.

No Secession:—Ceylon and Pakistan, according to reports of speeches made by their respective Prime Ministers, have every intention of continuing in the Commonwealth. From what Pandit

Jawaharlal has hinted, India too is likely to take the same line of action, but the Constituent Assembly will make the decision during its present session. Pandit Jawaharlal has virtually told the members that the objectives resolution which fixed the goal as independent sovereign republic, can remain without affecting India's pursuit of friendly relations with Britain and the Dominions. This is no doubt a great gain for Britain that she retains the three new Dominions within her political system. And she has indicated that she will go a long way to make their continuance in the Commonwealth easy; or to put it more correctly, severance of the links difficult, almost impossible. Whatever paper provisions there might be, Britain's lead in foreign affairs will continue and no assumption of special responsibilities by India's leaders will affect that leadership. The Chinese collapse before the Communists will be a determining factor on both sides since Indian Nationalism is as strongly opposed to Communism as Britain is.

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BOMBAY, November 13, 1948

DRAFTING THE CONSTITUTION

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There is a slight difference in the position of the Prime Minister of India vis-a-vis the President and other Ministers, on the one hand, and that of the Chief Minister of a Province in relation to the Governor and the Council of Ministers. The Prime Minister's advice on the men who are to be Ministers, is virtually binding on the President. On the other hand, the Governor is required to consult with the person who commands the largest and most stable majority in the Legislature before appointing his Council of Ministers. But he is not required by the Constitution to make that person his Chief Minister. In the Centre, the stress is laid on the responsibility of the Cabinet to the President; though the confidence of the Legislature is made essential in the units, the emphasis is on the responsibility of the Cabinet to the Legislature. It would be interesting to know whether this difference is accidental or whether it has been deliberately done. Possibly the point is academic. At any rate, it will be known when the Constitution is put into force and, as Dr. Ambedkar pointed out, there is provision for effecting the necessary change. A point that has caused some anxiety is the status accorded in the draft to the President which does not fit in with Dr. Ambedkar's assertion that he is merely the titular head of the State.

Both the Law Minister and the Prime Minister spoke on the flexibility of the Constitution, convey-

ing the impression that amendments could be easily made. As a matter of fact, they cannot. The relevant clause safeguards for ten years the provisions for reservation of seats; there are other subjects like the provincial and central lists, the representation of the States in the Legislature, and the powers of the Supreme Court, which call for a kind of ratification by States' legislatures; and for the rest a vote to be effective must have a majority of the total membership of either House, with two-thirds of those present voting in its favour. Considering that a simple majority will settle matters now, the Constitution is much more malleable than it can ever be later. In the circumstances, the suggestion is irresistible that the Government of India have tired of protracted discussions and are anxious to reach definite conclusions early. In the light of the 3,000 amendments awaiting discussion, this is an understandable attitude.

PERSONAL ABUSE

(By DEVERE ALLEN)

Smear techniques will remain, on the national and international scene, despite the passing of the American election. And the common method will be that of unpleasant association To paraphrase a British expression, nearly everybody may be forced to confess: "I was pal to a man who once had a nurse whose aunt was a friend of Hitler's."

As the campaign drew to its close, one of the President's foes sent me "proof" that Mr. Truman had once consorted with the Communist Party. The "Daily Worker" had run an article praising the then legislator, and Senator Truman wrote a letter, of which there was a photostat, expressing thanks to the Communist paper. All this was in the summer of 1944. You are expected to forget that the Communist Party was then supporting the Roosevelt Administration, and was roping in a lot of people by its hoarse singing of the Star Spangled Banner and its loyalty to capitalism.

Similarly there has been a crusade to smear John Foster Dulles because his law firm is supposed to have taken on jobs for predatory and pro-Nazi firms. The truth about this was long ago exposed, with impressive documentation, by "The Christian Century", but it doesn't matter to the smearers. What has happened to the theory that a lawyer and his client are not necessarily of the same political complexion?

Some years ago the Roosevelt forces felt a need (though you can only wonder why!) to prove that Hamilton Fish, New York's reactionary isolationist, was not as progressive as he might be. So out went the smear pots; Fish's law firm had undertaken a job for Rafael Trujillo, Dictator of the Dominican Republic. It was a foolish thing to do. But how about Franklin D. Roosevelt, who, during the war, had not only written warm letters of praise to Trujillo, but addressed him, "My dear friend"?

At Washington the Un-American Affairs Committee has at times, if very seldom, dug up facts of undoubted importance. But it still resembles a fisherman sniffing at all the bluefish because he has happened to drag up, in the same net, an odorous dead squib. As the American Civil Liberties Union said in a recent pamphlet, "The net results of all these excursions into political opinion.....have been to magnify the danger of Communism, to confuse liberalism with Communism, and to reinforce conformity with the status quo."

Plenty of smearing has been done over the case of Ilse Koch, the brutal Nazi guard of Buchenwald, Even General Clay has been depicted as as hardly less than a pro-Nazi. Smear methods always whittle down to trivial proportions every great social problem. The difference between a four-year and a longer sentence is of small consequence compared to the building of a social organization in Europe that will forever make such mass inhumanity impossible.

Nobody else can smear with quite the zest shown by the Russian Communist spokesmen. It is really a pity that more people do not follow regularly such papers as "Pravda", "New Times", "Trud", and other organs of the Kremlin. Nobody exposed to them any length of time could remain quite as gullible as before. All the evils of American life, some of them real, are so exaggerated as almost to make you query the sanity of the more ardent Moscow Communists and their henchmen. "New Times" of last July 14th, for instance, quoted the pro-Soviet writer, Howard Fast, as saying to one of its reporters: "Down South, hundreds of Negroes have been lynched during the last year." If Fast didn't say it, it may be wondered whether he dared express unhappiness at being misquoted. To prove the penetration of American business into Japan, and the occupation's complicity, "New Times" on September 8th declared: "Among the American output one frequently comes across goods with the 'MacArthur and Co.' trademark."

The longed-for depression in the U. S. has hit us long since, if you read "New Times." On July 7th it said: "It is no secret that in the United States several million people are already fully or partly unemployed." On July 14th it asserted: "A full working week has long become a thing of the past in America." Over Dresden, last year, the Russians put up posters labelled "America Today!" and showing long breadlines in New York. The pictures were actually taken in 1940! In reviewing Henry Wallace's 1948 book, "Toward World Peace," "New Times" said on July 31st: "Everywhere, Wallace records, popular sympathy is on the side of the Soviet Union."

In most cases such fantastic stuff is hardly worth an answer. It is better merely to quote it. If any reply to smear tactics is ever needed, it could best follow the dictum of Descartes: "When anyone has offended me, I try to raise my soul so high the offence cannot reach it." It this sounds

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pious, it is still good advice, both for individuals and for nations—and for delegates to international conferences!

Andrei Vishinsky is so robust an exemplar of the smear technique that he deserves a little story about his past. Before the Russian Revolution, he was a Menshevik or moderate Socialist. So vitriolic was he even in those days that his party's leaders realized he was only hurting the cause. They called him in, and administered a rebuke. He apologized, but explained, "After all," said Vishinsky, "I thought it was all right, for I was only talking against the Bolsheviks."

—*Worldover Press*

EGYPT'S SOCIAL NEEDS

(By ELSIE CULVER)

Egyptians are sensitive about the criticisms levelled at their country from the outside world, and believe that much of the fault-finding fails to take account of the genuine progress being made. After interviewing some of the nation's leaders, this correspondent can attest to their desire for social improvement; and after witnessing some of the conditions that must be cured, can accord respect for the efforts being undertaken.

No honest report could ignore the serious immediate problem of the half million Arab refugees from Israel, nor the way in which the Egyptians have shouldered the burden of caring for those who sought sanctuary before the border was closed and the huge camps established at Jericho and Gaza.

With Dr. Abd El Wahab El Nawawi of the Ministry of Social Affairs I drove out to the great camp at Kantara on the Suez near Port Said. It was about the best such place I have ever seen. There was a degree of privacy in the family dwellings; there were good meat and vegetables and rice in the big pots of the communal kitchen; there was milk for the children each morning and fruit three times a week. There were shops, hospitals, recreation centres.

But no story of the camp, or of many other worthy projects in Egypt, would be complete without the Mabarah. This organization of women was founded in 1910. There is an executive committee of 22 in Cairo, and volunteers throughout the land. Many members are women of wealth and position, who spend as little time as possible around committee tables, and work unstintingly, without remuneration, for the welfare of the people.

Mrs. Ferdos Chita, in charge of welfare work at Kantara, was formerly a tireless worker in the government's malaria control programme. At Kantara she and her co-workers have set up a vocational plan for the young people of the camp. They have brought in samples of rattan and wood work, raw materials and tools, and have established a brush factory where lads may labour usefully and earn spending money. Girls and women are taught needlecraft and knitting. The newest idea is a factory making hand soap and the toilet water so dear to the Egyptian heart.

One of the most acute problems facing Egypt is the provision of decent housing for workers whose income (as in many other countries) is never sufficient without some outside initial help. With Dr. M.A. Mostafa of the Labour Department, I visited the Misr-el-Kobra Spinning Mills. This experiment, unique in Egypt, is a whole model village built around a spinning, weaving and dyeing plant, employing more than 25,000 persons.

Beyond the untidy village of Mehalla, which sprawls just outside the mill walls, one finds a city of clean, cool houses, dormitories for unmarried workers, dining halls, recreation centres, schools, shops, places of worship. There are no flies or other insects; DDT has been copiously used. The family dwellings may be small by Western standards, but spacious when compared to village homes nearby. They usually have three rooms, with an ample courtyard, vine-covered, that serves as an outdoor living room. A large percentage have radios.

At a distance in the other direction from the mill is a large, well-equipped hospital, and in the space between another model town is to be built. For though there are 55 single-family units now, they are in such demand that a man must have children and have worked at least ten years even to get on the waiting list. It is worthy of note, however, that in Egypt a man generally sticks to his job for life.

Farm workers even more than those in industry constitute the real basis of the national economy. The farm folk, or fellahin, make up 80 per cent of the population. It is not enough that they be decently fed and reasonably content; they must be fired with an ambition for self-betterment. They must be willing to invest time and effort, even some of their meagre earnings, in their own future. Out of this conviction has arisen the rural welfare centre plan, now operating in many of Egypt's 4,000 villages. A village has from 1,000 to 19,000 residents, but many of the centres serve more than one community.

When the people of a village want a centre, they must first present a petition, offering to go through a trial period, in which they themselves furnish the housing for the centre and its personnel. But later, if they really use the programme, the government provides a standard structure, with medical unit, maternity ward, lecture and recreation rooms, craft shops, and residential quarters for the staff.

At one of these centres a young doctor and nurse regaled us with the story of their efforts to induce the people to drink pump water instead of from the canals. Pump water was important for washing clothing, the people conceded; it got clothes whiter. But for drinking, it was no better than any other. But the trick was accomplished by showing widely with a microscope two slides of water, one from pumps, one from the streams!

—*Worldover Press*

"ARMED TRUCE, ON PEACE, BUT NO EARLY WAR"

What are the actual reasons why well-informed diplomats in Europe, despite the gravity of the Berlin crisis, do not think it will lead to an early war? Apart from the unwillingness of the peoples generally, and the fact that neither side is yet equipped for a gamble on victory, certain factors not widely made public have been noted by Worldover Press observers on the Continent.

There is, for one thing, a widespread belief that the Western Allies are not as strong in Berlin as the jubilant publicity concerning the air lift might indicate. Thus in the long run, a measure of compromise by the West is ultimately anticipated. It will not be "appeasement," but it will, in the general European view, be a modification of announced positions.

The population of Berlin is standing stoutly behind the Allied air effort, and Russia's stock continues to fall. The air lift has been gallant, surprising to the Russians, and dramatic—a not inconsiderable factor in prestige. But it is costly in ways that have scant connection with money. The British, for example, irritated when the meagre "basic ration" of 90 miles of pleasure driving per month was taken away, and gratified when it was restored a few months ago, face another curtailment. The British part of the air lift alone consumes over 10,000 tons—not gallons—every 30 days.

The raising of food rations by 300 calories a day in the Berlin western sectors sounded reassuring; but it was largely counter-propaganda to offset the extra 200 calories a day available to purchasers in the Soviet sector. The dilemma is this: if such food rations are maintained throughout the winter, it is likely to be at the cost of fuel, already far below minimum needs for low temperatures. Already in western sectors trees are being marked for cutting by 50 per cent, even along the streets.

Worse is the city's inability to keep industry going without raw materials which cannot be brought in by air. When the blockade went into effect last June, there was practically no unemployment in Berlin; now there are about 100,000 out of work, and soon the unemployment must deepen, bringing in turn a greater need for charity, medicines, and supplies to offset the inevitable political effects of joblessness.

On the Soviet side, however, there are also concrete reasons why Moscow is believed to be unready for any early war. The Russians have not done anything significant to reconstruct and amplify railway lines leading to Berlin. Intelligence agents, who penetrate the Soviet Zone constantly, just as Russian scouts report from Bizonia, have found no alarming movements of tanks, artillery, or heavy armament installations.

When it is remembered what emphasis the Russians placed on their bases in the former Baltic States of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, and how vital in war would be the Baltic littoral, it is of interest to note the careless manner in which roadways of this critical area have been neglected. The road between Lielupe and Majori along the seashore near Riga, damaged badly during the war, has not even been restored for use by motorized traffic. "Cina", the Communist-run "Latvian" paper, complains because even the main street of the town of Krustpils is impassable, three years after the end of the war; a ditch more than 12 feet wide, cut for an abandoned water-pipe project, has never been filled in.

Best-informed European sources are convinced that, if Russia has the atom bomb, it is only in its primitive stages. Some time ago the Paris newspaper "L'Intransigeant," sensational and de Gaullist, printed a detailed report about the first Soviet atom bomb explosion behind the Urals. But Swiss scientists, who have a meteorological station on a mountain peak near Zurich, from which they can detect even the noise of waves breaking on far-distant shores, have found no indications, either by sound-shock or by radio activity recordings, that any such explosion has ever occurred.

Furthermore, British intelligence agents have come into possession of the Nazi plans and surveys for the exploitation of the uranium mines now being worked by the Russians, mainly with slave labour, in the Soviet Zone of Germany. They know, too, all about those worked by the Czechs in their country on Russia's behalf. The uranium yield in Saxony is very poor. The Czech mines produce a richer ore, but are still inferior to those available to the United States. The Russian uranium hunt is on, of course, as is that by the Americans and others. A new mine has been opened up in Poland, about 60 miles southwest of Wroclaw and 1,200 workers are employed; but even here, the yield thus far has been comparatively slight.

The Soviet army is overwhelming in manpower, and there are crack divisions; but in the mass it is poorly equipped. Under former Nazi technicians (as in the U. S. A.) the Russians have been feverishly at work to improve guided missiles. But in field combat, American inventions of recent development—such as a small rifle-like gun which can be carried on a trooper's shoulder, but which can knock out a tank—are believed by military experts to outweigh anything the Russians can produce qualitatively. And observers do not overlook the fact that the Russians are now producing only as much steel as the U. S. A. turned out in 1910, and if the present five year plan is realized by 1950, steel production will be only at the 1913 level in the United States.

These are grim factors, which have little to do with peace. But they are taken seriously into diplomatic reckoning, when it comes to a question of an armed truce. If war can be held off, these European diplomats hope that there may yet be a miracle which will enable the peace-minded opinion of the world to start more creative moves. It is a tenuous hope at best; but it is the reason why many top Europeans do not expect war now.

and religion meet, the religion must increase, while the philosophies must decrease."[1] The reasons for this are obvious: "The fatal and fundamental weakness in philosophy, from which all derive, is a lack of spiritual vitality."[2]

If man is to have a full-rounded and well-working societal situation, including its political relations, he must thus have a universal faith grounded in truth. "As political philosophy derives its sanction from ethics, and ethics from the truth of religion, it is only by returning to the eternal source of truth that we can hope for any social organization which will not, to its ultimate destruction, ignore some essential aspect of reality."[3] Man cannot live by the bread of knowledge alone, but must also live by the word of the living truth. Unless this distinction is seen, we shall not see what religion can contribute to the making of one world, how it can help to improve international relations.

The truth which can help us to improve our present situation must be had previously through faith, and must therefore be basically self-evident and self-verifying. Yet since reason is a part of life without which it cannot be whole, truth must always be confirmed by reason.

Historic religions accumulate much debris of which they must be cleansed. Within is some kernel of truth. Primitive man thinks in terms of pictures. For that matter, depth-thinking is mostly analogical with us all. Hence we get myths which are meaningful to the whole man. There is something primitive about religion in the sense that it seeks a language that speaks to the whole man. Creeds are mostly rationalizations of myths. A problem arises because of the fact that reason tends to make life conform to its language, to logical abstractions, which satisfy only a part of man. Myths and creeds, on the other hand, tend to avoid the light of facts and reasoning and thus keep the whole man from being satisfied, with the demands of reason left out. Somehow the eternal in history which forms the heart of myth must be related to knowledge as a whole.

In doing this, some pose faith against reason, and some reason against faith; and both sides are to that extent wrong. For man to be whole, for religion and reason both to be strong, both must be satisfied according to their proper proportions. Religious thinkers can rationalize myths so as to satisfy the demands of most minds, but often also so as to destroy their primitive power. Or they can choose to cleanse myths in terms of the demands of reason as such and thus leave man in the long run with impotent philosophy. You cannot extract the heart of myth and keep it a power in history. What needs to be done is to recognize that religious thinking to be sound must primarily be within the context of faith, yet faith strong enough to be self-critical with regar to objective facts and reasons which check c challenge its claims. In this way the heart c religion is not hurt even though change and growt become part of its inner life. A religion for on world can never be constructed by reason; it mus grow out of our new situation, developing its ow appropriate language.

This is simply to say that religious thinkin becomes impotent when rationally abstract. W*e must work with concrete religions*. If human hearts meet at a deep enough level, their heads will always find the thoughts and their hand the acts of cooperation. In this respect Hocking's idea of reconception as a method contains much wisdom. Religious thinking is involved thinking, involved with the depth-decisions of life out of which issue both our reasoning and our rationalization. The objective facts of science and the coherence of philosophy should furnish data for religious thinking which suck it into its deeper life of living commitments, or its anguished problem solving, and weave it into a living language which speaks to the whole man. Not to observe such facts and reasonings is to make religion defensive and isolated from the full life in the world. To reduce religion, on the other hand, to such facts and reasonings is to kill its reality and effectiveness, as authority and motivation, by reducing it into part thinking. No universal abstraction will capture the imagination of one world. Each religion must be immersed into the common depth struggle of life, changing from a closed to an open community.

The final confirmation of religion by thought is within the context of the whole of experience. Religious truth, by the nature of its inmost reality, is experiential. It is operational, in the full sense of the term. To reduce the efficacy of the operational method to certain areas of sense data or formal thinking is to do rude, even if not deliberate, violence to the fuller truth of experience. All over the world educated mankind is wistfully longing to return to a faith that will give meaning and zes to life without doing violence to their intellect. Spengler may be right that we shall find nothing but "a morbid inner life, bringing a touch of warmth to wizened souls." If so, the reason will be that we cannot get away from the part-experience of reason to the power and satisfaction of whole-experience, including reason. Accordingly, we may perish from our own peculiar kind of ortho-differentiation, the overdevelopment of the frontal lobe, to the neglect of the even fuller development of the life of the spirit.

But this need not be. The cross-fertilization of cultures and religions can lead to the *birth* of an adequate religion for one world, or to its acceptance, if now present in principle. Wise leadership is needed within the religions and the proper cooperation by other leaders of thought can help.

1 A. J. Toynbee, *The Study of History*, V. p. 557.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 558.
3 T. S. Eliot, *The Idea of a Christian Society*, p. 64.

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A RELIGION FOR ONE WORLD—I

(By NELS F. S. FERRE')

We print below from the *Crozier Quarterly* the first of three parts of an article on "A Religion for One World." The author, Dr. Nels F. S. Ferre, is by birth a Swede by education American. "Few theologians," says the *Crozier Quarterly*, "are exerting a greater influence than is Dr. Ferre, the present incumbent of the Abbot Chair of Christian Theology at Andover Newton ... His present essay was presented at the eighth symposium of the Conference of science, Philosophy and Religion." Dr. Ferre's contribution will be read with absorbing interest in this country.—*Editor*.

The question is how religion can contribute to the making of one world. What part should and can religion play in the improving of international relations? Religion is a force in history which either divides men or draws them together. It is hard to overestimate its potential power for good or ill with respect to our achieving one world. Some religions have often been, and actually are now, sources of conflict. It has been proposed that the abolishing of religions is a step toward concord among groups and nations. There is obviously a strong element of truth in this suggestion.

But can religion be abolished? History testifies that man is rather generally an incurably religious animal. An analysis of religion can bring out the fact that a man's religion is his basic relation to the universe. Religion is what to a man is most worth while in view of what he considers to be true. All men are religious in their way, for to be religious means to respond meaningfully to the world that we find.

We cannot abolish religion except by destroying human life. What we *can* do is to find what is universally good for us in this actual world. The main fact under consideration is the oneness of our world. This is obviously true geographically, in terms of our modes of communication; politically, in terms of rapidly converging interests, overlapping relations, and intensified interactions; economically, in terms of increasing interdependence and expanding desires; and intellectually, in terms of an ever more frequent and absorbing consciousness of all the other peoples in the world; but this is not equally true in terms of common interests and faiths.

We need a world faith, a community of universal interests and ideals. This can come imperialistically, as one faith does to death the other faiths in a long struggle. In this case, religion adds to the world's conflicts and confusion. For this crucial time at least, it will drain men's energies and destroy their will to universal cooperation. Or it can come by the method of free inquiry ever rooted in the concern for the common good. In this case, the concrete religions, even while seeking universality, will implement whatever general good will may already be found. The second approach is ours.

A religion for one world must be based on truth. This must be a beginning for us from which we must never depart. Naturally, each religion will have to start where it is. We know no presuppositionless thinking. Universality must be an expanding edge, differing according to the capacity of each religion to meet man's deepest, permanent needs. Truth must be approached in the spirit of democratic pluralism. Only the future can tell to what extent a basic universality can be freely combined with the relative elements which characterize human understanding, preferences, and choices. If any religion is sure of its intrinsic universality, it ought the more readily to consent to free inquiry and concomitant cooperation. *Some sort* of democratic pluralism of many religions, or of one, seems altogether probable as a result. This does not preclude a universal aspect and orientation common to all.

If free inquiry is to find the fullest truth of religion, it will find it a grounded faith. What is *most* real and important cannot be proved in terms of *more* real and important without doing violence to rational discourse. A false use of reason has handicapped us. Futility of life is not a little due to falsity of light. The fullest and clearest use of our reason should find us seeing that religion cannot be reduced to reason without reducing whole-life to part-life. Not understanding this, teachers have often quashed vital religion by means of false criticism. In doing this, they have helped to injure the root of creative civilization.

There has been, in any case, much confused thinking about the relation of religion to reason that has thwarted and perverted both. That religion must be based on truth means that it must use reason fearlessly for the full facts, and for all the reasons that can identify and clarify truth. Yet vital religion *uses* reason; it *lives* creatively and courageously beyond what can be proved in terms of what now is. How else could it help to improve the world? How else could faith have any power for the good which we want to see actualized?

The trouble with dwellers in the academic world is often that they have carried over the attitudes and disciplines of their particular approach into the religious realm without regard to the distinctive nature of religion. In this way they helped to undermine the faith of the best leadership in religion, leaving the field that much freer to those who have lower ideals and more partial loyalties.

Religion should make the fullest use of philosophy, but philosophy cannot become a substitute for religion. Philosophy is basically concerned with knowledge. It can be concerned with creative and living knowledge. But when it becomes the full faith of life, it has to that extent gone beyond its proper discipline. If the philosophy of the good life is made a vital life decision, it constitutes the content of that person's faith. It is his religion. Commitment is the very nature of religion. Disinterestedness is good as a method, for a part of life. Full life requires creative and concerned interest.

In his extensive survey of history Toynbee comes to the conclusion that "when philosophies

and religion meet, the religion must increase, while the philosophies must decrease."[1] The reasons for this are obvious: "The fatal and fundamental weakness in philosophy, from which all derive, is a lack of spiritual vitality."[2]

If man is to have a full-rounded and well-working societal situation, including its political relations, he must thus have a universal faith grounded in truth. "As political philosophy derives its sanction from ethics, and ethics from the truth of religion, it is only by returning to the eternal source of truth that we can hope for any social organization which will not, to its ultimate destruction, ignore some essential aspect of reality."[3] Man cannot live by the bread of knowledge alone, but must also live by the word of the living truth. Unless this distinction is seen, we shall not see what religion can contribute to the making of one world, how it can help to improve international relations.

The truth which can help us to improve our present situation must be had previously through faith, and must therefore be basically self-evident and self-verifying. Yet since reason is a part of life without which it cannot be whole, truth must always be confirmed by reason.

Historic religions accumulate much debris of which they must be cleansed. Within is some kernel of truth. Primitive man thinks in terms of pictures. For that matter, depth-thinking is mostly analogical with us all. Hence we get myths which are meaningful to the whole man. There is something primitive about religion in the sense that it seeks a language that speaks to the whole man. Creeds are mostly rationalizations of myths. A problem arises because of the fact that reason tends to make life conform to its language, to logical abstractions, which satisfy only a part of man. Myths and creeds, on the other hand, tend to avoid the light of facts and reasoning and thus keep the whole man from being satisfied, with the demands of reason left out. Somehow the eternal in history which forms the heart of myth must be related to knowledge as a whole.

In doing this, some pose faith against reason, and some reason against faith; and both sides are to that extent wrong. For man to be whole, for religion and reason both to be strong, both must be satisfied according to their proper proportions. Religious thinkers can rationalize myths so as to satisfy the demands of most minds, but often also so as to destroy their primitive power. Or they can choose to cleanse myths in terms of the demands of reason as such and thus leave man in the long run with impotent philosophy. You cannot extract the heart of myth and keep it a power in history. What needs to be done is to recognize that religious thinking to be sound must primarily be within the context of faith, yet a faith strong enough to be self-critical with regard to objective facts and reasons which check or challenge its claims. In this way the heart of religion is not hurt even though change and growth become part of its inner life. A religion for one world can never be constructed by reason; it must grow out of our new situation, developing its own appropriate language.

This is simply to say that religious thinking becomes impotent when rationally abstract. *We must work with concrete religions.* If human hearts meet at a deep enough level, their heads will always find the thoughts and their hand the acts of cooperation. In this respect Hocking's idea of reconception as a method contains much wisdom. Religious thinking is involved thinking, involved with the depth-decisions of life out of which issue both our reasoning and our rationalization. The objective facts of science and the coherence of philosophy should furnish data for religious thinking which suck it into its deeper life of living commitments, or its anguished problem solving, and weave it into a living language which speaks to the whole man. Not to observe such facts and reasonings is to make religion defensive and isolated from the full life in the world. To reduce religion, on the other hand, to such facts and reasonings is to kill its reality and effectiveness, as authority and motivation, by reducing it into part thinking. No universal abstraction will capture the imagination of one world. Each religion must be immersed into the common depth struggle of life, changing from a closed to an open community.

The final confirmation of religion by thought is within the context of the whole of experience. Religious truth, by the nature of its inmost reality, is experiential. It is operational, in the full sense of the term. To reduce the efficacy of the operational method to certain areas of sense data or formal thinking is to do rude, even if not deliberate, violence to the fuller truth of experience. All over the world educated mankind is wistfully longing to return to a faith that will give meaning and zest to life without doing violence to their intellect. Spengler may be right that we shall find nothing but "a morbid inner life, bringing a touch of warmth to wizened souls." If so, the reason will be that we cannot get away from the part-experience of reason to the power and satisfaction of whole-experience, including reason. Accordingly, we may perish from our own peculiar kind of ortho-differentiation, the overdevelopment of the frontal lobe, to the neglect of the even fuller development of the life of the spirit.

But this need not be. The cross-fertilization of cultures and religions can lead to the *birth* of an adequate religion for one world, or to its acceptance, if now present in principle. Wise leadership is needed within the religions and the proper cooperation by other leaders of thought can help.

1 A. J. Toynbee, *The Study of History*, V. p. 557.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 558.
3 T. S. Eliot, *The Idea of a Christian Society*, p. 64.

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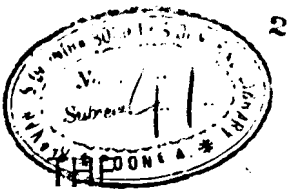

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ation. But how will the South African Government deal with the problems presented by the South African negroes who are natives of the country in a sense in which the Europeans now dominating it can never be? Dr. Donges referred to the repatriation policy put through in India and Pakistan. If this is a precedent, he might usefully have studied the effect of it in this country before depending so blindly on it. The exchange of populations affected on partition was a political pis aller and no one here will claim that it is the most desirable solution to the minority problem. The repatriates are not settled in their new homes and they are in turn proving a disturbing factor in civic life. So far as South African Indians are concerned, they have been encouraged by their Government to cut themselves aloof from India. Their sin is that they followed this injunction and doveloped qualities which would make them misfits in India. For the South African Government now to reverse its policy and serve a quit order on the whole community would be a monstrous act of persecution.

Eire's Stand:—The decision of Eire to scrap the External Relations Act of 1936 and sever the last constitutional tie with Britain is not necessarily a drift from the Commonwealth. It is merely a decision not to continue as a formal member of the British system, and presumably the protracted talks between Eire's representatives and leaders of the Dominions in London and Paris were intended to continue the closest associations. Constitutionally the Irish President becomes the head of Eire in place of the British King and foreign diplomats will be accredited to him and it will be he who conducts diplomatic relations with other countries. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru mentioned in his press conference recently that the Irish representative with whom he had talks in London marked two distinctive differences in Eire's case as compared to that of India's—Eire was a small country and it was near Britain. There is a third difference—the number of Irish citizens who seek their livelihood in Britain and the "British" Dominions. It has been hinted that these will be treated as aliens. But it should not really matter if Britain is determined to create an atmosphere of friendship. After all, only recently Britain and America decided to waive the formalities regarding visas between the two countries so that no unnecessary obstacles should come in the way of free travel. What could be done for America, could easily by accomplished for Eire. It has often been urged that Eire's breaking with the Commonwealth will lose its all chances of undoing the partition of Ireland. Presumably, the Irish people have now decided that in any case there was little hope of uniting Eire and Northern Ireland peacefully. Mr. Costello during his American visit said his people were determined to undo partition in their lifetime. He also offered to reach agrement with America and Britain "for strategic purposes to maintain peace"—but not so long "as there was partition of Ireland". Now that Eire has taken the first step in severing its ties with the Commonwealth, we may take it that its policies will be oriented more to the United States of America. The large Irish population of America which has exercised some influence in the past, is another important difference.

An Indiscretion:—At Nagpur's Chitnavis Park early this month, Sardar Vallbhbhai Patel, calling for unity and the setting aside of petty disputes, dwelt on the many problems that needed attention He made special reference to the refugee problem in language which has given offence in Pakistan. He said, "One problem alone is a source of great worry to us. Lakhs of men are coming from East to West Bengal. What are we to do about it? When the Punjab was partitioned, Hindus and Sikhs came here and we are still shouldering the burden that was thrown on us. They then drove out Sindhis from Sind, and Hindus and Sikhs from the North-West Frontier . . . What are we going to do about the Hindus from East Bengal? . . . . We have to tell Pakistan that this problem should either be solved amicably or it is likely to prove a source of trouble between the two Dominions. We are ready for all eventualities. If you are determined to turn out Hindus, you must part with sufficient land to enable us to settle them. We cannot take things lying down." So far there has been no contradiction, no repudiation of the report as incorrect, no toning down of the language. Pandit Jawaharlal to whom evidently a protest was made through India's High Commissioner in Pakistan, has stated that no threat was meant and that the Deputy Prime Minister has been misinterpreted. Ordinarily it might have passed off as a mere enumeration of India's national problems to create a sense of responsibility among Indians. But there is no mistaking the direct admonition to Pakistan contained in the Sardar's words. It is hardly surprising that relations between the two Dominions remain strained when responsible members of the Governments indulge in provocations of this nature. Indian newspapers often condemn Pakistan Ministers for their excesses but none has thought fit to comment on the Sardar's indiscretion. If it is that the Sardar was carried away by his audience and his own oratory, may we suggest that such dangers should be eliminated by our leaders resolutely restricting themselves to prepared and written speeches in future? Now that a heavy responsibility lies upon them, this is a very necessary precaution.

The Almighty Atom:—Mr. Devere Allen writes, "The Sun and Stars have been found to contain uranium, according to astronomers, which is a real comfort provided we can get there first. The experts also say that the atomic mineral was produced in the celestial bodies when the universe was very young which is even more of a comfort, since you can forgive juveniles for many things that would be depressing if done in full maturity. Even on the earth the scientific explorers have been scratching the rocks with a fanatical energy that makes you wonder why we'll ever need atomic power anyway. Half a dozen toys are on the market or in preparation for Christmas, utilizing what the kids are told is genuine atomic material—which is no lie, if you want to get technical, for atoms are everywhere, and almost as common as crises."

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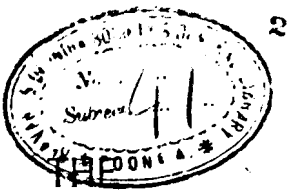

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THE FUTURE OF INDIA

India's future relations with the British Commonwealth will in the last analysis be determined by defence and foreign policy. On foreign policy, India has stated that she will stand out of the Big Power blocs which divide the greater part of the world in rival camps. This does not mean an indifference to the major issues which are at stake It means only freedom to judge on the merits of each case and to exercise a moderating influence on both sides to a dispute. It implies freedom from prior commitments, not a promise not to take sides at all. It is quite conceivable that in a crisis developing into war India will find herself on the side of one or other of the belligerents. As Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru remarked in his press conference last Friday on the conception of the Commonwealth, the bias is for peace but nevertheless being involved in war is not ruled out. That, whatever might be the position of the Commonwealth, is India's position today. The question is how long this attitude can be preserved. The Indian Government have taken a definite stand against the Communists internally and, so far as Asia is concerned, Pandit Jawaharlal expressed the general feeling when he said that by precipitate and premature action Communists had ill-served the cause of Asian nationalism. It is hardly likely that in Europe, where Communists have filtered into several Governments and wormed themselves into power from within, India would find herself more inclined to support the Red elements. There is in fact only one point at which the Russians and Indians touch and that is the issue of racial equality. This is seen in the discussion on South-West Africa where race prejudices manifest themselves at their worst. It is this which will in the long run decide India's relations with the Commonwealth. The reluctance of Indian leaders to raise this issue suggests an anxiety to gloss over the difference lest it prevent staying in the Commonwealth. The method of shelving the straight issue is most undesirable. If an open decision is taken that India will stay in the Commonwealth and exert herself consistently to establish race equality, then the position will be understandable. But this way, there is every danger that India will have to give ground every ti— .l issues are raised. And it might lead ip to the very thing feared—severance .monwealth link.

.efence question resolves itself into one ...er India can stay out of the Common- .lth. The growing signs of weakness in the United Nations make it all the more important that India's defence should be considered realistically by the men who are called upon to make the decision. The long coastline and the inadequacies of the present Indian Navy make it imperative that India link up with some other nation or group of nations. And, so far as this purpose is concerned, the Commonwealth has claims which cannot easily be rivalled. It is true that in the Second World War India was saved more by the intervening lands of Burma and Malaya than by the British Commonwealth and that being in the Commonwealth did not help either of those two countries from being overrun by the Japanese. But the exhaustion following the Second World War ensures against a repetition of the Asian collapse against an aggressive power. But it can at most be regarded as a breathing space in which to build up defences. The ideological defence lies in Asian nationalism and everything must be done to help it forward. But India has also to consider whether her military position can best be strengthened by working with and within the Commonwealth or by herself. There can be no two opinions on this subject. And it is surprising that Indian leaders in general, and particularly Pandit Jawaharlal, have not troubled to present the problem in this light. It can only be assumed that they are held back by past campaigns against Britain which have created a psychological barrier against present realism. The change over from anti-British prejudice to a more sympathetic attitude which has come over Congress leaders, has been too swift for communication to the public.

The Constituent Assembly in so far as it has declared itself on public questions is unimaginative and disposed to attend to details rather than principles. Every major controversy is shelved for later decision. The approach even regarding the British connection is inadequate. Obviously the Constituent Assembly will be called upon merely to outline general policy. It will have to do no more than decide on continuance or severance of the ties which hold India to the Commonwealth and the general principles to be respected in securing continuance if that course is favoured. The rest will be left to the negotiating parties. But an example of the general distrust that persists, is to be seen in the speculations put out by the entire Indian press on the Prime Minister's attitude in the London Conference. Not one suggested that Pandit Jawaharlal who had piloted the Objectives Resolution through the Constituent Assembly with such eager fervour, had insisted on the Resolution as the first principle of India's national policy to which all else must be subordinated. The failure is another index to the rift in Indian opinion and it is essential that every effort be directed to correcting it. The leaders of Indian opinion cannot afford any longer to keep the major issues in the question of India's relations with the Commonwealth undiscussed. They must launch on a campaign throughout the country if a right decision is to be arrived at.

A RELIGION FOR ONE WORLD—II

(By NELS F. S. FERRE')

A religion for one world makes cooperation central in the discovery of truth. We are not thinking, of course, of some general consensus of opinion, or of some deification of the average understanding or attainment of man. Religious faith always points to the future; a world religion must be grown, or born, out of the needs of our concrete situation. Truth that can help us draws, rather than pushes; it beckons, rather than stands where we are.

Yet religion is a personal affair. There is no effective way to force faith. Faith arises from within, in response to a situation. A world faith, if it is to be meaningful and vital to an individual, must arise from within that individual. A faith for the whole world must spring out of the situation of the world as it appears true to the individual believer. He responds to what is most worth while in the light of what is true.

No religion now is adequate for man except it exhibit, in Amos Wilder's terms, "responsible freedom." Responsible freedom includes free thought. There must be available the fullest conditions for free thinking. Where thought is curbed, religion cannot be at its authentic best. Differing religions can find larger areas of understanding and cooperation only on the basis of truth. There must, therefore, also be freedom to differ, even on basic matters. If this is not given, faith is forced. As such it may survive and be organizationally strong, but not fully satisfactory to the groping mind. Yet freedom must ever be responsible. It must be for the common good. The individual should, therefore, be morally responsible to show intelligently and cooperatively the fuller truth. Religions cannot differ either on the right to differ or on their duty to find increasingly the fuller common truth. Though faith cannot be forced, it must be free only within the growing truth.

Responsible freedom involves the implementing of religion in life. Religious freedom is freedom for the common good. Such freedom is, therefore, also faithfulness. Religion is not first of all thought. Nor is it first of all worship. It is first of all fellowship. It is first of all responsible living.

We cannot start with freedom, and then go to fellowship. The community is a given fact. So is man's gregarious nature. The fact is that his natural bent to self perverts his community life. Individualism is an abstraction. The fact is not that the individual wants to live for himself; rather he wants to live for himself by means of, and in terms of, others. We cannot choose isolation, as individuals or nations. We must, rather, choose the kind of relations which we are to have. Such freedom should be with others for all, including the legitimate, mature needs of the self or the country.

Naturally such cooperative living will involve social, cultural, and religious pluralism. There is no way that we know that religions can come together overnight. Threatening disaster may hasten the process out of which a religion for one world may develop or be accepted. Yet even so, the background and traditions of the separate religions are necessary as an emotional basis, at least for a transition period. If one religion is found to be generally true, at least sufficiently true to absorb the rest, the other religions will bring along their own contributions into it.

The method, however, must be religious pluralism in the sense that no external force is applied. Nor should exchange of thought be forced persuasion. The method must be neither aggressive nor defensive in an insecure sense. No religion should have externals which either separate or are the occasions for superiority. Each religion must rather be a struggle with the common problems and for the common truths, and the patient and humble sharing of each other's seeing, until the truth which is adequate for one world can be established. It is hardly thinkable, and very likely not desirable, any way, that a religion for one world should exhibit uniformity in features and approach. It very likely would be a cooperative inquiry and sharing of faith. It is to be hoped, however, that eventually a common general ground in ultimate truth, and a consequent universal ethos, can be attained.

As the world works, this is naturally an ideal picture. Much struggle will be imperialistic and of a crude nature. Externals will separate and men will identify superiority with security. Actual religions represent to a large extent cultural lags. Yet intelligent and devoted leadership, sensing a common threat and a common opportunity, can serve as bridgeheads over which pass such elements of the common truth as may erupt *in history's own way* in whatever faith is built, or comes to be built, on the fullest truth to satisfy man's deeper need.

A religion for one world will come the easier the more all responsible people will help in all areas of life to make effective a cooperative world. The more men of vision work for understanding among the nations, for the united nations, for one political world of cooperation, the more a religion for one world is given a chance. Working together for common ends is a good prelude to a common faith. The more work for a cooperative world consciousness is done, in public opinion, in thought politics, in economic realms, in education, in culture and travel, the more the presuppositions for a religion of one world are wrought out. The more each concrete religion works now in giving physical aid and political understanding to the needs of one world, the more they will prepare for their cooperative living and thinking together.

Truth is both external and internal, both objective and subjective. Cooperative conditions depend upon cooperative consciousness. Cooperative spirits also need conditions conducive to cooperation. Half-truth is heresy. The part-truth

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My first introduction to decentralization was in India where I served many years as an educational missionary. Gandhi's nation-building programme had been based on that philosophy. Tagore, the great Indian philosopher, was writing that the urban West, like all other urban civilizations before it, had within itself the seeds of its own destruction. But modern technology had also placed within its grasp what none of those which had gone down in past centuries had known. It could save itself, he said, by the discovery of a philosophy and way of life between rural and urban which could gather up the basic values of both. Our last month in India we spent in Aundh, a small native state where the new reform constitution had incorporated decentralization as the guiding principle. The village had been made the primary unit of administration. Two factory centres were in operation more like university centres, with respect to residence tenure. People could not permanently detach themselves from their village families or holdings. It is possible that this ideology of decentralization which so widely prevailed in India, is in a measure responsible for the fact that just now Arthur Morgan has been called by the new free Government of India for consultation in certain aspects of their pioneering in statehood. It is especially appropriate, therefore, to essay the value of his community philosophy in relation to the general philosophy of decentralization and also against the background of the growing American trend called by that name.

Upon returning from India in 1940, being duly installed at a centre of decentralist thought, I began soon to perceive a wide discrepancy between the philosophy and its application in America.

The American popular use of the term springs largely out of a business trend and a population trend. It refers to the drift of people from cities to country. It refers often to the location of factories in outlying places without raising the question of the kind of factory in human terms. Features thus popularly contemplated as means to decentralization — moving to the land, farming and gardening, small-scale manufacturing—may prove to be perfectly compatible with industrial slavery. About nine-tenths of India's four hundred million people live on the land in villages. For them industrial units are always small. Traditionally they have always cultivated the land. Yet they are far from fully free. It is *how* people are related to earth, use it, maintain their mastery over it in terms of their fulfillment, which can lead to freedom and preserve freedom. This is the problem which ideological decentralization sets before itself. What a far cry from the mere drift of peoples from city to country; or from the "decentralization" so-called of some giant industry, through the mere flinging out of its factories, at the same time that it centralizes its control over workers and the public through monopolistic practices

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perverts. *Religion should help to make mankind socially sensitive.* It should give him the vision and feeling of one world. Yet such sensitivity becomes sentimental and towards one world unless it issue in concrete actions that create the conditions for cooperation. Here Whitehead is right in maintaining both that religion is what an individual does with his own solitariness and that religion is world loyalty.

The point is that we cannot construct a religion for one world rationally. It must be born, not made. It will be called forth out of the womb of man's enlarged needs. What we can do is to help develop the needed world consciousness of responsible concern, both by including one world in worship and in thought and by working for it together, as different, concrete religions, all the while letting there be a sincere search for, and surrender to, the fuller faith as it grows into universality extensively and intensively. In this way cooperation in faith, thought, and work will prepare for the larger unifying life, whether one now existing enlarged, or one now existing modified, or some new religion, incorporating the basic truths of all and any religions now extant. If this religion will not be born, or at least until it is, all religions should cooperate in every way, in thought and deed, to prepare for and make effective a world politics, economics, and culture.

Religion, when real and vital, is a mighty wielder of public opinion at the point of action. Religion is the whole man reaching for what is worth while in the light of what he considers to be the truth. Thus religion uses the method of cooperation in finding a religion, or kinds of religion, that will help to create and implement a cooperative one world. Responsible freedom for the individual thereby becomes the same thing as social faithfulness.

A religion for one world will find that cooperation is itself an essential part of the truth that we need. Organic needs point to the kind of universe which has produced them. Things are not true because they are desirable, but they are genuinely desirable because they are true. Things are not true because they are needed, but they are needed because they are organically true. Things are not most deeply real because we crave them, but we most deeply crave them because they are real.

Needs even now witness to their environmental counterpart. Our superficial reason abstracts into categories of explanation which cannot be lived, because they spring from partial perspectives, and deal with mere aspects of reality. Yet need, even more, witnesses back to its organic origin. Human beings are newcomers, comparatively speaking, in cosmic history. Humanity is inexplicable in origin, nature, and function apart from the larger environment within which it is but a part. Man must not be split off from nature. His origin and needs tell us something truly about his being and operation. The effect hails back to the cause; the product, to the larger process out of which it springs; human purposes to the Purpose which preceded them long before they appeared in history at all. Human purposes cannot be accounted for by any purpose less than themselves. Even our intellectual need to know, for itself, and in order to do, reflects on the nature of reality.

In this world, we need to cooperate. If we do not, we shall not get along constructively. True religion is the fullest possible deliverance from evil and the attainment of the greatest possible good. Cooperation is an essential aspect of true religion, even as religion is our most worth while response to what is worth while in terms of wha is true. Cooperation is thus an essential aspect of reality. Our historic actuality becomes fashioned according to the way in which we use our freedom to cooperate with this positive aspect of reality.

But cooperation is thwarted by narrow interests, defensive suspicions, and selfish seeking. Fear, ignorance, inertia, and ill will stand in the way. What we all need is simple and straightforward trust in the Source of the Ultimate Good for each and for all. We need to see that only such faith will transcend both inner and outer barriers to the larger concord and cooperation. Such trust involves responsibility, beginning with the fear of the consequences of the evil in this kind of universe, and rising through the call of duty, until it reaches the point of gratitude for the fact that this is the kind of world where evil brings destruction and good is the prerequisite for satisfactory living together.

CAN SMALL COUNTRIES SAVE THE U. N. ?

Philippine chief spokesmen Brigadier General Carlos P. Romulo, who has been termed by fellow diplomats the "common sense delegate," said:—

"The United Nations is on trial for its life, and it can survive only if the member states, through good-will, understanding and determination remove it from power politics. It is up to the small and middle-sized nations to organize themselves and together assume the moral authority the U. N. is supposed to have, but which at present power politics does not permit it to exercise. A world third force is neither too idealistic nor impractical. If the small countries of the world refuse to be drawn into the different spheres of influence now existing, such a force can become a dynamic reality. Small nations at present tend more or less to lean on one or two of the three big powers, to the extent that they sometimes forget their own individual policies. However, since the paramount problem at present is war or peace, the security and survival of each individual nation is at stake. For this reason every nation—small or big—must see that its own security comes first and above all. Yet the duty of the small countries is to protect not only themselves but humanity. They can do this if they don't permit themselves to be pulled into the type of ideological warfare now going on at Paris.

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concept arose in Europe. Among the leaders was one of the greatest of modern sociologists, Franz Oppenheimer of Germany, who died during the second World War as a refugee, in California. He gave probably the best answers so far to both Marxian Communism and German Statism. I was able to trace this influence from Europe to India, to America and to other lands. Oppenheimer's own practical application took the form of extensive community building, and the inspiration of his example greatly influenced the Palestinian cooperative communities and others scattered over the world.

In this ideological sense the meaning of decentralization holds closely to the dictionary meaning of "removing control from the centre." The key word is control. I came to see clearly that the small community held this key to decentralization in its true sense. It is the direct means to this extension of man's control over nature, including human nature. The community's function in relation to the decentralization of all man's institutions is to serve very much like the governor of a machine which serves to keep all the other parts from wasting all the energy in futile or destructive gyrations. Decentralization in America, I felt after four years of leadership in the movement, was in danger of precisely such wasting away in futility; unless people could learn how to control their destiny through their community organizations.

But not only this. The Community Service research reveals that democracy in all the world is threatened with great loss or even possible eclipse, so far as the modern West is concerned, because it tends to allow the local community relations to wither away. Arthur Morgan has called this neglect "America's great blind spot."

Harry W. Culbreth, a New Deal cooperative analyst, after two years traveling and studying western democracy concluded that even in Sweden, "the most advanced democracy in civilization," the individual was "intensely frustrated." Lacking unifying purpose, he was very social in that he belonged to many organizations, but he was not integrated socially; even families of Sweden lacked integration for human personality. Early pioneering conditions in America, he said, led to an unconscious satisfaction of this psychological need of man. But the very technological and organizational advancements which released Americans from the stern necessity of pioneering, removed also the conditions which met these deepest human needs. Americans "made no conscious effort to retain them. This has resulted in the disintegration of local communities."[2]

A great English writer, Canon Demant, joins in this chorus of warning. When the sense of community says—"men will not work their civilization—except under compulsion, the naked individual confronts the naked state, with no community in between... You cannot expect men to feel responsibility in global relations when their sense of significance and loyalty is undermined in the smaller areas of life."[3] It is not improbable that the modern Samson strains now between the two great pillars of his civilization, science and social organization, because he is blind and stung to desperation. The final war may even seem glorious by comparison with his frustration and growing insignificance in his modern world.

The word "sovereignty" as democratically used, beside involving the personal assertion of independence at the point of a socialized conscience, which is fundamental, involves also the *extension* of the control of man. This extension of individual control, through ever wider community organization to "world community", provides the means to man's mastery of earth and its forces. But it is only through maintaining strong local attachments that man can retain or extend *democratic* sovereignty.

The great illusion of our age is that wide-scale organization can and must proceed with such haste and urgency as to involve coercion as its method, rather than the profounder human educational approach. The philosophy or sociological principle of decentralization asserts that the only way to extend or preserve human freedom is through maintaining an environment in which human choice can function constructively in meeting all needs. The trends in America represent, on one side, reaction against the increasing frustration and, on the other, a rather blind, instinctive urge to recover such an environment in which human choice counts for something. Community Service of Arthur Morgan and associates reveals, through its research, that history makes clear, that it is only through strong local communities that this is possible. Even world community must thus begin, and remains always rooted, in the customary setting where people live and work and play together. It is at all points and levels an evolutionary growth.

2. Harry W. Culbreth, "What is the Future of Democracy Following Present Trends," Mimeographed address before the Ohio Welfare Conference at Columbus, Ohio, 1940.

3. V. A. Demant, "The Breakdown of a Civilization," *Christian Century*, September 10, 1947.

VOLUNTARY SOCIAL WORK IN BRITAIN

Another important social document compiled by Lord Beveridge has just been published in Britain. Entitled "Voluntary Action for Social Welfare," this report surveys the whole field of voluntary social work in Britain and puts forward valuable suggestion of how philanthropic action can be adapted to the changing conditions of society.

The report is a logical sequence of Lord Beveridge's well known plan for complete social security which he drew up in 1942 and which has since made his name famous throughout the world.

The wide range of work carried out by mutual aid societies and philanthropic institutions is closely examined in relation to the social progress achieved during the past century. The future of voluntary action, states the report, must

be considered in the light of the conclusion that whatever the Government of the day, the State will seek to do more for the citizen in the future than in the past.

The essence of the report lies in showing how much has been achieved by voluntary action in the past and how there is still as urgent a need as ever for voluntary social work to supplement the State services and to pioneer and experiment ahead of the State. "The State cannot see to the rendering of all the services that are needed to make a good society. Voluntary action is needed to do things which the State should not do, such as the giving of advice and organising the use of leisure. The reasons for voluntary action have not been diminished and will not be destroyed by the growing activities of the State."

Lord Beveridge suggests that there remains a large scope for insurance above the minimum provided for by the State. In addition, he recommends that friendly societies should co-operate in providing homes and clubs for old people and should help meet the growing demand for holiday accommodation following the extension of holidays with pay.

In making these and other suggestions, Lord Beveridge recognises that in a more equal society of the future, voluntary social work must broaden into a work of social advancement for the whole of society and that democracy must do for public good what used to be done by a few. At the same time new forms of co-operation between the State and the voluntary worker should leave the maximum freedom and responsibility to the individual.

URANIUM'S LURE

(By DEVERE ALLEN)

The big fear is, of course, that Russia may have The Bomb. There are good reasons to think it hasn't; but it must be getting warm, for there are unmistakable traces of radioactivity in some of Vishinsky's oratorical detonations. We are in a position to report, however, that those contrivances strapped around the heads of U. N. delegates at Paris are truly, earphones, and not, as rumoured, Geiger counters.

Mr. Vishinsky put forward a proposal at Paris which was hardly frank, for it seemed to open up a new chance for discussion, when in actuality it was old stuff. Its worst trouble was its failure to state the real Soviet case. For it is not inspection of atomic plants as such that Russia fears; to inspect soundly, you have to examine chemical plants, and even heavy industry. In short, under the majority U. N. plan that Russia objects to, the Soviet Union would have to be an open state. It is a closed state because it has much to cover up, and, more significantly, because if it ever became really open the present dictatorship could not remain unmodified.

In trying to be fair about the Russian dilemma, there isn't much use in over-simplifying it. It is exactly that when people treat in equivalent terms the Soviet dictatorship and the admittedly imperfect western democracies. Says the "New Statesman and Nation" in London, with this common lack of realism, "Does Mr. Bevin think that, if Russia had had the atom bomb at the end of the war, America would have accepted similar proposals put forward by the Soviet Union?"

The answer to such argument is all too painfully obvious. Russia would not have put forward any such proposals; you have the startling spectacle of the world's leading capitalist power offering to socialize atomic energy, and the world's great Communist power reacting to that plan in language of isolationism and nationalism. Irrespective of what either power would do, the world's peoples overwhelmingly feel safer with the atom bomb in the hands of a conservative country under political democracy than under any form of totalitarianism whatsoever.

There is no cause for self-satisfaction on the part of the U. S. A. in this. After all, it was the American government which decreed the use of the atom bomb when it has been employed. In fairness, however, and especially in consideration of the future, it must be noted that totalitarian regimes are most untrustworthy with such power, and that all countries are totalitarian in war. The best way to avert the use of the bomb, whether the American stockpile is to be destroyed or not, is to avert war itself.

There is a way in which the United States might move to overcome the present impasse, which steadily becomes more dangerous for humankind. It is not the ideal way, but that seems out of the question at this time. Why doesn't the United States invite a large group of countries—everybody who will come in—to draft an international compact at once, for the establishment of an atomic authority along the lines of the plan already widely endorsed? Why should not that pact arrange for the sharing of gains made in experimentation for peaceful uses of atomic energy? Why shouldn't the participating nations agree upon a central place, perhaps near the Sahara Desert or in the wilderness of Australia, for the joint development of atomic power?

Important results might follow. Atomic energy for industrial use, too dangerous for private industry, might be kept in public hands. The whole emphasis would be turned away from the American stockpiling of bombs, and towards constructive channels: if public opinion will not under present circumstances sanction the one-sided destruction of atom bombs, at least a start would be made on out-weighing the destructive aspects. Scientists would take new heart, where at present they are understandably discouraged. Russia's suspicions could not be made worse; they might be considerably reduced.

This is a programme that is realizable. Why do we bicker; why do we let suspicion pile up not only in Russia but in much of the world; why do we dilly-dally? The present paralyzing deadlock cannot be broken by argument, or by stagnation It can perhaps be by-passed through bold constructive action.—*Worldover Press*

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"I will be as harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard"*.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the LIBERATOR.

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NOTES

South-West Africa:—The South African Government has been pursuing a policy of ignoring the United Nations with consistency and vigour. Dr. Malan, the Prime Minister, declared that he would rather take South Africa out of the United Nations than submit to U. N. trusteeship over South-West Africa. Though the South African delegate to U. N., Mr. Eric Louw, tried to mitigate the effect of this flagrant insult, it was obvious that South Africa was less afraid of the U. N enforcing its decisions than the U. N. was of losing South Africa. When the voting came on the South-West African question, India found hereself very nearly deserted by the others. Cuba which had effective amendments to the main resolution sponsored by Denmark, Norway and Urguay, withdrew commenting on the futility of pursuing a subject on which the U. N. would be obstructed from acting by a minority. But Cuba at least voted with India on the last-minute amendments which India moved. Pakistan, having expressed substantial agreement with the Indian stand, refrained from voting and allowed the opposition to win by a solitary vote. The Arab countries remained neutral, and Iran supported India whilst Turkey opposed. There has evidently been a deal ostensibly with South Africa but involving several Big Powers. And it would not be surprising if the deal related to Palestine.

Prohibition:—In the Constituent Assembly, an amendment to the draft Constitution has been passed, incorporating Prohibition. It was opposed by Mr. Jaipal Singh, leader of the tribal peoples of Assam, who pleaded that the tribes needed liquor and should not be deprived of it. Dr. Ambedkar who is piloting the Constitution, asserted that the tribes are protected because a law passed by the State does not automatically apply to them. This is a rather curious defence since it will not take long to put through the necessary processes before a law applies to the aboriginal tribes. The inclusion of Prohibition in the directives part of the Constitution means nothing immediate. But it will be certainly not usual if Government officials and representatives abroad go against the directive and indulge in cocktail parties and partake of alcoholic drinks. Unless the men in authority are prepared to keep up a firm attitude which will be difficult, it would be much better if the Constituent Assembly refrained from giving directives which will only lead through being ignored to ridicule.

The Cyclone:—On Sunday night-Monday morning, a fierce cyclone swept the city and suburbs with unprecedented force. Except for the palms which have suffered comparatively few casualties, the huge trees have all been literally uprooted. Several of the roads were littered with fallen trees, impeding movement and bringing all traffic to a standstill. The electric supply was cut off for about 36 hours, completely paralysing the tram and train service, cutting out the radio, and immobilising the presses. It was a violent reminder to the public of their dependence on modern conveniences. Fortunately, the electric supply was restored late on Tuesday evening; and the deprivation was experienced only for two days. The authorities concerned deserve congratulations for the quick recovery they made from the stupor caused by the first shock and for the readiness with which they responded to a totally new experience. The isolation of Bombay was brought home to no section so vividly as to housekeepers who were faced with a shortage of food, and journalists who were hard put to it to obtain news and present it to the public under the limitations of primitive methods. More news came in from abroad than from the rest of India The military lent a useful hand in clearing the roads and in restoring the electric suppply. On the whole, it has been an experience which could well have proved more disastrous.

Undeserved:—For some mysterious reason, it has become the fashion to say a word of praise to the public whenever we have survived a great catastrophe. In the cyclone disaster, the fashion has not been ignored. But it is difficult to understand the almost maudlin words of praise addressed to the public, unless it be either because the writers and speakers expected worse behaviour or because the public has to be flattered in a Democracy. All those who could profit by the calamity, profited—merchants put up the price of candles, drivers of taxis and carriages collected fantastic fares, and private motorists thought more of their own comfort than of helping others on the road. Several road blocks need not have waited for the authorities to clear them, if the people in the neighbourhood attended more to clearing the highways than to collecting firewood. There have even been instances where neighbours who noticed the damage done to houses whose occupants were caught away from them, devoted themselves more to getting hold of pickings than to any conscientious discharge of their neighbourly duties. If anything, the cyclone has served to bring out the worst qualities in the public; and the only cause for gratitude is that every householder did not change overnight into a looter. This is a negative virtue; and even here we have reason to thank the Government for its prompt warning that any lawlessness would be sternly punished. The credit for these and other measures goes to the Home Minister, Mr Morarji Desai, who acted with decision. There is one point which needs clearing up: Considering the importance to the city of the one source of electric power, it is strange that the military did not take up the work of investigating the lines until Tuesday. It is possible that the Tata Hydro-Electric Power Company put off asking Government help until it had exhausted its own resources. If that is so, then there must be some provision in future for Government taking the initiative, without waiting for an appeal. The existing lacuna, we presume there is one, should be immediately filled.

Indian Protest at U. N:—The Indian delegation at U. N. registered its protest against the continued dragging in of Hyderabad by staging a walk-out when Pakistan's proposal was to be discussed. There is something farcical in the report that the intention of the Indian delegation was not understood until Mrs Vijayalakshmi Pandit went up and explained matters to the President. But it is rather disheartening for the Hyderabad issue to be brought up time and again without either relevancy or reason. If Pakistan set forth its case in a reasonable way, it would be something. But this eternal harping on genocide and atrocity-mongering does not help any party, least of all Hyderabad. As it happens the Indian protest is not very wise as it leaves the field free to Pakistan but presumably the infection is catching and after the example of South Africa and her threats it is natural that the Indian delegation too should exploit the non-cooperation technique.

Inter-Dominion Conference:—It is difficult to understand how conferences between government representatives of India and Pakistan continue to be held in an atmosphere of distrust fostered by leading personalities in the two governments. At one moment, Khwaja Nazimuddin or Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan asserts Pakistan's determination to strengthen Pakistan's defences in words that suggest an offensive against India; the next the representatives meet and announce that agreement has been reached over some aspect or other of Indo-Pakistan relations. What is more useful, decisions have been arrived at which help the two Dominions until an outbreak of fanaticism is seen. Obviously no one takes the politician's words seriously nor does anyone expect the governments to live up to the threats of their leading Ministers. The leaders in the two Dominions are still living in the old days when they formed opposing parties, though to the credit of India be it said, the Indian leaders have generally a keener sense of their responsibilities

Eire's Independence:—Mr. Attlee has declared that Eire's repeal of the External Relations Act will in no way affect the position of Eire's citizens now working in Britain who will not be regarded as aliens; Eire, he said, would not be considered a foreign country. This too, it has been reported, will be the attitude of Australia, Canada and New Zealand. A very real difficulty, however, has been pointed out that, if Eire, after leaving the Commonwealth and assuming the status of a foreign country for all practical purposes, still remains as part of the British Commonwealth, then it should be open to all countries to claim the same privilege under the most favoured nation clause. The only way to restrict membership in these conditions is to insist on basic principles among members and admit only those which conform to them. Thus the link will cease to be symbolic and become more binding and lasting as it will be based on common objectives and common approach. Eire's action has in a sense forced the issue and the practical British will have to deal with its concrete problem. It has a vital bearing on India where the decision has to be taken in the near future. If Eire has all the advantages of membership of the Commonwealth despite her repeal of the External Relations Act, then there is no reason why India too should not give up the Crown which is a sentimental link without meaning to those who do not share the sentiment. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru told the Constituent Assembly that the Government of India had to be informed in advance both by Eire and the Dominions of their attitude. This suggests that Eire's example is intended to be a precedent and that a new relation is rapidly developing between different members of the Commonwealth. In this context, the assurance that it was generally accepted by Commonwealth Premiers to establish only one form of membership, given on an earlier occasion by Pandit Jawaharlal, is significant.

THE INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER
BOMBAY, November 27, 1948

KASHMIR BEFORE U. N.

The Kashmir question has come to the forefront. The U. N. Commission has released its interim report in which in the most guarded manner the issues involved are set forth without commiting the Commission to serious denunciation of either party. The Indian Union communiques have mentioned increased fighting in Kashmir. The Pakistan Governor-General has declared addressing a mammoth meeting at Rawalpindi on the necessity of strengthening Pakistan's defences, that Kashmir is a major issue with Pakistan. Last, but not least, a feeler has been put out from what is called "authoritative Indian quarters in London", hinting that India will accept partition, seemingly qualifying it with the remark that India will not agree to any region in Kashmir being handed over without the consent of the people of that region—which is, again, an indirect way of supporting partition since it presents the Kashmir problem not as one integral problem but as one to be settled "regionally". The London source also ventured an explanation of fighting having slowed down because of the onset of winter.

All this has to be read against the background of Indian disinterest in the Kashmir fighting. Newspapers have been slow in publishing news; the Government communiques have not been frequent enough; and there is a tendency to pay greater attention to discussions on Kashmir than to the actual fighting. It is difficult to keep ap an interest in Kashmir and at the same time preserve an equable temper towards Pakistan, which is avowedly bolstering resistance to the Indian army in Kashmir. On the other hand, the dubious attitude of the United Nations is calculated to rouse Indian determination to see the Kashmir issue through to a successful conclusion. It is not convincing in the least when the U. N. Commission concedes the Indian case but holds back from the logical conclusion. For instance, the Commission observes that conditions in Kashmir were very different to the situation visualised by the Security Council in its deliberations. And the main difference, it remarks, is Pakistan's direct participation in the fighting and its open admission of it. But it hesitates to draw the distinction between Indian forces in Kashmir on the invitation of the established Government and Pakistan forces intruding there against the wishes of the Goverment. Nor does it give as much importance to Sheikh Abdullah as it does to the so-called "Azad Kashmir Government", apparently because the latter seemed more active than the Commission had expected it to be. The report takes note of the Pakistan Army exercising overall control over the "Azad Kashmir" movement but it insinuates that it had not realised that the "Azad Kashmir" movement was "an organised political and military body in "active revolt against the existing Government". This is mischievous in that it seeks to reduce the Kashmir Government and the raiders to a kind of equality. While it may help the U. N. Security Council to deal the more easily with the situation, it does not do justice to India which is the aggrieved party in this dispute. How the Commission reconciles its acceptance of Pakistan as virtual instigator with its recognition of the "Azad Kashmir" movement as a political party it is difficult to understand.

The Government of India, however anxious it may be for a peaceful settlement, is now precluded from passive acquiescence in the United Nations directives by the obvious weakness of that body. There can be no virtue in following the U. N.'s vacillations and allowing Pakistan to consolidate its position. The Security Council has issued an appeal to both parties to refrain from hostilities and to explore the paths of peaceful settlement. So far as the Indian forces are concerned, they moved into Kashmir in order to clear the State of raiders. Until that task is accomplished, there is no question of slackening their efforts and, in fact, there is much to be said for pushing forward in a determined effort to settle Kashmir. The protest of Sir Mahomed Zafrullah against intensified Indian action in Kashmir ignores the fact that it was Pakistan which turned down the "cease-fire" appeal. In the circumstances, there is no commitment on the part of India to limit its operations in any way. The Security Council could do the right thing by calling on Pakistan to withdraw from Kashmir and then direct its Commission to see how real the Azad Kashmir" movement is. Failure to do this, when it is the obvious course, can only rouse the Indian Government to strong action. Let the Security Council make up its mind whether it requires a peaceful or violent settlement of the Kashmir issue and apply itself accordingly.

THE AMERICAN NOVEL

Writers in Crisis: By Maxwell Geismar, (Published By Secker and Warburg, London)

Maxwell Geismar's survey of the American novel written during the years 1920-1940 is sympathetic and quite revealing. Selecting the works of Lardner, Hemingway, Dos Passos, Faulkner, Thomas Wolfe and John Steinbeck for careful analysis, he offers some penetrating conclusions on the literary trends of the period and the reactions of writers to its events and social values. His main thesis is that a spirit of negation characteri. ses the writings of these years, that, though often brilliant, the literature of the period does not achieve real greatness as the authors live in isolation from their society, contemptuous of the values and bitterly critical of its way of life. Hemingway has 'native capacities, the inheritance of wisdom, the sense of bottomless intuition', he observes, but 'the true sense of man's depths and his tragedy' are first denied to him by 'the social patterns of '29 and then in turn thwarted by his isolation'.

About John Dos Passos he writes 'by the exer.

cise of the conscious will, the reasoning faculties ..... the writer has defied the negative strains within him..... What struggle has been made without them; what victory has not been their fusion and synthesis? It is this synthesis to which we look forward now in Dos Passos, as he merges his beliefs with his native tradition, exorcising at last the opposing and weary exile.' Faulkner, the author criticises for remaining an 'unreconstructed rebel', for his 'preoccupation with scapegoats (so the child blames its mother)' and significantly observes 'hatred as we know feeds upon itself, while living in the past is apt to be an attenuating process.' But Thomas Wolfe he considers as having realized his full intellectual development in 'You Can't Go Home Again.' 'If Wolfe's hope is coloured by energetic doubt', he says, 'it is nevertheless this hope, this purpose and love, even of abstraction, and expectation which have brought a new meaning to his work.' It is evident that for Geismer the chief defect of American literature of the period, particularly of the major works of the twenties and thirties, arises out of the conflict of the authors with the age. He condemns them for living in ivory towers, although he admits that this was an inevitable reaction to the crude values prevailing in the era of economic prosperity that America passed through in the twenties. 'Our economic order has continually shown such untutored and unrestrained power... that we have been unable to find suitable ways to dispose of the products of this tremendous, transforming cultural energy.' This is frank and free. The failure of nerve in literature he ascribes not to cultural decadence but to cultural ambivalence. He notes the split between the productive forces of America and its guiding spirits—its writers and artists. And he makes this split responsible for the lack of purpose and the sense of belonging that characterize the American writer. His analysis stops short after this observation. Surely a healthy society would not alienate its writers to the degree that American society has done? The fault cannot be that of the writers but must surely be the society's. The artist's sense of awareness being greater, his function lies in making his audience conscious of the forces that operate. This the writer of the period has done admirably. And if his characters are not to be met in actual life, then the writer in his turn can ask his critic whether he has ever met Falstaff in real life.

The spirit of negation prevails in the novels of the period, because it is the spirit of the time. The writer if he tried to reflect a positive spirit might well run the risk of becoming a propagandist and thus impair his art. Nothingness only can come out of nothingness. Social intelligence and social energy can flow from the same source only when the writer and his society are linked by a fundamental bond.

THE AGE OF MIRACLES.

Catalina: By Somerset Maugham (Published By William Heinemann, Ltd.)'

Catalina is a warm and human story, told with Somerset Maugham's usual consummate skill. It is a story centring on a miracle and beliefs so incredible that it seems impossible for men to have believed in them at any time. Yet, as Maugham tells the story, vividly and simply without intruding his own reflections or allowing his characters to indulge in introspective monologues, the reader gladly suspends all disbelief. Spain of the Inquisition emerges as the land where people live directly with emotions as warm as the rays of their sun. Arrogant women dominate and ambitious men pursue their self-interest without qualm or scruple. Crowds are fickle, ready to idolize and willing to tear their idols to pieces, and youth is impulsive, generous and cruel. Men can be kind and brutal and women pious and matter of fact. Priests are hypocritical, devout and loyal and convents are centres of piety, of petty intrigues and gossip. There is greatness made human by natural frailty and justice tempered with mercy. Meanness has its generous impulses and humility is inspired by self love. Life is hard, but its joys and sorrows are keenly felt; above all, it has an aim and a direction, for religion is an absorbing experience permeating the life of all. Peasants, traders and priests, soldiers, artists, craftsmen and noblemen—all have a common faith. There are different stages of intellectual development, different degrees of awareness attained by individuals. But a sense of unity pervades the society of Catalina. Unlike ours it does not suffer from a split personality. Its artists are not hidden in ivory towers; nor do its thinkers live in isolation. Social intelligence and social energy flow from the same source. If religion is responsible for much brutality, it endows life with beauty and dignity. And this perhaps is Maugham's thesis. He is too much of an artist to rant about the disintegration of values occurring in our time, and too much of a realist to find a golden age in the past. His caustic humour finds much to laugh at, but his laughter is kindly. His deep intelligence points surely to the one virtue of Catalina's society—the search for the permanent beneath the temporal, for the reality beyond the appearance, without which man must remain rudderless and society decay.

TRIPPED UP

A new-rich family recently built a mansion at a Florida resort, and gave a dinner to the socially elect. During dessert the hostess remarked, "What I like here is the way you run into the most prominent people Only yesterday, when all the cars happened to be out, I took the bus to the beach, and who do you suppose was sitting right in front of me? That English statesman, er—Neville Chamberlain!" A deep silence followed. The host, observing the stony faces, turned fiery red. When the guests had gone, he cornered his wife and yelled: "Why did you hafta go and make a fool of yourself? You shouldn't of let 'em know you ever roda an a bus!"—*Devere Allen in Worldover Press.*

THE CONGRESS AND ELECTIONS

(By J. M. GANGULI)

Many are asking today if the Congress is not outliving its mission which somehow or the other was fulfilled when India obtained independence last year. At least its political mission should have been realized. Since its inception, for many long years, the Congress had been a purely political body agitating for freedom till Gandhiji entered into the organisation and realized that the freedom movement could not become strong and live without a well-conceived constructive programme which would arouse mass consciousness. And so he added his list of constructive work to the activities of the Congress. Such constructive work might have been left to separate organisations, but with his insight and with his understanding of mass psychology he readily perceived that to make the political agitation more impressive and broad-based it was necessary to make the former fashionable city politicians seek contact with the country folk, and secure their support. That was all right, but few leaders took real and sincere interest in Gandhiji's mass uplift idea and work, though to remain under Gandhiji's patronage—without which they would have lost their political importance—they never forgot to utter on every occasion something on the necessity and importance of constructive work.

Any way, now that India has obtained independence and the political mission of the Congress is over, the Congress as a political body should be wound up or it should devote itself wholly or fully to constructive work. There can be no meaning in presuming to function in both capacities as before, unless, of course its top branch and district leaders having obtained power and importance are reluctant to risk them by coming out in the open and standing on their own individual merits. Exploitation of Gandhiji's name and his ideas has profitted them a great deal and naturally they want to continue in the same way; but a reaction has started and this they should know. To take Gandhiji's name and do the contrary is a game which cannot be played successfully all the time. In the name of maintaining prestige, extravagance in foreign embassies and in Government houses is always justified, just as discriminatory sectarian and communal leniency and favouritism are upheld in the name of state policy. Condemnation of corruption and nepotism one hears from every platform, but they are to be found on all sides, in state appointments, in industries and in the markets. Some petty dealers here and there are handcuffed for indulging in unlicensed dealings, but big and influential magnates move about happily in big circles. For the sort of "errors of judgment" for which a cabinet member gets apologetic and is rewarded with eulogies on quitting office, another man might have been more roughly handled. And the question of correcting that error which could be done very simply, has evidently not arisen because that would have brought some big exposures and would have involved *influences* to which the Congress leadership looks for support. One great public evil that has followed Indian independence is the practical loss of independence of the press. This was really unexpected. More outspoken and independent journalism was hoped for by independent thinkers who had remained clean from all party stains. Under the plea that the Government was now under the old-time popular leaders press criticism was well controlled. The duty of supporting the *national* Government was imposed on the press, the commercial managers of which thought in terms of their paper circulation which might well be buoyed up with the support of the National Government.

Allowing every consideration for the stupendous difficulties following the sudden change over from dependence to independence and for the shortness of time Congressmen have been in office, one cannot still escape from noticing that there is something grinding in the wheel, that there is something weak and unworkable which Government is concealing because it is not up to them to mind it. And so the impression is gaining ground that Government or rather the Congress is conscious of its inherent weakness and of its losing hold on the country and therefore is looking to other quarters for help. It is strengthening itself inside the Government by appointing this or that state Minister and by other *appointments* of weight and importance, outside by canvassing for their own Congress president in the name of Gandhism so as to have the support of the *Gandhian* Congress from behind and among the voting public by showing extra consideration to former reactionary groups and communities so that they might outbalance the weight of the disillusioned and now sceptic masses.

All this cannot be for the national good. There should be no hide and seek, and clear and open policies should be indicated and followed irrespective of interests and personalities. The cloak of Gandhism should be hung on the peg, and from the Governor-General downward, dignitaries should not go about propagandising Gandhism for self-preservation. Linguism and provincialism are not the only dangers threatening; partyism is of no less seriousness. Let not Government members and top leaders seek support through the back-door of the Congress. Let that body now be relegated to village uplift work, and let its leaders, who come into politics, feel free from the burden of the Congress commitments, notions and ideologies which are unadaptable. If they could stand clear of their party and of their party prejudices and leanings, other party formations would lose significance with the public who would then look to figures and individuals rather than to party-badge-wearers. That will clean the slate for healthy national inspiration. The elections would then be conducted cleaner and the press would be relieved of its imposed task of upholding the Government in office. More open and

fiery criticism is needed in the making at the beginning of the independence era than in wrecking a bureaucracy in power.

CHALLENGE TO NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY

(By HAROLD BUTCHER)

When the Man from Mars finally arrives on this planet, he may find the nations fighting over the ice-covered continent at the bottom of our world. Unless, that is, the future of Antarctica is dealt with sensibly—and in time.

The United States has proposed that the 6,000,000-square-mile mass be internationalized. Seven other governments are directly involved: Great Britain, Argentina, Australia, Chile, France, New Zealand, and Norway. Britain has agreed "in principle," but Chile's first reaction was unfavourable. Argentina had previously rejected a plan to place the continent under the United Nations.

Why all this to-do about a chunk of ice left from the Ice Age? Does anyone really care what happens to it? Plenty of people seem to care; and an enlightened policy, backed by knowledge and a civilized point of view, may save the world a lot of trouble.

America has followed its traditional policy in Antarctica of making no claims, but it has not acknowledged the claims of others. Rear Admiral Richard E. Byrd, on February 16, 1947, dropped over the South Pole a bundle of 54 flags, representing all the members of the U. N. at that time. This gesture certainly seems to favour internationalization.

Since then, Admiral Byrd has advocated turning over the continent to "the smaller nations" most directly concerned—a step which would involve the "sector principle" of imaginary lines, projected from large land areas. These areas are South America, Africa, Australia and New Zealand. Madagascar, involving France, seems also at first glance to have a stake; its area of 241,094 square miles is greater than the 103,935 that constitute New Zealand. It is on the sector principle that France would get a share of the continent to be divided.

In practice it has not been enough to use the sector principle; for imaginary lines could be drawn into Antarctica by any nation possessing the smallest island in southern seas. Even when the sector principle has been accepted, it has been thought wise to have some degree of occupation—weather bases or small military garrisons. Moreover, this method produces overlapping claims, for example in the cases of Argentina, Chile and Great Britain.

Occupation would put Great Britain and the United States well ahead of the field, for their discoverers have established prior consideration. Britain was first with Captain James Cook, who reached latitude 71 10'S and longitude 106 54'W, in 1774. Nobody else turned up until Captain Nathaniel Brown Palmer, of the U. S. A., reached latitude 63 45'S and longitude 60W, in 1920. Renowned British names subsequently have been James Weddell, Captain James Clark Rose, Captain Robert F. Scott, and Sir Ernest Shackleton. Famed Americans have been Admiral Charles Wilkes, Admiral Richard E. Byrd and Lincoln Ellsworth. Ronald Amundson, of Norway, reached the South Pole in 1911.

There are good reasons for internationalization. The first is the claim of science, which could not work well if hampered by nationalistic restrictions. Here the physicist, the geologist, the biologist have virgin territory to investigate; here the student of terrestrial magnetism and cosmic radiation can do uninterrupted work. Here can be read the story of the world as it was in the great Ice Age. Here conditions have remained practically unchanged. True, the ice is reported to be receding; but a lot of useful scientific work can be done before it is all gone!

Some people, however, think of Antarctica in terms of atomic power. Couldn't atom bombs get rid of the ice and open up the way to oil, uranium, and copper believed to be there, not to mention enormous quantities of buried coal? This is a scheme that appeals to Captain Eddie Rickenbacker. On the other hand, Professor Raymond T. Ellickson, of Reed College, has figured that at a temperature of 40 below zero Fahrenheit, it would take 100,000 years to produce enough uranium-235 with present methods to accomplish the job. And the cost he modestly estimated at $660,000,000,000,000!

Professor Ellickson agreed with the writer that experimenters are not often turned aside by arguments, but added: "It would seem that the most effective argument would be the desirability of turning this ice into water, and there appear to be good arguments against that."

Admiral Byrd has pictured Antarctica as a huge refrigerator where food could be stored under world trusteeship. It would certainly be better to turn human minds toward such possibilities than to think only in terms of air, military and naval bases.

One factor that will weigh against internationalization is the suspicion that in surrendering claims to the bottom of the world each nation may be giving up fabulous mineral wealth. There has been so much talk about vast riches in coal, and so on, that the incredible cost of getting at this wealth is brushed aside.

Some day, however, unlimited national sovereignty will have to be given up if life on this planet is to be tolerable. It would make good sense to start seriously with a continent where the pinch of surrender could not be felt for a long, long time. Why not find what man can make of this challenging Ice Age hangover if internationalism has its chance?

A RELIGION FOR ONE WORLD - III

(By NELS F. S. FERRE)

The basic task of a religion for one world is to make real the truth of the inclusive and cooperative consciousness. Actually this now depends on this universality being an aspect of our concrete religions. They cannot prepare for fuller unity without common world concerns, without the feeling for the hungry, the caring for the homeless, the fighting for freedom. Responsible, political participation is a necessary aspect of genuine world consciousness. Without it such a consciousness cannot be created. What the religious bodies are already doing along these lines, however, is amazing and deeply encouraging.

Yet the task goes back of such concrete acts to the educational programme of each religion. In spite of our present political muddles and obstacles we must teach our children *and adults*—for this is urgent—in terms of the enlarged perspective of our one world. To think in world terms along religious lines is, moreover, to think in terms of a cooperative consciousness, where individual freedom is responsible, and where community life respects individuality. The enlargement of our modes of community must not mean a return to primitivism, where the individual has little value. It must mean the growth of social sensitiveness to every individual need and minority expression. The more creative each one is, and each group, the richer is the community. Thus the teaching of world loyalty involves *the teaching of democracy* at home—in race, economics, culture, politics and religion. Nor can such teaching be effective of the cooperative consciousness unless it is *lived*. True teaching is the creative acting out of the cooperative life. All facts and theories which are learned in school or church become compelling and real in proportion as they are absorbed into the blood stream of social living.

Behind effective education lies vital religious experience. For it there is no substitute. What is worth while needs to be rooted in truth. No rationalizing will do. Meaning must melt the mind, if it is to mould character. Disinterestedness chills life. The warmth of religion becomes constructive in thought and life insofar as it is absorbed into life from the central warmth of Cosmic Concern. Hocking has well stressed the idea that righteousness must be conceived of as a cosmic demand. When the moralism of demand, however, is transcended into the free cooperation of fellowship, life's authority and motivation are quickened accordingly into fear-freed effectiveness.

It is hard to tell what will happen to our actual religions. One world will, of course, put a premium on universality. The cross-fertilization of cultures in intensive intimacy will enrich and enlarge any religion that is creative and vital. A world fired by the passion for truth will melt down innumerable idols, myths, superstitions, magical elements, within the fierce heat of the crematory ovens of scientific knowledge. Unless our civilization itself perish by its own hands, many traditional theologies will also be melted down by our passions for knowledge. Some fear that this means necessarily that life will become devoid of deeper meanings and wither, seared, if not burned up, by that heat

Out of the ashes of past religions, however, may arise the truth that cannot be destroyed. Out of an age of transition like this can come at least a new synthesis of faith and reason, deep enough to command life as a whole and intelligent enough to compel the mind. Several religions may converge creatively along the lines of our world needs. Or one religion may stand out as having anticipated, by its inherent universality, the oneness of the world. Civilization will be creatively harmonious, in any case, only when it participates in both faith and thought in the unity demanded by the universe. Judging from the past, we have faith that such a religion, or such a common aspect of all religions, will develop out of our needs. Most likely it will come in ways that we cannot see. However much we think that we can see the absolute, we cannot see it absolutely. History never stands still. We can all, at least, cooperate in creating the conditions necessary for its right arrival by a common concern for the truth, cooperatively sought, and finding cooperation both a way to and an essential aspect of reality.

We have a way of underestimating the why of small things. The world consists of innumerable small things and small people, like ourselves. Our task is to convert our own corner to a world consciousness, in concerned help and imaginative vision. Even "one world" is a world of countless individuals. Religions must stretch out to world methods of cooperation, but their first and foremost function is ever the enlightening and motivation of the individual. Thus alone can we effect responsible freedom and faithful fellowship. When terms like these melt the mind by their meaning for the whole man, abstract thought will have begun to find the fuller truth of far deeper man.

A religion for one world must reach trust—in thought, life, and community—in the spiritual Source creative of cooperation. The world is no larger than its gods. Only when God, however, is larger than the world, is there help beyond present attainment for our hopes for a better world. Such a faith cannot be created on paper. There is something futile about the writing of papers. A paper can, however, point to the fact that a religion for one world will rise out of the personal and social concern for the needs of a new world. Such a religion, whether an aspect of many religions or one actual faith, will not increase conflicts but further cooperation. Any thought and step any of us takes in this direction will to that extent help make possible a world of cooperation. Vital religion transcends human life but includes all of it in freedom and faithfulness by the common life.

Creative civilization depends on creative souls. Our predicament is that we are confused and nearly baffled as to how to go about "regaining the use of a spiritual faculty which we have been doing our worst to sear and sterilize." Creative concern for the common good, *raised to its ultimate dimension*, is the womb of the creative spirit. The answer to our problem lies thus in cooperation with regard to both cosmos and conduct.

The writer is a believing Christian. Some will say, however, upon reading this analysis, that he has surrendered the absoluteness of the Christian claim. The answer is "yes," insofar as the claim is arbitrary, artificial, defensive, irrational, and noncooperative. But it is decisively "no," insofar as Christianity is conclusively open to truth and cooperative, constructive activity. If Christianity is *the* truth, is it not the truth that God is live, seen in Jesus the Christ? How can such a truth be taught dogmatically and imperialistically without self-contradiction? Does not the "what" involve the "how"?

WORDS GET LEFT BEHIND

(By DEVERE ALLEN)

In the murky lexicon of international politics there are too many words, and they shift their meaning far too fast. That is why we are a long way from democracy in foreign affairs. As international affairs have pushed their way into national politics, the Man in the Street has become the Man on the Quiz Programme or even the Man in the Library. But still it doesn't very much help.

We are, in Shakespeare's phrase, "bethumped with words." One of my European friends, on the border of a Soviet satellite state, writes that his country, "if it has the support of the Western nations, will never turn into a people's democracy." He didn't mean just that, for he happens to be an ardent champion of democracy and social justice. What he was trying to say, in the language of his own region, was that his country would not voluntarily succumb to rule by the Cominform, whose Moscow-dominated organ is entitled, "For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy."

The word "Nazi" was of course a contraction of Hitler's National Socialist Party, as spelled in German; that name, in turn, was a clever adaptation of the influential German Socialist movement. But the party of the late President Benes of Czechoslovakia, a staunch foe of Hitlerism, was also called the National Socialist Party.

In France as everyone knows, party names mean anything but what they say. A Radical Socialist is a conservative. A Left Republican is not a political leftist, but might more accurately be described as a conservative who habitually gets left at the polls. General Charles de Gaulle pulled a fast one by calling his movement no party at all, but a nation-wide Rally.

In Britain the parties bear names which rather plainly show their points of view, but there is plenty else to confuse the unwary outsider. The Lower House is far more powerful than the Upper, which again has had its prerogatives curbed. And the school system has its "public" schools, more private than most exclusive American ones; though in both countries it would be more accurate to call many of them Prepar-a-Tory.

It is hard even to keep up with the kings. From divine right they have come to be divine in a drawing room, or society sense. They are supposedly anti-democratic, but how the people adore them! In Holland, Queen Juliana insists that her children in their progressive school make beds, wash dishes, and sweep floors just like the other students. Any day around Geneva you can spot the children of King Leopold, whatever the arguments about his Belgian throne, going to the ordinary schools, playing on equal terms with their schoolmates, having to bring home for parental frowns the same report cards. And when Winston Churchill visited Norway a while ago, he was amazed to learn that the boy prince, without guards, was out waving flags along the streets, just having a good time with the other kids. There's more than this involved; but the point is, it doesn't meet the eye.

Overseas the most confirmed Dixiecrat is still a Yankee. And because Columbus had not read Confucius, Gandhi or the Asiatic correspondents of Worldover Press, he labelled the natives of his discovered region "Indians." So for clarity we call them American Indians, Amerinds, or, in Britain, "Red" Indians. A woman from Bombay once told me that, on a trip to a tiny village in North Scotland, she was asked, "Do you mind telling us your nationality?" When she replied, "I am an Indian," one of the people demanded: 'Where are your feathers?"

In Mexico you run into a bewildering series of contradictions. No one can doubt that Mexico is in North America; yet citizens of the United States ara "norteamericanos." I mean, of course; the United States of America, not the United States of Mexico. But aren't the United States of Mexico in America? Better let that one go. There's enough besides: for example, the Central America of the old schoolbooks is now being widened out—sometimes—to be Middle America, containing the islands of the Caribbean, or parts of them, or some of Central America too. You can yell "Teacher," but it won't do you any good; the poor teachers are just as much mixed up as anybody.

Times change, and the words don't keep abreast. It is always easier to adopt the viewpoint of the great Duke of Cambridge: "Any change of any kind at any time for whatever purpose is to be deprecated." Many people do. Or hadn't you noticed?

—*Worldover Press*

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"I will be as harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard".

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the LIBERATOR.

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NOTES

Untouchability Banned:—The Constituent Assembly has adopted with enthusiasm an article abolishing untouchability and declaring enforcement of any disability arising out of it punishable according to the law. If a reform of this magnitude could be legally carried out, then India has reason to be proud of the decision. But much more active work will be necessary before the measure is fully implemented. The members of the "Scheduled Castes" are now very much more conscious of their rights and they will now have the State to back them in their fight for rights. A great deal will depend on the human element and the manner in which Government servants respond to the reform: and the authorities will have to exercise the greatest care to see that the anti-untouchability law is scrupulously observed. To reformers, this marks the recording of one great measure of progress. Things cannot stop here for so long as there is caste there are bound to be outcastes. So far as the outside world is concerned, the article removes what has been a standing reproach against India and Indians.

Voluntary Social Work:—Addressing a conference of Delhi Social Workers, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru stressed the importance of voluntary effort in social life. Naturally, it is easier for the social worker to function in a community where the Government is sympathetic to him and his ideas but there are still difficulties since the Government must inevitably favour one form of social work and there is a wide field of difference. With the coming to power of the Congress Party, the most noticeable feature has been the number of social workers who feel that they are not receiving the encouragement which they are entitled to expect. In many cases, this disappointment rises from the fads of social workers—few sections of society contain so many faddists—but in several other instances the prejudices of men in authority are equally responsible. In a vast country like India, there is ample scope for individual effort and the best work will come from men and women who pursue their ideas in isolation. Moreover, if all effort for the advancement of the backward and deficient were to be paid for, much of it will overburden the national resources. There is today far too great a dependence on organised effort which must always be of a mechanical nature. So far as the Government is concerned, support to public work must necessarily be for work which has been proved useful; and it must be private endeavour which proves the worth of a reform. Indian society has suffered from no lack of devoted workers who have struggled with their ideas against heavy odds It still has need of them. Political freedom has brought on a great realisation of national responsibilities and no one can deny the fillip that has been given to social work.

Progress and the Purdah:—Khwaja Nazimuddin, Governor-General of Pakistan, has appealed to women to join the Women's National Guards in their "thousands" and to devote special attention to nursing. This will be a rude shock to the forces of reaction which have been insisting on the general adoption of the burqa, according to the "Civil and Military Gazette", not without some success. The National Movement in United India led to a great filip to women's progress and so far as the two Dominions held together the purdah was doomed to extinction. With partition, it is a curious and interesting sequel that India should continue along progressive lines whilst reaction asserts itself in Pakistan. The revival of the burqa is but one symbol of backwardness. As in all Muslim countries, in Pakistan too, the battle between reform and reaction has to be fought; and the Muslim community suffers acutely from the absence of a sound foundation laid by social reformers who faced persecution in working out their ideals and ideas.

Madras Prohibition:—A communication from the Chief Secretary to the Madras Government corrects a mistake which occurred in the "Reformer" of October 2, 1948. It reads, "There is provision in the Madras Prohibition Act for granting permits to individuals to possess and consume liquor. The Government of Madras has laid down that permits might be given to Europeans who are over 21 years of age. As regards Indians and Anglo-Indians, no permits are generally being granted; but applications from those who are over 55 years of age are considered in exceptional circumstances." Presumably the "exceptional circumstances" relate to habits which cannot be broken or to medical necessity. The proof of the system will lie in the practical working but any system of permits will, being operated by men, be subject to abuse. It is possible to control the issue of permits but it is impossible to ensure that the persons obtaining the permits will keep them strictly personal. However, the Madras system restricts opportunities to of abuse a minimum and is to be welcomed for that.

Vandalism:—The "Times of India" has done signal service to the country's art world by drawing the public's attention to the ludicrous depths to which censorship can sink when it presumes to set itself up as the guardian of people's morality particularly in the hands of a group of people more eager to please the powers that be than aware of aesthetica. The Bombay Board of Film Censors have over-reached themselves this time in their crass stupidity by sitting in judgment on Shakespeare's Hamlet. Terrified by the word 'incestuous' they have deleted passages from the play that form integral parts to the development and appreciation of Hamlet's character. It is difficult to be restrained about such vandalism. If censorship there must be, let the Government choose its censors more discriminately. Let people be appointed to the Board who have a cultural background. Let not all artistic effort be cramped by the uninitiated and the mediocre. The culture of the country cannot be revitalized in the existing circumstances. The moral prudery, which has no respect for Shakespeare, will not be more reverent to the country's ancient and wonderful art.

Cloth Control:—The Bombay Government has made known its elaborate plan for operating cloth control. The quota for each individual has been fixed at 20 yards of coarse count or 10 yards of fine count, all rationed cloth being divided into these two categories, made available on ration cards. The work of handling the entire supply of the mills is entrusted to one wholesale firm, the Poddar Trading Company, which has undertaken to do the work at a cost of 1 and $\frac{1}{8}$th per cent. Retailers' profits are also limited and the Government takes a percentage of $3\frac{1}{2}$ and 11 per cent on coarse and fine cloth respectively. There are to be 220 shops for the retail business spread all over the city. The success of the scheme will depend on the reliance of the public on Indian cloth which is a doubtful quantity, seeing that foreign cloth is likely to pour in from all sides, some of it on more attractive terms than Indian cloth. Moreover, black-marketting is not likely to be completely controlled, since there is a leak allowed between the wholesaler and the mills. The Government ought to take on the work of distribution itself and collect the supply from the mills. Only then will it have the right to check on production and prevent excesses from being manufactured. Unless it adopts this course, the Government will find that all its efforts are frustrated.

No Titles:—The decision to do away with titles altogether was to be expected. But it will not be an entirely unmixed blessing. The desire for distinctions is an unfortunate but very human quality and it has not been always harmfully exploited. Several philanthropies might never have been but for the donors' love of titles. There are several title-holders, on the other hand, who have little public service to their credit. And the practice tends to rouse the worst form of snobbery. The easier it is to get a title, the less it is hankered after. So far as Nationalist India is concerned, the feeling against titles has been very strong and to many the decision of the Constituent Assembly will be the fitting culmination of the rise to power of the Congress Party. By a curious anomaly, however, Gandhiji's India has been responsible for making an exception in favour of military awards —of all things!—which has been tolerated under a special amendment. Another exception allows academic distinctions which are fast becoming meaningless in the confusion created by several universities honouring national leaders with honorary Ph. D.'s and D. Litt.'s. Nothing was said in the Constituent Assembly about another type of "title"—those given by some leader which have commended themselves to the public. The most well-known of these is "Sardar" which usage has attached to Mr. Vallabhai Patel and which Lord Wavell incorporated in an official communique. There is no reason why even these should now be used.

"Guruji":—The Bombay Government has recommended that in Gujerati and Marathi primary schools, the master should be referred to and addressed as "guruji" instead of "master" or "sir". Both the latter terms had passed into Indian usage and "guruji" seems a rather pompous term for men who are restive about their remuneration. Women teachers too have received attention. Marathi women in the teaching profession are to be called "bai"; Gujerati "behn"; Kanarese "avva" or "akka". This is more reasonable except that the Kanarese "avva" means "mother" whilst the other terms all mean a "sister". But the necessity for initiating a change is rather obscure. The Education Department must have a great deal of time hanging on its hands to concern itself with trifles of this nature.

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BUSINESS AND DEMOCRACY

Speaking at the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, Mr. Rajagopalachari who suggested with unusual delicacy that Indian publicists were not as garrulous as they were generally believed to be, they were only more frequently and more liberally reported than politicians in other democracies, gave expression to some extraordinary views on the inter-relation between Business and Government. Starting with the proposition that Democracy implies insecurity, the Governor-General was transported by his subject into describing the present Government of India as no more than a tenancy-at-will; at any moment the Government could be sent packing by the people by a vote of no-confidence. And he further developed this thesis into enthusiastic commendation of British Business both here and in Britain and a fantastic appeal to Britons in this country to inspire confidence in the business world. He observed that with their experience of working in a democratic system, they could encourage Indian Business which had grown timid because of the novelty of the conditions. And with the usual touch, Mr. Rajagopalachari rounded off his discourse with a parable. We were not living in a stagnant pond any more, he said, but in a flowing river and broadly suggested that we might all be swept off at any moment.

The purpose of this performance is not easy to understand. If it was meant to encourage Business, it is hardly the way to stress insecurity and even exaggerate things. At first glance one is tempted to read into Rajaji's remarks on the greater stability of an alien bureaucracy a sly dig at British Business which undoubtedly profitted vastly under the British Government of India's regime. But then his commending British Business and seeking its ccoperation does not accord with this interpretation. The only sense in which the old administration can be regarded as offering security, is the advantage that British Business interests enjoyed and their confidence that friends at court would ensure continued benefits. In any other context, Rajaji's political thesis, if correct, implies something rotten in the particular system he has in mind plus an anxiety on his part to disguise the defect by attributing generally to all democracies insecurity as an inherent quality. Neither was there any special necessity for the Governor-General to insist almost indecently on the people being supreme and the Government knowing full well their dependence on public opinion. Whatever public opinion might feel, unless it is politically organised, even under the best of constitutions it will fail to assert itself. And it is no exaggeration to say that in India there is very little public opinion. To tell the business community that the Government rests entirely on public opinion and that that opinion is fickle and changing—for this is Rajaji's plain hint—is certainly a curious way to inspire confidence. Today the greatest fear of industry and commerce is that in a desire to be popular the Government might be led into policies, inimical to business interests.

How far has Rajaji's view of Democracy's insecurity any basis in reality? It has been asserted that a Democracy is more of a consumers' world than any other system because it is the real needs of the community which determine the supply of goods and products, not as in other systems what is understood to be by the men in authority the community's needs. But it should not be so soon forgotten that the British bureaucracy had not the efficiency claimed by the Nazi-Fascist systems of forcing markets and finding consumers for excess products. Rajaji might have usefully contented himself with asking the Business world to show enterprise and be alert in gauging the wishes of the people, although it would have been a superfluous admonition. As a matter of fact the business community knows better than most others that what is confusing conditions today is not the uncertainty of public opinion but the indecisiveness of men in power. For the rest the machinery and personnel of the administration has not changed so vastly since the transfer of power began, and businessmen have a technique which has been nearly perfected. If the present Government is less able to create a sense of security than the bureaucray that preceded it, Rajaji will need some more valid ground to explain this than the inherent instability of Democratic Governments. The most casual student of politics could tell him that in Democracy there is insecurity for individuals in the political sphere but there is greater stability socially and economically than under any other system. In other words, personalities count for less than principles. We have yet to arrive at this stage and it will be well for our leaders to realise it, instead of hoping to usher in democracy by constantly insisting that we have a democratic system.

Dr. RALPH J. BUNCHE

Dr. Ralph-Johnson Bunche, who became the acting mediator and head of the United Nations mission in Palestine when Count Folke Bernadotte was assassinated in Jerusalem on September 17, is a United Nations and United States Government official and a political scientist, scholar and educator.

Director of the U. N.'s Trusteeship Division on loan from the United States State Department, he is widely regarded as one of the U. N.'s most able administrators. He was appointed chief of the secretariat of the U. N. Palestine Commission in December 1947, and was Bernadotte's chief aide. He has been closely associated with all aspects of the Palestine problem since it first was brought to the attention of the U. N. more than a year ago

Born August 7, 1904, in Detroit, Michigan, Bunche is the grandson of an American slave. His father was a barber and his mother a musician.

Bunche entered Harvard University at Cambridge, Massachusetts, from which he received a Master of Arts degree in government in 1928. Following his graduation he began his academic career as an instructor in political science at Harvard. Later that same year he was appointed assistant professor of political science and chairman of the department at Howard University in Washington, D. C. He taught there for four years, and during the last year also was assistant to the president of the university.

Bunche returned to Harvard in 1932 to study for his doctorate. He received a Rosenwald Field Fellowship to Europe, North and West Africa —the second fellowship he had had at Harvard— and decided that for his thesis he would compare the rule of a mandated area, French Togoland, with that of a colony, Dahomey, in French West Africa. Since his funds were limited, he had to make his field investigations into the interior without luxuries. The thesis won Bunche his doctor's degree in government (1934) and Harvard's Tappan Prize as the best essay in the social sciences.

After returning to teaching at Howard, Bunche was awarded a two-year post-doctoral fellowship in anthropology and colonial policy from the Social Science Research Council, a non profit corporation set up to advance research in the social sciences. He studied at Northwestern University in the State of Illinois in 1936, the London School of Economics in 1937, and the Union of South Africa's Capetown University. On his second African trip he acquired a secondhand automobile in East Africa and set off for the Kenya highlands, living three months among the Kikuyus as an honorary tribal citizen. Native drums would announce his arrival before each stop and everywhere he was greeted with ceremony and feasting.

The postdoctoral fellowship also made possible for Bunche a trip around the world. The travel provided him with material for a booklet, "A World View of Race," published in 1937. Among the countries he visited were Malaya, the Philippines, China, Japan, and Hawaii

In 1936, while doing postdoctoral work at Northwestern University, he also was co-director of the Institute of Race Relations at Swarthmore College in Pennsylvania. From 1938 to 1940, as a staff member of the Carnegie Corporation of New York, he served as chief aide to Gunnar Myrdal, the Swedish sociologist, who made a survey of the conditions of the Negro in America for that organization; from 1938 onward he also was a full professor at Howard University. He remained as such until the outbreak of World War II.

Then obtaining leave of absence, he went to work as senior social analyst for the Office of the Coordinator of Information, which later became the Office of Strategic Services in the Africa and Far East sections, working under the Joint Chiefs of Staff and providing information on colonial areas in which American armed forces were stationed. He had volunteered for military duty but had been rejected because of his old leg injury. In the Office of Strategic Services he was principal research analyst in the Africa and Far East section, where he played a part in preparing plans for the Allied landing in North Africa in November 1942, and chief of the Africa section of the Research and Analysis Branch.

In 1944 he was transferred to the Department of State, where he was to take part in the planning for the peace settlements. He was appointed divisional assistant for colonial problems in the Division of Political Studies, a position he held for seven months. Then he was named Area Specialist on Africa and dependent grounds, in the Division of Territorial Studies. In February 1945, he became Acting Associate Chief of the Division of Dependent Area Affairs (Office of Special Political Affairs), which meant, commented "The Christian Science Monitor" that "he knows about all there is to know on this subject" (trusteeship). Shortly thereafter he was promoted to Associate Chief of the division, a post he held until March, 1947.

Bunche today is considered to be one of the world's outstanding authorities on colonial and other dependent peoples. At the U. N. Conference on International Organization at San Francisco in 1945 he played an important role as technical expert on trusteeship for the United States delegation. In September of the same year he was appointed by President Truman to membership on the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission. He had set something of a record in attending international conferences, serving as adviser or delegate at nine of them within four years. Among other assignments, he had been adviser to the United States delegation to the U. N. General Assembly in London in 1946, assistant secretary to the United States delegation at the Dumbarton Oaks Conference, and adviser to the United States delegation to the international labour conferences in Paris and Philadelphia. As early as January 1944, he had made a contribution to the U. N. Charter: he had helped draw up what later became the non-self-governing and trusteeship sections of the charter, and had worked on plans for the future of the Italian colonies.

Bunche officially entered the United Nations "on loan" from the State Department in May 1946, when, at Secretary General Trygve Lie's request, he joined the secretariat as director of the Trusteeship Division, which he had helped to organize.

From June to September 1947, Bunche was in Palestine as special assistant to the representative of the Secretary General, U. N Special Committee on Palestine. The committee studied the Palestinian situation and recommended partition of the country into Jewish and Arab States.

On December 2, 1947, Bunche was appointed chief of the secretariat of the U. N. Palestine Commission. He would have preferred to continue working on trusteeship problems, and he often said the Palestine problem was so complex and had stirred up such bitter feelings that he hoped he would never have to deal with it. He later commented, however, that "once Palestine gets its claws into you, it's hard to break away." --USIS.

AMERICA'S FOREIGN POLICY

(By DEVERE ALLEN)

Truman's big issue during the next few months is whether the civil branches of the government are going to control foreign policy, as the Constitution provides, or whether the military branches will consolidate their dominance. And unfortunately, nobody can be sure the President sees the question independently, since he has been so closely under the tutelage of the military planners. Mr. Truman's desire for peace is undoubtedly sincere; but one of the best ways not to get it is to leave it to men whose training and instincts are all on the military side.

In no other country are military technicians permitted to go wholesale into the press with inflammatory, war-breeding, spine-chilling proposals for the decimation of foreign cities and peoples, or plan for the adoption of a foreign policy based on war. We have come a long way from the declaration, signed by Washington, that we shall not use war as an instrument of foreign policy; the threat of war as an instrument of policy infuses the whole attitude America exhibits to the world. Nothing is doing the American people more harm in world opinion; nothing so buttresses the propaganda emanating from Moscow; nothing so tangles the feet of American diplomats as they seek formulae for peaceful settlement.

This column has strongly criticized Andrei Vishinsky, and it will doubtless continue to do so. But the American people should not fool themselves into thinking that the allies America needs in the rest of the world are always unimpressed by what Mr. Vishinsky says. At Paris General Marshall lambasted the Russians for a "peace offensive" that had its basis in conflict. But Vishinsky scored when he pointed out the cold-blooded advocacy of atomic devastation by American military spokesmen, and declared: "In our country such a person would be considered mad and would be put into an insane asylum." He was right at least to the extent that the vitriolic insults hurled from the Kremlin do not include extravagant and detailed suggestions for the slaughter of Americans by the million.

Congress could act to tame our practitioners of chessboard combat, if it only wished to do so, for it has done it in the past. No British military man, no Frenchman from the ranks of army officers, no military spokesman anywhere on the face of the globe, could do what dozens of American military writers and orators are doing to push foreign policy deeper and deeper into their own clutches. No other country could present the spectacle of a State Department driving toward one programme, with the Army and Navy driving public opinion and the civil branches toward others of a precisely contrary nature. No wonder that a Frenchman, when recently asked if it wasn't pretty serious to have eight different governments with since the end of the war, replied: "It's not much worse to have eight governments with the same general policy than to have one government with eight different policies all the time!"

How far the drive for military control of foreign affairs has gone may be seen in a sweet little plan now taking shape at Washington. The idea is this: whatever peace proposals are made at Paris, whatever concessions offered by the Russians (if any), do not accept them before next spring. Do not get manoeuvred into discussions out of which a Berlin solution may emerge. Wait until the re-arming of Western Europe has reached the place of real strength; wait until our overseas air bases have all been made fully ready for war; wait until Europe has become reconciled to the diversion of Marshall Plan assistance to military expenditures. Then confront the Russians with a virtual ultimatum. It would be too much to say that this ghoulish scheme has commanded the support of top military officials; but the scheme exists, is being extensively promoted, and is being tactfully pushed on Mr. Truman.

High-minded army officers are not rare, and some of them are as worried about the present trend as any civilian. This writer recently talked with an officer of the greatest integrity, whose job it was, following V E Day, to impress on American soldiers in Germany the vital importance of refraining from black marketeering or from disposing of their modest possessions at exhorbitant rates either to the German people or to troops of allied countries. Yet right in the middle of this campaign, a high officer came to Berlin, sold his watch openly in the market place to a Soviet soldier for 300, then went about boasting of his triumph. This officer is close to the President, by the way, and the betting in Washington is that he will soon be promoted to the rank of Lieutenant General.

The folly of the present drive for the militarization of West Europe becomes patent when you examine the actual situation. The supplementary force that can be built, of European personnel armed with American weapons, is 45 divisions, or something under 500,000 men. Russia now has about 3,500,000 under arms, some of them fairly well equipped. In short, if Russia really wants war, there is nothing that can prevent her from winning the first round and driving far toward the Channel. But if Russia does not want war—and there are overwhelming reasons for such a belief—she will never attack even a token force stretching from Trieste up through Austria and to Berlin.

A sane policy would seize every opportunity for a peaceful settlement now, however inadequate from the long-term point of view. A sane policy would desist from terrifying the great mass of Europeans into the belief that Vishinsky's charges have a factual basis. A sane policy would keep American foreign affairs where they legally belong—in the hands of civilians. The crucial thing in a possible war would be the loyalty to America of the vast sections of the globe which fear Communism, but which, as things are going

have little more confidence in Washington. The issue is: how sane can Washington be kept by the pressure of public opinion, backed by a constitutional approach toward foreign policy?

—*Worldover Press*

THE ENIGMA OF EDUCATION

(By N. C. VENKATESWARAN)

Education is an enigma. Equality suffers least where the people remain uneducated. Primitive folk have often their upper, middle and lower classes, but the gulfs are narrow and shallow. Children are rarely caste-ridden and see and recognise equal status in one another, the differences pertaining mostly to health or wealth. There are of course great underlying disparities in the matter of inheritance and consequently in the qualities and capabilities of life each, given opportunities of development and functioning, should put forth, but these seldom get a chance, unless the dormant elements in personality are stimulated into germination and growth.

Men and women are born with all kinds of potential. Enormous and depressing is the waste even where facilities for development are available, unless they be sufficient and compendious and unless they are properly implemented. Where facilities are lacking primitive life remains the general rule.

Education, the means whereby the human potential is developed, creates inequality as do few other factors, rank, wealth or power, especially education based on the legitimate and fundamental freedom of the child. Education can produce men and women with the same qualifications but seldom with the same qualities. All B. A.s are B.A.s, but no two are alike, in worth or ability, in any of the major functions. Children go to school, apparently more or less equal, but at the touch of education they become glaringly different. Democracy is a leveller and education on which democracy is dependent for its success works in a contrary direction. These opposite forces have to be adjusted and reconciled.

The content of education is not the curriculum or the syllabus, but the child itself—particularly its mind, hand and eye. The syllabus is the wrapping, but the substance is the personality. Basic education is culture and development. It is the awakening of the juvenile spirit that counts. Reading and counting and making things such as might be learnt in basic education are by-products. Literacy is not the end, nor craftsmanship, but a beautiful and creative personality, though literacy and craftsmanship are necessary and useful. One may be able to read and write and perform the principal operations with numbers; besides spin, yarn and weave it into cloth and do other useful work; and yet remain no better than an aboriginal in the jungle. The savage has a sure skill in making his livelihood, but it may happen that the noblest soul can get nothing to eat: which does not mean the type to emulate is the savage or that its occurrence is inevitable.

Gandhiji rightly insisted that *Nai Talim* was all-sufficient, because the object is neither spinning nor reading, nor sweeping nor anything else of the kind, but children themselves. It does not matter whether the medium is the takli or the slate, a shovel, broom or script, provided the object is kept clearly and continuously in view that the pupil is enabled without needless vexation or wasteful toil to discover himself and know for himself the particular occupation or activity by which he might best fulfil himself and contribute his share of richness and refinement to the company of his fellow-beings.

The curriculum of basic education is not any skill, but growth and unfoldment, though a skill or two will be praiseworthy if growth is not affected, and more praiseworthy if growth is stimulated thereby. The point needs stressing, since much is made of the subjects taught and small heed, wittingly or unwittingly, is paid in the process to the pupils themselves. The order of importance as it obtains is precisely this; teaching subjects to pupils: whereas if basic education were understood and implemented in its rightful sense it would indubitably be this: Pupils Teaching Themselves. The prevailing preoccupation with subjects is in reality the most serious peril that threatens the fate of the young in the country.

Education creates inequalities, but that in a certain degree may be both desirable and inevitable, uniformity in the long run being bound to become dull and stagnant. Nevertheless, the primary impulse of democratic education will always remain the humanitarian ideal of equalisation. It is a common weakness in educational systems to glorify the gifted and diligent pupils and cry down the backward. This highly undemocratic and reactionary practice accentuates the inequalities that education throws up. The forward will fend for themselves even if neglected, but it is the backward who need and deserve the utmost care: by whose progress in fact the system will be judged. Basic education would therefore function as a process of uplift, by slow degrees self-confidence and self-reliance being gained mainly through self-effort by the backward classes of pupils. Talent is priceless and must sedulously be patronised in public interest, but lack of it is not always unredeemable. The general level of life in a democracy on which the stability of democracy must itself depend necessarily, depends on the uplift of the intellectually depressed.

There is even a more serious point: a perfunctory educational system is often capable of mischief. The nucleus of inheritance in human nature is a bundle. Very often in education the bad elements in the bundle get a fillip, and the good, in the face of the opposite quality gaining the upper hand, are virtually discouraged. The English sys-

tem of education in India did something of the kind and a new caste-system sprung up with the old evils in new bottles. All the communalism that has been running amok emanated from the educated classes and the evil filtered down to the uneducated layers of the population, not the good. The two-nation theory itself is an offspring of the same parent. The fact is, much more than a little knowledge, an indifferent educational system is a dangerous thing.

It goes without saying that the life of the system would be the teacher. The better he is the less he would teach: the more he would set to wake and stir. The less he would rule: the more he would befriend, feeling one himself in company. Thus it will be that the teacher is nine points of basic education, a silent guidance and influence, nowhere seen, everywhere felt—a joy and stimulation, unknown to anybody, adding to the comelier sum of juvenile life and implanting its future blessings.

COMMUNISTS IN CHINA AND THE MISSIONS

(By FRANKLIN WALLICK)

American missionaries in isolated pockets of North China threatened constantly by Communists raids, and those in the path of Communism's successful armies, have had to face grave decisions about their future work. Many have noted an apparent eagerness by the Communist leaders to show a tolerance of certain missionary efforts. Some in particular have been cheered by the manner in which seven Presbyterians have been able to remain usefully in Tsinan, the capital of Shentung Province, which for some time has been in Communist hands.

The late Marshal Feng Yu-hsiang, who earned the title of "Christian general" for the way he baptized his troops with a fire hose, is supposed to be indirectly responsible for some of the new tolerance. Feng, according to reliable church sources in China, wrote a letter before his death to Mao Tse-Tung, chairman of the Communist Central Committee, warning him of the damage being done by reports about bad treatment accorded to mission workers and buildings.

In spite of hopeful signs, however, few foreigners, other than those working directly in support of the Communists, have ventured away from the heavily defended northern cities. A solitary Dutch mission is functioning in the Communist city of Antung, on the Korean border of Manchuria. A London Missionary Society team has continued on the fringes of the civil war at their station in Ts'ang-hsien along the Grand Canal south of the large port of Tientsin.

Another mission centre taken by the Communists is Tai-Ku, lying just beyond the perimeter of Taiyuan, the capital of Shansi Province, stronghold of warlord General Yen Hsi-shan. Here American Congregationalists were permitted to continue their school without interruption after the arrival of Communist forces last August.

Previous to this fall, not many Americans, except open sympathizers with the Communists, have been allowed to work in the vast areas under Communist control north of the Yangtze River. Journalists were permitted, and the Friends Service Unit performed remarkable tasks. Those who did carry on work sometimes had to do it with severe nutritional handicaps, living mainly on a meagre diet of millet porridge, cabbage, and corn bread. This difficulty has prevented mission personnel with children from undertaking work in Communist regions even when they were invited to do so.

Immediately after V-J Day when the then General George C. Marshall was trying to mediate in the civil war, contact between the two warring areas was easier, and many efforts were made to re-establish mission churches, hospitals and schools. There were countless disappointing experiences, which discouraged many foreigners from further attempts when, later on, the Communists proffered invitations.

On the whole, a surprising number of American and European missionaries, despite the increasing intensity of the war, have been reconsidering earlier plans to quit North China should it become wholly Communist. There seems clear evidence that the Communists are trying to win favour with foreign missionaries whose schools and hospitals have made genuine contributions, educationally and medically to the country's development. This Communist attitude is also intended to convince sceptical Chinese liberals that their interests will not suffer if Communism takes over all the northern cities.

—*Worldover Press*

VIET-NAM FIGHTS ILLITERACY

A notable illustration of the reasons why pro-Communist leaders of undeveloped peoples succeed where the old colonial system failed to win support may be found in Viet-Nam, which under Communist ideology has been waging a bitter conflict against the French. In Phu-tho, 3,653 classes, with 4,158 teachers, reached 70,000 illiterate pupils during one six-month period. In the entire province, it is estimated that only 90,000 illiterates remain.

French official reports show that in 1940-41 there was only one school for 3,245 inhabitants in the country, with one school teacher for every 1,382 inhabitants.

Characteristically "tough" methods are used to compel the people to study. Before being allowed to enter a market-place, everyone must sign his name; those unable to do so are refused entry until they go away and learn how to write.

Applications for marriage are refused to illiterates. Simultaneously, songs have been introduced to popularize the anti-illiteracy crusade: one of them goes, "Every pot must have a lid; though you have rosy cheeks you are good for nothing if you don't learn how to read and write."

—*Worldover Press*

FOOD FROM THE DESERT.

A bleak desert slough by the Dead Sea has given a lead to the world grappling with food shortage. Beth Ha'avara, a Jewish settlement on the great Jericho salt wastes, 1,800 feet below sea-level, has demonstrated how through hard work and resourcefulnes many of the soil-eroded and semi-desert tracts of the East as in India, can be made to contribute substantially to much needed food resources.

What the Jewish settlers found under their feet in these swamps was only salt and sand, the soil having eroded away completely; the climate was extreme and the only spring was saline.

Today, after a few years of work, Beth Ha'avara presents a picture which is almost a legend. Where not a shoot of green sprouted, are fields of beet-root, potatoes, tomatoes, bananas and date; seven crops of hay, too, are raised every year. This lowest farm in the world yields more abundant crops than any other land in Palestine.

Intelligent application of natural principles achieved this miracle. The settlers adopted a system which both irrigated the desert and formed a new top soil capable of growing vegetation. They made shallow "lakes" partly by digging and partly by banking, and pumped sweet water from the near by Jordan River, keeping the level constant as the water sped through the soil. Carp were then introduced in the lakes and fed on waste cotton seed.

The excreta of the fish in these novel farms and of the wild fowl which were attracted to the area to feed on the fish, together with the vegetation that grew up, gradually built up a layer of humus at the bottom of the ponds,

After two to three years the ponds were moved further into the desert and the new land cultivated, with surprising results.

WILL THE SWISS EXPORT ARMS ?

An energetic drive is on in Switzerland to raise the embargo on armament exports, but thus far it has not succeeded in winning popular opinion. The time-worn argument is being advanced by manufacturers and certain army officers that industry cannot afford to make the best arm for Swiss defence unless a profit is secured from outside purchasers.

Some military circles argue too that unless exports are permitted, Switzerland will be unable to secure for its own use some of the latest inventions made in foreign countries.

A group of army officers, however, has been opposed, largely on the ground that once the arms trade is begun, Switzerland is bound to be drawn into any future conflict, thus violating the nation's prized neutrality. They do not believe they will be given secret armament techniques unless Switzerland promises to join in war on the side of nations furnishing them.

The Swiss Centre for Peace Action is opposing arms exports not only on grounds of neutrality, but because it believes the Swiss can make their best contribution to the world through succouring the distressed in any future conflict, and continuing their generous aid to all kinds of war victims.

—*Worldover Press*

INDIANS FROM INDIA

The confusion in ethnological terminology by which an Indian may be native of Asia or America is becoming a nuisance to citizens of India visiting the United States the native heath of those other Indians. So said Sirdar J. J. Singh, president of the India League of America.

It didn't matter too much in the past, though, the Sirdar said. "Under the British rule, Indians —I mean the nationals of India—did not visit America in any great numbers. Most of them, for political or trade reasons, went to England. But now Free India has thrown off these shackles and Indian business men, students and visitors are coming to the United States in ever-increasing numbers. And that is why it is essential to remove the mix-up about the Indians of India and the Indians of America."

The Sirdar thought that Americans, too, would welcome an end to the confusion. "I can well imagine many an American in the Middle West and elsewhere meeting a national of India and, in a friendly way, asking, 'What is your nationality?' or 'Where do you hail from?'—and the national o India saying, 'I am an Indian.' I can further imagine the friendly American scratching his head and saying, 'I guessed that one wrong'."

The Sirdar was not dogmatic about the solution that should be adopted but rather invited suggestions in the matter. "The most feasible one," he said, "could then be submitted to the Federal Government for its consideration."

INDIANS IN SINGAPORE

A social survey of Singapore reveals that the Indian community there, which is the least illiterate, furnishes the greatest number of clerks, Malays the greater part of semi-skilled labour, and the Chinese the shopkeepers. The survey, which was conducted for the Government by Professor T. H Silcock, Professor of Economics at Raffles College, Singapore, states that all but the highest professional and business classes are affected by overcrowding in the city—figures show 34 per cent acutely overcrowded, and 33 per cent overcrowded. This is because, the report adds, Singapore was mainly built before women immigrants arrived and families were born and grew up locally. Mr. T. P. F. McNiece, Social Welfare Secretary, in presenting these facts on living conditions, described the Report as "a demand by the people of Singapore to the people of Singapore that they lose no time eradicating these black spots."

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"I will be as harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard"*.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the LIBERATOR.

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NOTES

Right to Propagate:—The Constituent Assembly has adopted an article in the Constitution on religious freedom which includes the right to propagate religion. The doubts of members were revealed in the hopes expressed that the freedom will not be abused. Mr. K. M. Munshi and a few others indulged in effusive compliments to Indian Christians, suggesting that the bad old days when Christian missionaries exploited political conditions to make converts are ended and that nothing is to be feared from religious propaganda. As a matter of fact, it is wrong to conceive of this difficulty as solely affecting Christians. What the Western missionary did in the past, might well be emulated by indigenous missionaries at some future date. We are not enamoured of the "right to propagate" religion. It must by inference carry also the right to answer religious propaganda and that, it is notorious, must lead to trouble. At the moment, the only safeguard against the more offensive form of religious propaganda lies in the slender saving clause "subject to public order, morality and health." The "explanation" to the religious liberty clause, "the wearing and carrying of kirpans shall be deemed to be included in the profession of the Sikh religion", is most undesirable.

Hair Splitting:—Constitutional pundits indulged in hair-splitting in the Constituent Assembly when the article on personal liberty was considered. Mr. Alladi Krishnaswami defended the words of the draft, "no person shall be deprived of his life or personal liberty *except according to procedure established by law*", whilst Mr. K. M. Munshi desired to substitute for the italicised words "without due process of law". Mr. Alladi agreeing that the new words would strengthen the Supreme Court sneered at those who desired the protection of the Court against popular legislatures. This is strange, coming as it does from Mr. Alladi who has never been known to hold democratic—or, must one say demagogic?—views. Even in a people's government, in fact more so, the individual has to be guarded against the fury of popular opinion. So far as the commonsense view goes, there do not seem to be two phrases which mean so much the same thing as "except according to procedure established by law" and "without due process of law." Evidently the exchange in the Constituent Assembly continues a wrangle which began at the Drafting Committee of which both were members. Otherwise, there is no explanation for the heat engendered.

Food Shortage:—Though the Food Minister to the Government of India speaks optimistically of India attaining self-sufficiency in food in four years' time, the immediate problem persists in troubling the public The report that the Government has to return to full control and rationing, indicates the seriousness of the situation. Imports of rice and other food-grains are threatening a fall with deteriorating economic and political conditions in Burma. So far as increasing production in India goes, that is obviously a long range programme which has got to be taken in hand. Mr. Jairamdas Daulatram regretted the necessity of going to other countries on a begging mission. Unfortunately, there is no escape from it and the only question is how to do the begging elegantly. The dependence on other countries for food should influence India's foreign policies a great deal. It is difficult to see how all the expectations of leadership and guidance can be reconciled with her dependent position in an essential like food. Even if the Indian public can be kept impressed, the other nations will not be disposed to accord a very high status to India's representatives abroad. Mr. Jairamdas Daulatram pleaded for time. They had only been in power for a little over a year and the previous administration had not devoted any attention to the question. This was an ungracious thing to suggest. Whatever happened in the past,

the present is with us and we have got to settle down to tackling our problems. Denouncing the previous administration is not going to fill the hungry stomachs of the people. The Foodgrains Policy Committee issued two reports, one in December 1947 and the other in April 1948. The main recommendations were that there should be a gradual policy of decontrol and that imports be restricted. Both these were accepted by the Government of India, and presumably acted on. This means that, if we are now not getting all the food we need from foreign countries, it is largely due to our policy of seeking less as a deliberate policy. When Mr. Jairamdas says that no one can be blamed for our shortage, he is partially right. But the part he has kept back is important to Indians who are now asked to give full cooperation. The responsibility of the present Government of India is something which cannot be evaded. Certainly it cannot be shifted on to the previous administration which is now out of the picture.

Minds Unmade:—Speaking last week at Ahmedabad, Mr. Jagjivan Ram, Minister for Labour in the Union Government, strongly condemned the profiteering propensities of the millowners. Complaining that crores of rupees had been lost to the Government treasuries, Mr. Jagjivan Ram threatened drastic remedies if capitalists did not mend their ways. There is nothing new in all this, even in the threat. Every time a leading member of the Government of India addresses the public on Labour or on Industry we have these explosions. Nothing follows, except a vague sense of public satisfaction that the Government has rightly assessed the business community. On other occasions, distinguished Ministers are commending the cooperative mood of Business in almost fulsome words. And that too serves no purpose except to confuse the public. The peculiar technique of treating Business alternately as a criminal and as a valued partner is evidently expected to yield good results to the country. The Government of today, however, forgets that this is the first time it is dealing with Business whilst Business has managed many governments. If crores of rupees are escaping the treasuries, then why does not the Government take action to stop the leak? Or does it expect that by mere talk the whole condition will be altered?

Communal Politics:—Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel in inaugurating the Madhya Bharat interim Legislature spoke out against communal politics in strong terms for the first time since his assumption of the Home Ministership at Delhi. The somewhat irrelevant fact that Gwalior where the function took place was also the place which reportedly supplied the pistol with which Gandhiji was assassinated, carried the dour Mr. Patel into a denunciation of the ways of the Rashtriya Sevak Sangh and of the Hindu Mahasabha. Apparently the Hindu Mahasabha and the R. S. S. are still forces to be reckoned with, and Mr. Patel's assurances that the Government was ready for any challenge from these quarters, suggest that the stability of the administration has to be guarded. Circulars from Mr. Golwalker, head of the R. S. S. had been distributed calling on the faithful to get ready for the signal to resume their activities. It was almost as though Mr. Patel's warning set the wheels in motion. All over the country, the drills, parades and meetings of the R. S. S. have been held and the Government has come down on them. For a banned and disolved party, the number of centres where there has been trouble, is remarkable. So far as communalism goes, the Government seems more disposed, to nurse convenient scapegoats than to tackle the evil once and for all.

Communal Fraternisation:—Mr. Patel's brief reference to the Muslims in his Gwalior speech is amusingly naive: There are three broad classes into which the Home Minister divides this community—"disloyal Muslims," "loyal Muslims", and "Muslims who have elected for Pakistan". The latter he wishes well; the second must be treated as brothers by all Indians. As for "disloyal Muslims", they should be left to be suitably dealt with by the State. The amateur approach to communal fraternisation may be pardoned in one who had to be repeatedly cleared by Gandhiji in his lifetime of the charge of being anti-Muslim. But any distinction between "disloyal Muslims" and "loyal Muslims" is bound to cause misunderstanding and civic trouble. Mr Patel has struck a middle path between the public indulging in punishing and their erroneously treating "disloyal Muslims" as brothers, and this is just the one instance where the middle way is itself an inclination to the communal side.

Ministers and Presents:—The "Swatantra" of Madras, which ranks among the five or six independent, sober weeklies of the country, has an important point about presents given to Ministers. It is true that a Minister is not a government servant in the sense a permanent official is. But by the very temporary nature of his office, a Minister might be more tempted to exact gifts from the public, in fact to make hay while the sun shines. There have been occasions when even public subscriptions were inspired by a private hint from the great man. The "Swatantra" suggests that there should be a rule against gifts to men in office, allowing, if desired, public recognition of this kind after the men retire. In other words, it should be clearly and unmistakably laid down that no eye to future favours should contaminate personal appreciations. We do not see the need for any reward or recognition even for retired Ministers who after all are remunerated during the time they are in office. In a sense not intended by the proverb, cleanliness is next to godliness, and Indian public life needs to be thoroughly cleaned out. The "Swatantra's" comments were provoked by the presentation in Bombay to Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel of an Asoka pillar in gold, reputed to be worth Rs. 1,00,000. There has been considerable public surprise that the gift should have been accepted by Mr. Patel who is of known austerity and rigid principles.

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FILMS AND CENSORSHIP

The Director of Publicity of the Bombay Government who is also President of the Bombay Board of Film Censors, has issued a statement in reply to the press criticism of the Board for their cuts of Laurence Olivier's Hamlet. His only defence is 'that some of those lines have already been expunged from the text-books used in England for schools.' He adds that "Adult" and "Universal" certificates have not yet been issued in India! There is something grotesque in placing the large group of adults who constituted the audience in Bombay, in the same category as English school-children. It is also pertinent to inquire whose fault it is that the elementary classification of films into adult and universal has not yet been made. However, there is little point now in indulging in recrimination. It is more to the purpose to consider the function and nature of censorship in the light of this particular incident. Controlling excesses of the film industry is not a problem peculiar to India. Censorship exists even in democratic countries, in varied forms. It still is a controversial issue. Its advocates are firmly convinced of its necessity for they believe in the power of the film to influence ideas and ideals. They consider that society cannot leave such a powerful agency for education in the hands of the few voices controlling the industry. They point to the concern of the industry with the box-office, to its excesses, and question the possibility of raising the standard of films so long as the box-office is the chief controlling factor in their production. There is much force in these arguments.

Films command both visual and auditory imagery. Their power for conveying ideas is, therefore, infinitely greater than that of the press or of books. However vivid the photographs and illustrations which a publisher or an editor may use, he is handicapped, for in the story presented by him he cannot recapitulate the actual action in the way that the producer of a documentary can. The radio may compete when it is joined with television. The film will still have the added attraction of one's enjoyment being shared in a group. The power of the film as an agency for disseminating information and influencing ideas and ideals, therefore, may be assumed to be great, although there is little actual evidence to show that men have altered their beliefs or radically changed their behaviours, because of the films they have seen. Admitting this, does it follow that censorship is inevitable? Hardly. However liberal the code which may be devised for censors, its interpretation will be made by individuals and one is apt to see what one wants to see. There is no guarantee that the body of censors will not be amenable to pressure exercised by the various pressure groups—the industry itself, the party in power, religious and moralistic groups. There is one final argument against censorship. It prevents the growth of the film into a real medium of art. The code that will be devised for the guidance of the industry, will be the code of morals prevailing in the particular group, in which the film is made or shown. Tradition is tenacious; it fights new ideas.

The following observations are William Allen White's in The Movies on Trial. Mr. White's views regarding the code—the American Motion Picture Production Code—deserve serious thought. "The situation that confronts intelligent Americans in relation to the moving-picture business is exactly that which would be created if the New Jersey publishers of pornographic vapidity..... should buy up the "Atlantic Monthly", the "New Republic", "Scribner's"..... ...and pour the intellectual dishwater and incidental slops of the New Jersey... publications into the older literary receptacles; while betimes poking in something from H. L. Mencken, Edgar Lee Master, Dorothy Canfield Fisher, Edith Wharton and Carl Sandburg, to make a septic swill." Mr. White's recommendation for creating genuinely artistic films is the establishment of a number of small theatres where the minority that loves truth in art could find it in the film. He adds, "this does not mean 'clean wholesome plays'..... That means, rather, a selective reality in the presentation of life that makes truth rise and shine in a picture... It means that sex would not be snubbed..... nor be exploited, but take its place candidly as part of life and its motives". It cannot be denied that Mr. White's ideal of the film is more attractive than that of the average censor. In the last analysis, it is the only true ideal. For truth never hurts and catharsis is the true function of all art. You cannot improve yourself until you know yourself and to expect art in any form to hide the realities of life is to destroy it. There is no virtue in living like ostriches. The Socratic dictum of 'virtue is knowledge' still holds. No doctrine of categorical imperatives can substitute this ethical basis in the eyes of civilized men. The problem then of improving the standard of films—the only valid defence for censorship—resolves itself into one of discovering influences to be exerted on the film industry for this purpose. Some kind of control and supervision over the industry is indicated. The State can exercise this control by helping to raise the public taste. Producing companies could be asked to produce specialized and artistic films for small audiences. These could be shown in special theatres, in colleges and schools. An All India Advisory Council could be set up, containing the best talent of the country. The function of its members would be to advise the various companies on the type of stories to be selected, to issue a publication of genuine film criticism, to devise forums for the producers to meet and discuss their problems, and to set up

and supervise the activities of a National School for dramatics. Ways of obtaining good films to show the public can be found, if the will is there. Censorship is merely the first and the most unthinking device for controlling the excesses of the industry.

UNIVERSITY INTERCHANGE BETWEEN U.K. AND INDIA

To facilitate interchange between the universities of the United Kingdom and those of India, Britain is arranging for a number of travel grants.

The awards will be made on the recommendation of a Committee composed of representatives of the Association of Universities of the British Commonwealth, of the Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals of the U. K., and of the Universities Advisory Committee of the British Council.

Recipients will fall under three categories: distinguished scholars and scientists invited by universities for visits of at least 6 weeks' duration to enable them to meet fellow specialists and to mix with rising young workers in their own fields; university teachers on recognised study leave; and post-graduate research workers holding research grants. The latter two categories must undertake to spend at least 6 months of the academic session at the university where they propose to work.

Conditions for eligibility for university teachers and post-graduate research workers include suitable academic qualifications and experience, and a definite programme of work. The university named by the applicant as his proposed place of study must also be willing to receive him.

Applications are to be sponsored by the applicant's own university, and, in the case of university teachers, backed by the necessary finances—not less than 6 months' leave of absence on full pay. Post-graduate research workers are required to maintain themselves fully, while distinguished visiting scholars and scientists receive the necessary hospitality and costs of travel within the country from the inviting universities.

Grants are equivalent to the average cost of a return sea passage. For scholars and scientists invited by universities, passage may be arranged by air, depending on circumstances. Grants are normally paid in the U. K. in sterling, but in cases of necessity special arrangements may be made to pay part of the grant before sailing.

Particulars of visits which it is desired to arrange for distinguished scholars and scientists are to be sent by the inviting university to the Secretary, Committee for Commonwealth University Interchange, c/o The British Council, 3, Hanover Street, London, W. 1. Persons in the other two categories are to send three copies of their application to the Vice-Chancellor or Principal of their own university for forwarding. January 31, 1949, has been fixed as the last date for the guaranteed consideration of applications, and the announcement of awards is expected to be about the end of March.

The most important thing is that this scheme provides for two-way traffic: facilities are provided both for Indians to visit the United Kingdom and for British scholars to undertake research and meet their colleagues in India.

EIRE AND THE COMMONWEALTH

Apart from India, statements regarding the constitutional position of Eire have been made in Canada, Australia and South Africa. It appears unlikely that the Commonwealth countries will consider citizens of Eire as foreigners.

Mr. St. Laurent said that Canada desires to continue in close and friendly relationship with Eire, and will give attention to measures which might be necessary and possible to give effect to that desire. In a recently enacted Canadian citizenship measure, citizens of Eire were not legally regarded as British subjects.

Mr. Chifley, the Australian Prime Minister, said that the repeal of the External Relations Act would not place Eire in the category of a foreign nation in relation to Australia. nor would its citizens be regarded as foreigners. Australia hoped that Eire's new position would only be temporary. The principal link between Commonwealth members was loyalty to the King. It was the Australian policy to seek the inclusion of new nations like India, Pakistan and Ceylon into the Commonwealth and take every permissible step to obtain the reinclusion of former members such as Burma.

Mr. Calwell, the Australian Minister for Immigration, said that there would be no alteration in the relationship between citizens of Eire and Australia. This was one of the compromises for which the British people were famous.

The South African Government have announced that they would be prepared to recognise the proposed Republic and make reciprocal concessions of citizenship rights They welcomed the fact that the proposed action "has given rise to no estrangement between the two countries but rather to a *rapprochement*". The necessary legislation would be introduced into the Union Parliament.

HAWAII AWAITS STATEHOOD

(By MINEO KATAGIRI)

Honolulu.—A few days before the national elections, Senator Hugh Butler of Nebraska, the man who stood in the way of bringing to the Senate floor the bill for Hawaiian statehood, visited the islands to judge for himself their fitness to become the 49th state. He was favourably impressed; there was no appreciable Communist activity, and it was fear of Communism, he had said over and over, that was behind his opposition.

The elections made the Senator's inquiry of less significance; he lost his committee chairmanship, and while Hawaii went Republican, it would now probably elect Democrats as representatives if it won statehood. Senator Butler left Hawaii with good words for it, and with a sense of deflated importance. The people are sure that the next Congress will grant statehood. There is widespread excitement and anticipation. The next six months, it is felt, will tell the tale.

MUTUAL AID

(By DEVERE ALLEN)

Marshall plan critics deserve respect when they exhibit some comprehension of what they are talking about; but it must be confessed that the majority of them appear singularly uninformed. Nor does it make much difference whether they have remained in the United States or made brief visits to Europe.

Easily found are these assailants of the Plan, but not very easily found are those who have much in the way of facts. This is hardly more than mental laziness, for there are facts for the reading, facts for the looking; and there are some intelligent critics with whom, if one cannot agree, it is possible to establish a certain sympathetic understanding. Most of the fault-finders are hopeless.

A civic leading businessman of Laredo, Texas, went overseas a while ago, and batted around a lot. He was impressed with Brussels because "it is more like an American city, in its night life, neon signs, streets, etc., than any other city we visited." The traveller visited, too, almost all the tourist spots in several countries. But he is quoted as saying, "England, France and Italy, unlike little Belgium and Holland, are not even trying to work and never will as long as the United States continues to help them."

No greater nonsense could be imagined. One must ask, at once, why it is that Belgium, which this critic thinks is doing so well, is one of the most devoted countries in the Marshall Plan, and making some real sacrifices to help it along. It was no "baloney" when Ambassador Blaine recently said, at Brussels, "Since the liberation, Belgium has come back in a remarkable fashion; the efforts of the Belgian people have already placed this country in an enviable position: that of being able to contribute to European reconstruction in a proportion almost equivalent to that which it receives itself in the application of the Marshall Plan."

Pointing out that Belgium is due to receive a total of $ 250,000,000 the first year, Mr. Blaine showed that the Belgians have agreed to put at the disposal of other nations in the Recovery Programme no less than $ 207,500,000 to permit these countries to buy Belgian products. This is not entirely unselfish; it is plain enlightened self-interest. But it is loyalty to the Plan. And if Belgium is so remarkable, why is she so loyal? Because she knows the Plan is vitally necessary.

One can find dozens of examples to show how France, Italy and Britain, too, are aiding the plan to success. For mutuality is essential. One of the ways mutuality is being worked out is through the so-called counterpart funds; when a country, such as France, receives aid from the Plan, it sets aside equivalent amounts which are used to cut down the tendency the Plan might otherwise create for further inflation. France is using her counterpart fund to rebuild basic machinery; Britain is using hers to retire internal government debts.

Holland has helped meet the problems of Benelux, the three-nation customs union, by removing subsidies and allowing food and other prices to rise slightly, so as to cut down the gap between the Dutch and the Belgian price level. But where prices on foods have risen, they have at least been taken off the ration list. And to prevent hardship on the workers, the government is granting subsidies to them! It sounds somewhat complicated, but in reality it is working to reduce the infinite and costly complexities of European economic life.

In Denmark it has been estimated by reliable observers that intelligent management has multiplied four times the help given under the Plan. In Italy, prices of foodstuffs have actually begun to drop noticeably, something which, to the average family, must seem like a miracle. Incidentally, in that country, one of the stock Communist arguments against the Marshall Plan has caused considerable laughter; critics of the Plan were contending that the tractors brought in under the Plan were killing off the local tractor industry, when, all of a sudden, Soviet Union workers sent in 15 tractors as a gift to the Italian working class!

Oil is coming into Italy from the Near East, provided with funds from the Plan. But it is coming on Italian ships, with Italian crews. And every shipload of 25,000 tons is refined in Italian refineries, which in turn have been equipped under the Plan. And every shipload provides gasoline enough for trucks and cars to cover many thousands of miles of highways on business that again helps build up the country. A fine job is also being started through "conditional grants:", under one of these, Iceland, for example, receives money with which to buy foods in the U. S. A.; but it sets aside, in other Marshall Plan countries equal sums in its own currency, on which these nations can draw for purchases in Iceland. This is a frontal assault on the currency barriers which have so long held back recovery.

When critics carp about the unwillingness of the Europeans to work, they expose their greatest lack of knowledge. For the people almost everywhere are working with a hearty will, hampered only by the constant East-West crisis. Solve that, and you have solved the big hindrance to recovery. But even that does not prevent encouraging manifestations of international solidarity.

Americans heard a lot about their Friendship Train. They hear little, unfortunately, of such things as the Interallied Friendship Train, which has been going about in Belgium and Luxemburg, loading up with gifts under the auspices of the railway trainmen of those countries. The presents go to other nations to celebrate the work done in the Resistance by trainmen and those connected with rail transport. One train went to Paris and unloaded 4,500 parcels for war orphans. Europe, far more than most people know, is doing what it can to help itself.

— *Worldover Press*

THE JUDICIAL FUNCTION AND ITS INDEPENDENCE

Following on the institution of an unofficial Bureau of Public Administration under Mr. Gopinath Srivastava in the U.P., there has appeared the first issue of a quarterly, "Journal of Public Administration", which deals with a little discussed aspect of national life. The first issue contains an interesting collection of articles. In view of the importance attaching to the discussion on the independence of the judiciary, the extract which we print below from Mr. P. N. Sapru's article on the Judicial function will be read with interest.

(By P. N. SAPRU)

The first essential point about the work of a Judge is that he has to perform functions which are personal to himself. A Minister or a high executive officer can and may delegate functions to others, while retaining in himself responsibility for the decisions taken by those to whom he has delegated power. There is no limit to the extent of assistance which a Minister may seek from permanent civil servants who work under him. In the case of a Judge, however, the position is vastly different. The decision which a judgment embodies, is the Judge's personal decison. For in deciding cases the Judge is not entitled to receive assistance in his judicial capacity beyond that which is given to him by counsel appearing before him or by those who may be invited by the court to act as *amicus curiae* in difficult and unrepresented cases.

The second essential point on which I would lay emphasis is that, while a Minister can direct those who have been delegated authority to act in a particular way, it is of the essence of a system based upon the independence of the judiciary that no one should be in a position to dictate to a Judge the manner in which he must decide a particular case. A Judge's allegiance is to the law as embodied in the Constitution Act, or other documents having the force of law, the common and customary law of the land, the Statutes and bye-laws passed by Legislatures or other law-making bodies, to the extent that they do not go beyond the scope of the authority promulgating them and the body of legal doctrine deducible from precedents for which his predecessors or brother Judges have been responsible.

A Ministry can continue to function only for such time as it retains the confidence of a majority of the members of the Legislature. An administrator can operate in his own department only for such time as those who are above him find themselves satisfied with his work. This is not to suggest that he can be made to leave the permanent civil service without a proper inquiry. What is suggested is that if he happens to be a permanent head of a department, he can remain in his office only as long as his political chief continues to repose confidence in him. A diplomat can continue to represent his country in a foreign land only for such time as he retains the confidence of his country's Foreign Office. In the case of the holder of a judicial office, the circumstance that he has, in honestly interpreting the law, given decisions which are annoying to the public or the Government is, however, immaterial. That fact cannot involve any personal consequence to the Judge. Unless, of course, a Judge is guilty of what would amount to judicial misconduct, no one can take him to task except appellate or revisional courts and that only in appeals or reviews for the judgments that he pronounces. Even on removal from office as a Judge for misconduct, his judgments do not lose their validity. The essential point is that, provided there is no proof of misconduct on the part of a Judge, the fact that his decision is considered erroneous by a superior tribunal involves no consequences for him.

Confidence in the judiciary is determined by the extent to which the public is made to feel that a judicial officer can neither gain anything by giving a decision which is right nor lose anything by giving a decision which may be regarded as unsound. A man can act with independence only when he knows that, provided that he acts conscientiously, he will not be held liable for judicial errors. A Judge's duty is to determine a law suit on merits and merits alone. For the performance of this task he must be enabled to develop an independent attitude of mind which requires for its maturing certain psychological conditions. Only when a Judge is led to believe that a decision favourable to the Executive can bring him no material reward, or a decision adverse to the Government of the day no censure or disgrace, can this attitude of independence be developed. One of the essential pre-requisites, therefore, for the growth of an independent attitude of mind in a judicial functionary is a guarantee that he shall be immune from enquiry into his motives for a judicial act alleged to have been done maliciously and and corruptly. Judges in England have gone to the extent of extending this immunity to acts done by Judges of even inferior courts when such acts have admittedly not been done for the purpose of gratifying some private grudge. The immunity of a Judge from legal responsibility for acts done in his judicial capacity is thus an essential feature of the system of jurisprudence associated with the name of Britain. This immunity has, as is well known, been held to extend not merely to Judges themselves, but to all persons in a case before the court, namely, parties to a litigation, their witness, counsel and solicitors. The privilege which attaches to the work of a Judge or the argument of counsel or the statement of a witness is not, however, a privilege to be malicious, but is a privilege, as has been pointed out by a recent writer, "to have judicial proceedings exempt from all inquiry whether malice or other wrongful element were present or not". One important qualification to this immunity of a Judge from legal consequences, however, is that he must be acting within his jurisdiction. Immunity does not extend to acts

of an extra-judicial character or acts foreign to a Judge's judicial duty. If he does any of these things, he exposes himself to legal liability.

I shall now proceed to consider another condition which has contributed to the growth of an independent attitude of mind among Judges. This relates to the immunity that Judges enjoy in Britain and in the English-speaking world in the shape of freedom from criticism in the Legislature for acts done in their judicial capacity unless, of course, the attack takes the shape of a substantive motion such as an address for removal from office. A healthy convention which is invariably followed in Britain is that private members must not ask questions in Parliament reflecting on the character or conduct of a Judge.

One of the institutions which makes or mars a man's reputation in the world today is the Press. The freedom of comment and criticism which it enjoys is valuable for safeguarding democratic liberties. Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty and the duty of the Press is to be both vigilant and fearless in its criticisms of official acts and measures. The Judge's position is, however, different from that of a Minister. For freedom from scurrilous attacks in the discharge of their judicial duties, such as may be caused against a Minister for acts done by him, by the Press is a privilege making for their independence which Judges enjoy. The law of contempt gives authority to judges to deal with scandalous or defamatory attacks on them by summary procedure. To what extent, if any, this power should ever be used by them is a question which it is unnecessary to go into here. But, while no doubt Judges are immune from indiscriminate or vulgar attack by the Press their judgments can be commented upon. Thus criticism regarding the correctness either in law or in fact of their judgments after a case has been decided is not ruled out. Legal journals and jurists have been discharging this function and such serious criticism is not to be deprecated.

The privileged position that the Judge enjoys makes it, however, essential for him to observe certain rules which make for the highest type of intellectual and moral integrity in a judicial officer. That it would be manifestly wrong on the part of a judicial functionary to act either as a member of a Bench or singly in a case in which he has some direct or indirect, past or present financial interest is obvious. The oath of office which a judicial officer takes makes it incumbent on him to administer the law according to his individual conscience, without fear or favour, affection or ill-will. Obviously a Judge must not adjudicate upon a case in which the parties are related to him, for it is not merely enough that justice is done; it is equally important that justice should seem to be done. If a Judge were to decide a case in which relations or even close friends were involved, there would be a legitimate apprehension in the public mind that the judgment he has arrived at is somewhat coloured by his own feelings and prejudices.

COSTA RICA ABOLISHES HER ARMY

Provisional President Jose Figueres of Costa Rica on December 1, disbanded the national army that had carried him to victory in a five-week civil war early this year. He returned the country to its democratic tradition of having more school teachers than soldiers.

While other nations throughout the Americas were falling as victims to military coups, Senor Figueres dissolved his Army, and in a colourful ceremony before the foreign diplomatic corps delivered Bellavista Fortress in the centre of the capital to a committee for the establishment of a museum.

Senor Figueres' edict dissolving the Army came as a bombshell to the diplomats and public attending the Bellavista ceremony. They were unaware of what the President would announce.

Instead of merely delivering the keys of the fortress to the Minister of Education, as expected, Senor Figueres left his audience speechless by declaring that the Army had been disbanded. He declared that Costa Rica was not a military country, and that the Army no longer was needed.

Col. Edgar Cardona, Minister of War, who carried the "Army of Liberation" to victory in the civil war last March and April, said the disbandment should not be interpreted as a sign of weakness. Costa Ricans, he said, have shown that they can fight in the field and will do so again if their sovereignty or democratic form of government is menaced.

Henceforth, Costa Rica's only armed forces will be the national police, numbering about 1,000 officers and men, and some 700 coastal guards.

Senor Figueres' move was especially surprising to foreign diplomats because relations between Costa Rica and Nicaragua had been considerably strained in recent months.

—The United Press of America.

SUCCESSION SQUABBLE

Mr. Jai Prakash Narain, leader of the Socialist Party of India, has claimed for his party Gandhian inspiration. He denounces the Congress for misappropriating Gandhiji's name and perverting his teachings. The charge is easily made but less easy to sustain. Gandhiji in his general policies laid the greatest emphasis on each individual acting according to his light. He was not always able to live up to this tenet and sometimes he resorted to extreme measures to secure adherence to his views but his principle cannot be contested. So far as Socialism goes, it is difficult to imagine an individual who was less of a Socialist than Gandhiji. At any rate, it helps little to use his name for winning support to this or that party. Mr. Jai Prakash Narain cannot defeat the Congress by resorting to these tactics. He only admits his own weakness. The more serious challenge to the Congress is the falling appeal of the party and its internal defects which have lost it a by-election to the Socialists in the Bombay Corporation.

TOLD—AND UNTOLD

(By Worldover Press)

Negotiations, very quietly, are going on between Panama and the United States for the return to Uncle Sam of the military bases abandoned when the Panamanian Congress voted against U. S. occupation. And the initiative is coming from the administration of President Domingo Diaz Arosemena.

Since Washington ordered its troops and civil personnel out, surveys of other possible canal routes have been going on—in Colombia, Nicaragua, and on Mexico's Isthmus of Tehuantepec. The economic loss to Panama has been considerable.

Moving cautiously, so as not to excite opinion in his own country, the Panamanian President recently declared in a press conference: "The Republic of Panama desires cooperation with the United States in defending the inter-oceanic route which is the key to continental security. To this end, it is disposed to make any sacrifice which is not detrimental to its dignity or sovereignty and which does not impose conditions dictated by extremism. No arms for the defence of the Canal will be as effective as a friendship sincerely felt by the two peoples."

THE LITTLE ATOM

United Nations translators, who occasionally have their problems, ran into one when they tried to render "atomic bomb" in Chinese. After frantic efforts, the best minds could only come up with *Yuen-tse-t' an*—"an abominable little thing which explodes."

HOXHA LEADS WITH HIS CHIN

When the Cominform broke with Marshal Tito, the "strong man" of Albania, Enver Hoxha, promptly lined up with Moscow. Abuse of Tito began to appear in the controlled press, and an embargo was put on supplies formerly shipped to the Yugoslavs. The Kremlin pledged its support in this loyal endeavour.

As time has passed, however, Albania has suffered far more than Yugoslavia, though the latter has admittedly felt the pinch. Foodstuffs and clothing, arms and exchangeable currency which were coming in from Yugoslavia are no longer to be had. Technical advisers sent in by Tito to begin the industrialization of Albania have been ordered home. Oil, food, and other essentials are perilously low.

Moscow has done little or nothing to fill the vacuum. Urgent cries for help, sent to Roumania and Bulgaria, have brought small aid. But Soviet agents have been coming into Albania in greater and greater numbers, with plenty of ideas if scant material assistance. Every month, some 300 Albanian youth are taken, mostly by force, to Russia for training in arms and dialectics; they are later to be returned for work under Soviet direction.

A BRITISH SPOKESMAN ON NATIVE LABOUR

Sir Miles Thomas, Director of British Government's Colonial Development Corporation, recently told an audience in England that many natives of Central Africa were half starved more than half the year. Sir Miles criticized the common idea that labour was cheap in Africa because a native worker could be hired for five shillings (one dollar) a week; from such individuals, he declared, you could get only five shillings' worth of work.

"If we want to get full value from the immense mineral resources of Central Africa," said Sir Miles, "the first thing is to see that the Africans are properly fed. That human beings should exist in such an undeveloped state today is a severe criticism of civilization."

PARAGUAYAN FIASCO

Sold to the world as a "revolution," the recent uprising in Paraguay has been found by Worldover Press observers to be, in fact, nothing more than a struggle for power between two sections of the present group which rules the country. The "revolutionists" secured control of the infamous prison stuffed with political prisoners, but freed not one. The success of the revolt would have meant a change of masters, but no lessening of oppression.

One illustration of the difficulties faced by the common people is the shipping monopoly which dominates all freight coming from Buenos Aires to Asuncion. This monopoly charges all the traffic will bear; as a result, it costs a Paraguayan consumer more for freight up the river from Buenos Aires than it costs to send the same load all the way from New York to Buenos Aires. The rates are so high that some goods are even being imported by air direct from the United States.

The great Paraguayan *yerba mate* plantations, which supply nearly all the national drink for Argentina and Uruguay, are owned by British and Argentine syndicates. Labour is virtually forced by the old system of low wages, company stores, and company police. Workers are kept permanently in debt to the companies, and all roads are guarded by the company police, who bring back any labourers who try to escape

Religion is used to maintain the status quo Not long ago the unorganized workers began to talk among themselves about the possibility of a strike for better wages and conditions. However, they were quieted by a priest, who told them that God had ordered their conditions to remain as they are.

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"*I will* be as harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard*".

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the LIBERATOR.

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NOTES

Human Rights:—We publish this week three important declarations on Fundamental Rights. The first of these is the International Charter adopted by an overwhelming majority in the U. N. General Assembly. The second is the statement issued by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. And the third is the collection of articles on Fundamental Rights as adopted by the Indian Constituent Assembly after prolonged consideration. As the U. N. Charter has been framed from the declarations contained in various Constitutions in the modern world, it has a relevance to the Indian Fundamental Rights which are constitutional safeguards themselves. The Church statement represents the views of Protestant Christianity. There are two important opinions on the subject yet not reframed—the Roman Catholic and the Soviet. At the U. N. Assembly, the Soviet bloc did not favour the Declaration on Human Rights, ostensibly because it did not go far enough for the delegates from the Soviet area.

Congress President's Lead:—Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya's presidential address to the 55 session of the Indian National Congress was a prodigious performance so far as quantity went. As for quality, the days of great orations are most definitely over. Dr. Pattabhi rambled over a wide field and, owing perhaps to tiredness, stumbled at more than one place. He has propounded such astonishing propositions as "the Rule of Law and the perpetration of crime are friends"; "under a feudal system with a prince at its head, there used to be a direct approach to the highest authority while under a democratic Government the approach is through the whole gamut of heirarchy from the Patel and the Patwari to the Prime Minister"; "orthodoxy must be live, animated and fall in with the changing times"; and there are other flights into the abstruse which are masterpieces of confused thinking. Dr. Pattabhi's verbosity springs from acute differences with the Government which manifest themselves in almost every line. It is evident that Dr. Pattabhi has been overcome by the honour done to him and in an effort to rise to the occasion has sustained a great fall.

Congress Policies:—The resolutions drafted for the consideration of the Congress session at Jaipur deal with every phase of national life from internal reform to foreign policy. They all point at a concentration of effort towards making the Congress an effective political party, organised for constructive work. They reveal in every sentence an acute consciousness that the Governments of the day in the units and at the Centre are all Congress Governments. Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya in his presidential address gave the role of the Congress as that of a mediator between the Government and the public. The Congress, he said, had to moderate the public and to urge on the Ministers. At the moment, however, it is obvious that the Government, particularly the Union Government, is exercising a definite moderating influence on the party. The Congress might come to occupy the same position that the Liberals did in the preceding regime—that of criticising the Government whilst not breaking with it. Only the Congress, consisting, as its top rank does, of men in the Government, will have to be more mild in its criticism and often acquiesce in policies which go against its traditions. And the presence of non-party men in the Central Cabinet itself dilutes the official implementation of Congress policies. There is no clarity in the present position and the Jaipur resolutions do not help to bring it on.

THE INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, December 18, 1948

THE LINGUISTIC REPORT

The Dhar Commission which was set up by the President of the Constituent Assembly to consider and report on the question of forming the four Provinces of Andhra, Karantaka, Kerala and Maharashtra, have released their report which is a unanimous finding against linguistic provinces. Two arguments are, in the opinion of the Commission, decisive: The need of the country for a strong national orientation, almost intolerant of lesser loyalties; and the prospect of all the linguistic units proving deficit areas. Other reasons are piled up but they are mostly secondary. For example, the Commission make a telling point of the disunity even among protagonists of one linguistic group, which would make the creation of that particular province depend on either submitting to the clamour of a determined minority and handing over to it the fortunes of the people of that group or coercing a minority. Moreover, no amount of boundary adjustment can produce a completely homogeneous province. The Commission have pointed out that there will be, for example, 15 million Telugus outside Andhra which will have a total of 20 million within it; and correcting that condition will involve breaking up the States and destroying their entity. The Commission do not rule out the consideration of homogeneity entirely. But they do more: They assert that building homogeneous provinces is undesirable but allow that, in any future readjustment of provinces for administrative convenience, if homogeneity can be also secured, it would be a happy accomplishment.

The Commission make no bones about the conclusion they have arrived at reversing the agitation of the Congress. They say bluntly that conditions have changed and, in effect, set aside Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's assurance in November 1947 in the Constituent Assembly virtually as against the spirit of the times. They do not even trouble to disguise the fact that the change to which they refer is no more and no less than the Congress changing from opposition to office. The matter was not in their terms of reference, otherwise they would doubtless have traced the link between advocacy of Hindustani as the national language and encouragement, even sponsoring, of the aspirations of linguistic groups, two really conflicting movements. The opposition to Hindustani was blasted by the promise of linguistic autonomous units. The Commission, incidentally, in advocating vigorously a strong Centre with power devolving from it to the provinces, perpetrate another heresy for all "right-thinking" Congressmen. In fact, this little document of some fifty odd pages contains more repudiation of orthodox Congress theory than the most vigorous political campaign. The Report has not been made to the Congress but the coming session at Jaipur will find it difficult not to notice it. If the Congressmen now in power desired to renounce principles which they had campaigned for in the past two decades and more, they could not have done better than through this Commission.

The defects enumerated by the Commission in any concession to the linguistic agitation are undeniable. Even, assuming that the constitutional ideal of India is not a unitary government but a federation of autonomous units, it cannot be denied that the present trend is all for a strong centre. The danger in breaking up the Provinces and States into smaller homogenous units, according to the Commission, is the loss of national interest in the pursuit of linguistic development. The danger in breaking up the Provinces alone, without touching the States, is that the influence of what was recently known as "British India" vis-a-vis the States will be weakened. This is the truer since Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel's scheme of integration has reduced the over 500 scattered States to about 25 solid units. In other words, the whole administrative machinery of the Indian Union and the States Union is working for the formation of larger units. Except for Mr. Patel who is a realist, few seem to appreciate what a "strong Centre" means. Certainly no one has discussed it in terms of provinces for it means nothing less than that the Centre should be strong enough to face a challenge from any combination of provinces. It would thus be a source of strength to the Centre to have a number of small provinces, preferably in a deficit state, wholly dependent on the Centre. If the destruction of the States is contemplated, then linguistic provinces have a distinct advantage to the Centre, besides being a move which will satisfy the aspirations of small groups and keep them engaged with their toy parliaments and toy cabinets. The Commission have not touched on this aspect of the problem. And it is hardly likely that any politician will publicly advocate linguistic provinces on this ground. Therefore, it might be assumed that the Commission's report will in the end be approved. But that does not mean that there will not be strong opposition. The first challenge will offer itself at the Jaipur Congress where Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya has already struck a discordant note. He may not be able to sabotage the Commission's recommendations but he might succeed in shaking the leaders in office from a firm stand. Dr. Pattabhi presents the extreme linguistic attitude; he will not allow any postponement. Obviously he will be forced to moderate his ardour but it is equally possible that he will succeed in restraining the Congressmen in office from ignoring the demand completely. Dr. Pattabhi has also been a States leader and he should realise the danger of weakening the Provinces just when the Indian States are on the path of consolidation. But he seems to have shut his eyes to all considerations except the one dear to him, of carving out an Andhra.

HUMAN RIGHTS DECLARATION

Following is the text of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights approved by the Social Committee of the United Nations General Assembly and adopted by the Assembly by a large majority.

PREAMBLE

Whereas, recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedo n, justice and peace in the world; and

Whereas, disregard and contempt for human rights have resulted in barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind, and the advent of a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear and want has been proclaimed as the highest aspiration of the common people; and

Whereas, it is essential, if man is not to be compelled to have recourse as a last resort to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected by the rule of law; and

Whereas, it is essential to promote the development of friendly relations between nations; and

Whereas, the peoples of the United Nations have in the Charter reaffirmed their faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person and in the equal rights of men and women, and determined to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom; and

Whereas, the member states have pledged themselves to achieve, in cooperation with the United Nations, the promotion of universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedom; and

Whereas, a common understanding of these rights and freedoms is of the greatest importance for the full realization of this pledge; Now, therefore, the General Assembly—

proclaims this Declaration of Human Rights as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance, both among the peoples of member states themselves and among the peoples of territories under their jurisdiction.

1. All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

2. Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.

3. The rights set forth in this Declaration apply equally to all inhabitants of trust and non-self-governing territories.

4. Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person.

5. No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms.

6. No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

7. Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law.

8. All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination.

9. Everyone has the right to an effective remedy by the competent national tribunals for acts violating the fundamental rights granted him by the Constitution or by law.

10. No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile.

11. Everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal, in the determination of his rights and obligations and of any criminal charge against him.

12. (1) Everyone charged with a penal offence has the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law in a public trial at which he has had all the guarantees necessary for his defence.

(2) No one shall be held guilty of any penal offence on account of any act or omission which did not constitute a penal offence, under national or international law, at the time when it was committed. Nor shall a heavier penalty be imposed than the one that was applicable at the time the penal offence was committed.

12. No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his private family, home or correspondence, nor to attacks upon his honour and reputation. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks.

14. (1) Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state.

(2) Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country.

15. (1) Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution.

(2) This right may not be invoked in the case of prosecutions genuinely arising from non-political crimes or from acts contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

16. (1) Everyone has the right to a nationality.

(2) No one shall be arbitrarily deprived

of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality.

17. (1) Men and women of full age, without any limitation due to race, nationality or religion, have the right to marry and to found a family. They are entitled to equal rights as to marriage, during marriage and at its dissolution.

(2) Marriage shall be entered into only with the free and full consent of the intending spouses.

(3) The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the state.

18. (1) Everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others.

(2) No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property.

19. Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance.

20. Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

21. (1) Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association.

(2) No one may be compelled to belong to an association.

22. (1) Everyone has the right to take part in the Government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives.

(2) Everyone has the right of equal access to public service in his country.

(3) The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of Government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures.

23. Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to the realization, through national effort and international cooperation and in accordance with the organization and resources of each state, of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of personality.

24. (1) Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment.

(2) Everyone, without any discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work.

(3) Everyone who works has the right to just and favourable remuneration, insuring for himself and his family an existence worthy of human dignity, and supplemented, if necessary, by other means of social protection.

(4) Everyone has the right to form and to join trade unions for the protection of his interests.

25. Everyone has the right to rest and leisure, including seasonable limitation of working hours and periodic holidays with pay.

26. (1) Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control.

(2) Motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance. All children, whether born in or out of wedlock, shall enjoy the same social protection.

27. (1) Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available, and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.

(2) Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.

(3) Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.

28. (1) Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits.

(2) Everyone has the right to the protection of the moral and material interests resulting from any scientific, literary or artistic production of which he is the author.

29. Everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in this declaration can be fully realized.

30. (1) Everyone has duties to the community in which alone the free and full development of his personality is possible.

(2) In the exercise of his rights and freedoms, everyone shall be subject only to such limitations as are prescribed by law solely for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of morality, public order and the general welfare in a democratic society.

(3) These rights and freedoms may in no case be exercised contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

31. Nothing in this declaration may be interpreted as implying for any states, groups or persons, any right to engage in any activity or to perform any act aimed at the destruction of any of the rights and freedoms prescribed herein.

THE CHURCHES' STAND

Following is the text of the statement on human rights adopted by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America:

All men are God's creatures and have infinite worth in His sight; they are also included in the saving work of Christ. All men, and Christians in particular, are therefore responsible to God to love and serve Him; to live in such a way that the lives they live and the work they do shall be worthy of their capacities and gifts; and to regard other people as their neighbours whom they should love as themselves. They are also responsible at all times to obey God as the Supreme Lord of Conscience.

But men have not only responsibilities toward God and their fellow men which they must discharge; they have God-given rights which society must respect and for whose realization it must make provision.

The flagrant violation of human rights in our generation has outraged every Christian feeling and has impeded the achievement of world order. Even in those lands which profess adherence to the Christian democratic tradition there are discriminatory restrictions and exploitations. The dignity of man and the obligation of Christian brotherhood are so clearly expressed in the Gospels that our own failure to live up to their precepts is a reproach against us among non-Christian peoples. The churches cannot view this situation with unconcern.

All of the rich gifts which God imparts to men should be available to all without distinction as to race, colour, sex, birth, nationality, class, or creed. Although man's life consists in fellowship with God and not in the abundance of things; although the Christian in privation and tribulation may be more than conqueror; yet the denial of freedom, justice, and security to others is the violation of basic rights. Opposition to such indignities is a Christian duty and it must be carried out by Christian means if it is not to defeat its purpose.

Every right with which man is endowed by his Creator contains a corresponding responsibility to use this freedom wisely and generously, for righteous ends and with due regard for the similarly God-given rights of others. Moral obligation is at the centre of the Christian concept of human rights.

Social safeguards are necessary for the peaceful adjustment of conflicting rights and to prevent their violation or curb their mis-use whether by individuals or the state. If these safeguards are not themselves to become a peril to liberty, free society must accept some risks that freedom may be abused by those who would destroy it.

A responsible society is one where freedom is the freedom of men who acknowledge responsibility to justice and public order, and where those who hold political authority or economic power are responsible for its exercise to God and the people whose welfare is affected by it.

Among the basic human rights which are the due of every person are the following:

A. Freedom of religion and conscience, including rights of all men to hold and change their faith, to express it in worship and practice, to teach and persuade others, and to decide on the religious education of their children.

B. Freedom of speech, press, inquiry and study, including expression of economic, political and social beliefs, with due regard to the protection of all from slander and libel.

C. Freedom of peaceable association and assembly.

D. Freedom from arbitrary arrest, police brutality, mob violence and intimidation.

Although many of the above personal rights are in jeopardy at present, both at home and abroad, they have been for long generally recognized in our society.

The social, economic and political rights listed below must be further extended and established throughout the world that a more Christian society may be achieved. Since these rights cannot be obtained under a system of racial segregation, the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America reaffirms its renunciation of the pattern of segregation as unnecessary and undesirable, and a violation of the gospel of love and human brotherhood. As proof of their sincerity the churches must work for a non-segregated church and a non-segregated society.

These rights, which should be available to all without discrimination as to race, colour, sex, birth, social or economic status, or creed, include:

1. Full opportunity to participate in the economic resources of the community, including:

A. The right to a standard of living adequate for the welfare and security of the individual and the family.

B. The right of every employable person to work under decent conditions and fair compensation and to be up-graded according to character and ability, or to engage in an individual enterprise or profession.

C. The right of all persons to organize into labour unions, corporate enterprises, cooperative ventures and social action.

2. Full opportunity to participate on a non-segregated basis in the social and public life of the community including:

A. The right to wholesome living space.

B. The right to move within one's country and to leave and return to one's country.

C. The right to educational and professional training and to cultural opportunities.

D. The right to recreational opportunities and facilities.

E. The right of participation in the use of community social services.

F. The right to adequate health services.

G. The right to the use of transportation on the basis of full equality.

H. The right to receive equal service from businesses and persons serving the public, such as stores, theatres, hotels and restaurants.

3. Full opportunity to participate in the political community including:

A. The right to vote with alternative choices and by a secret ballot.

B. Equal rights before the law, which include police protection, the right of an accused person to a fair and public trial, the right to counsel, the right to be confronted by written indictment, evidence, and witnesses against him, the right to present in his own behalf witnesses and evidence, the right to have the judgment of his actions depend upon an evaluation of the facts by an impartial jury of his peers.

C. The right to be a candidate for public office and to serve if elected.

D. The right to participate fully in any branch of the Government, including the military.

E. The right to organize for peaceful activity.

The churches, the state, and individual citizens have responsibility for observance of these requirements of human rights. It is presumptuous for the state to assume that it can grant or deny fundamental rights. It is for the state to embody these rights in its own legal system and to ensure their observance in practice.

It is for the churches to encourage the state fully to recognize these rights in law, but also, since the churches are under special obligation to obey God rather than man, they must go beyond the requirements of law and seek vigorously to realize these principles wherever they apply within their own fellowship; to support and encourage their members in conscientious endeavour to achieve these ends in the community and nation, and to seek solutions in the spirit of Christian reconciliation.

The churches are likewise bound to offer a continual challenge to the conscience of the community and to seek to influence the Government in its appropriate sphere to safeguard the rights of all.

FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS IN THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION

Below are reprinted the articles in the Draft Constitution as they have been adopted in the Indian Constituent Assembly, relating to Fundamental Rights. They are preceded by two clauses defining the State to mean the Government and Parliament of India and the Government and Legislature of each of the States and all local authorities within the territory of India, and declaring that all existing laws inconsistent with these rights are void to the extent that they are inconsistent, allowing the State to make laws which will remove existing inequalities, and defining "law" to mean any ordinance, order, bye-law, rule, regulation, notification, custom or usage having the force of law in India or any part of it. The Rights of Property have been left over for future consideration. The 25th Article provides the right to move the Supreme Court for the enforcement of the rights enumerated above, and the Supreme Court is thereby empowered to issue directions, or orders in the nature of writs of mandamus, habeas corpus, prohibition, quo warranto and certiorari, for enforcement. The accepted amendments to the various articles have been taken from the Press, as official versions are not available but they are in the main verbal.

RIGHTS OF EQUALITY

9. (1) The State shall not discriminate against any citizen on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth or any of them.

In particular, no citizen shall, on only these grounds be subject to any disability, liability, restriction or condition with regard to—

(a) access to shops, public restaurants, hotels and places of public entertainment; and

(b) the use of wells, tanks, roads, bathing ghats and places of public resort maintained wholly or partly out of State funds or dedicated to the use of the general public.

(2) Nothing in this article shall prevent the State from making any special provision for women and children.

10. (1) There shall be equality of opportunity for all citizens in matters of employment under the State.

(2) No citizen shall, on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, descent, place of birth or any of them, be ineligible for any office under the State.

(3) Nothing in this article shall prevent the State from making any provision for the reservation of appointments or posts in favour of any backward class of citizens who, in the opinion of the State, are not adequately represented in the services under the State.

(4) Nothing in this article shall affect the operation of any law which provides that the incumbent of an office in connection with the affairs of any religious or denominational institution or any member of the governing body thereof shall be a person professing a particular religion or belonging to a particular denomination.

11. "Untouchability" is abolished and its practice in any form is forbidden. The enforcement of any disability arising out of "Untouchability" shall be an offence punishable in accordance with law.

12. (1) No title shall be conferred by the State.

(2) No citizen of India shall accept any title from any foreign State.

(3) No person holding any office of profit or trust under the State shall, without the consent of the President, accept any present, emolument, title or office of any kind from or under any foreign State.

13. (1) Subject to the other provision of this article, all citizens shall have the right—

(a) to freedom of speech and expression;

(b) to assemble peaceably and without arms;

(c) to form associations or unions;

(d) to move freely throughout the territory of India;

(e) to reside and settle in any part of the territory of India;

(f) to acquire, hold and dispose of property; and

(g) to practise any profession, or to carry on any occupation, trade or business.

(2) Nothing in sub-clause (a) of clause (1) of this article sl all affect the operation of any existing law, or prevent the State from making any law, relating to libel, slander, defamation, or any other matter which offends against decency or morality or undermines the authority or foundation of the State.

(3) Nothing in sub-clause (b) of the said clause shall affect the operation of any existing law, or prevent the State from making any law, imposing in the interests of public order reasonable restrictions on the exercise of the right conferred by the said sub-clause.

(4) Nothing in sub-clause (c) of the said clause shall affect the operation of any existing law, or prevent the State from making any law, imposing in the interests of the general public, reasonable restrictions on the exercise of the right conferred by the said sub-clause.

(5) Nothing in sub-clauses (d), (e) and (f) of the said clause shall affect the operation of any existing law, or prevent the State from making any law, imposing reasonable restrictions on the exercise of any of the rights conferred by the said sub-clauses either in the interests of the general public or for the protection of the interests of any aboriginal tribe.

(6) Nothing in sub-clause (g) of the said clause shall affect the operation of any existing law, or prevent the State from making any law, imposing in the interests of public order, morality or health, reasonable restrictions on the exercise of the right conferred by the said sub-clause and in particular prescribing or empowering any authority to prescribe, the professional or technical qualifications necessary for practising any profession or carrying on any occupation, trade or business.

14. (1) No person shall be convicted of any offence except for violation of a law in force at the time of the commission of the act charged as an offence, nor be subjected to a penalty greater than that which might have been inflicted under the law at the time of the commission of the offence.

(2) No person shall be prosecuted and punished for the same offence more than once.

(3) No person accused of any offence shall be compelled to be a witness against himself.

15. No person shall be deprived of his life or personal liberty except according to procedure established by law, nor shall any person be denied equality before the law or the equal protection of the laws within the territory of India.

16. Subject to the provisions of article 244 of this Constitution and of any law made by Parliament, trade, commerce and intercourse throughout the territory of India shall be free.

17. (1) Traffic in human beings and beggars and other similar forms of forced labour are prohibited and any contravention of this provision shall be an offence punishable in accordance with law.

(2) Nothing in this article shall prevent the State from imposing compulsory service for public purposes. In imposing such service the State shall not make any discrimination only on the ground of race, religion, caste or class.

18. No child below the age of fourteen years shall be employed to work in any factory or mine or engaged in any other hazardous employment.

RIGHTS RELATING TO RELIGIONS

19. (1) Subject to public order, morality and health and to the other provisions of this Part, all persons are equally entitled to freedom of conscience and the right freely to profess, practise and propagate religion.

Explanation.—The wearing and carrying of kirpans shall be deemed to be included in the profession of the Sikh religion.

(2) Nothing in this article shall affect the operation of any existing law or prevent the State from making any law—

(a) regulating or restricting any economic, financial, political or other secular activity which may be associated with religious practice;

(b) for social welfare and reform or for throwing open Hindu religious institutions of a public character to all classes or sections of Hindus;

20. Every religious denomination or any section thereof shall have the right, subject to public order, morality and health;

(a) to establish and maintain institutions for religious and charitable purposes;

(b) to manage its own affairs in matters of religion;

(c) to own and acquire movable and immovable property; and

(d) to administer such property in accordance with law.

21. No person may be compelled to pay any taxes, the proceeds of which are specifically appropriated in payment of expenses for the promotion or maintenance of any particular religion or religious denomination.

22. (1) No religious instruction shall be provided by the State in any educational institution wholly maintained out of State funds:

Provided that nothing in this clause shall apply to an educational institution which is administered by the State but has been established under any endowment or trust which requires that religious instruction shall be imparted in such institution.

(2) No person attending any educational institution recognised by the State or receiving aid out of State funds shall be required to take part in any religious instruction that may be imparted in such institution or to attend any religious worship that may be conducted in such institution or in

any premises attached thereto unless such person, or if such person is a minor, his guardian has given his consent thereto.

(3) Nothing in this article shall prevent any community or denomination from providing religious instruction for pupils of that community or denomination in an educational institution outside its working hours.

CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL RIGHTS

23. (1) Any section of the citizens residing in the territory of India or any part thereof having a distinct language, script and culture of its own shall have the right to conserve the same.

(2) No citizen shall be denied admission into any educational institution maintained by the State or receiving aid from State funds, on grounds only of religion, race, caste, language or any of them.

(3) (a) All minorities whether based on religion, community or language shall have the right to establish and administer institutions of their choice.

(b) The State shall not, in granting aid to educational institutions, discriminate against any educational institution on the ground that it is under the management of a minority, whether based on religion, community or language.

RIGHT TO PROPERTY

24. (1) No person shall be deprived of his property save by authority or by authority of law.

(2) No property, movable or immovable, including any interest in, or in any company owning, any commercial or industrial undertaking, shall be taken possession of or acquired for public purposes under any law authorising the taking of such possession or such acquisition, unless the law provides for the payment of compensation for the property taken possession of or acquired and either fixes the amount of the compensation, or specifies the principles on which, and the manner in which, the compensation is to be determined.

(3) Nothing in clause (2) of this article shall affect—

(a) the provisions of any existing law, or

(b) the provisions of any law which the State may hereafter make for the purpose of imposing or levying any tax or for the promotion of public health or the prevention of danger to life or property.

THE RUHR PROBLEM

(By DEVERE ALLEN)

What happens to the Ruhr will determine, more than one might suppose, what happens to the recovery of Europe. And about the development of this potentially gigantic industrial region, there are the most extraordinary controversies. Go to France and talk with almost anybody, and you find the same fear of an ultimate German militarism shown by governmental spokesmen. The French, remembering two bitter invasions of their soil, trust the German people little more than the old-time Nazi leaders.

The strange thing is that once you go through the Ruhr and see it for yourself, you can only wonder at the traditional and widespread alarm. For if ever the people of Germany are to use the Ruhr as the jumping off place for a new war, it is so far in the future as to be fantastic.

These people come out of their burrows in the morning like tired animals at the end of a chase. They are ill fed, poorly clothed, obviously lacking in vitality. Listless and almost hopeless as they are they seem as little like potential conquerors as humans could possibly be. But assume for purposes of argument that in a few years of prosperity—though where it is coming from is hard to imagine—they might become imbued with old ideas of power and nationalism. What have they got behind them? Cities all over Germany that cannot be rebuilt for at least a generation, and which will be largely in ruins when present-day young people are in old age. You just don't launch power drives for modern warfare in such conditions.

It is a fact that managerial positions have been filled with the same men, in many instances, who held posts under Hitler's industrial rule. Critics often assume that these men have been hired out of a deliberate desire to play ball with reaction. As a matter of fact, it is no easy thing to fill technical posts of a supervisory nature with inexperienced men, and the method is to use these managers with a number of safeguards. For one thing, it is not any German dictator who controls them; it is the allied occupation officials who dominate, and if the major powers concerned are America and Britain, the former is at least liberal and the latter Socialist.

The trade unions are still a real power, also, and are watchdogs when it comes to letting the old Nazis have much to say. True, the French don't even trust the trade unions of Germany, recalling their servility to Hitlerism; but they forget that the leaders chosen by the workers themselves were eliminated by Hitler and his own stooges put in power. Today, the unions are restrained to some degree by their lack of initiative under outside control, yet many of them are vigorous and progressive. As a matter of fact, while the issue of socialization has been left undecided, so the Germans may choose for it or against it at a later stage, there is a strong and constant swing toward socialization. Socialization is far more likely than not to be achieved eventually. If Americans do not like that trend, those of them who have studied the Ruhr are inclined to believe it would be the best protection against a return to dictatorship.

Two facts need to be borne in mind. One is that the Communists, who themselves sincerely abhor the sort of dictatorship employed by the Nazis, propose a dictatorship of their own; but they have been steadily losing power and prestige, until they constitute a small percentage of the workers. Another is that the former reactionary owners of the Ruhr plants are not in control.

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"*I will* be as harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice: I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard*".

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the LIBERATOR.

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NOTES

A Grave Scandal:—Dr. Shyam Prasad Mukherji, Minister for Industries and Supplies, Government of India, referred in his address to the Indian Chemical Manufacturers Association in Calcutta to the failure of foreign trained technicians to secure work that was related to their training. He spoke of such men being exploited in a scandalous manner. This is an old complaint. Some twelve years ago, the U. P. Government set up a Committee presided over by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru to inquire into the question of educated unemployment. The Committee's report was for extension of technical education as it was this which was most needed in the country; it would relieve the glut of arts graduates and people with general education who faced unemployment, it observed. But strangely enough, there was instance after instance of technically trained men who had also had a good general education, falling back for their employment on their general education. Dr. Mukherji remarked that the Government of India were decided not to send students abroad without making sure that there were possibilities of employment on their return. Surely it would be more fitting to have a census of industry taken so that the Government and the public know what occupations hold promise and which do not. Apart from the future educational policy, what does the Government propose to do about the wastage that is at present going on in the country? Dr. Mukherji said that industrialists are reluctant to take on foreign-trained technicians. He should not find it very difficult to learn why this is so. But it is a condition that can easily be corrected.

India and the Commonwealth:—To an India which stands perplexed amid the confusion of an official policy which favours an independent, sovereign republic with reciprocal relations with the Commonwealth nations, Mr. Fenner Brockway advises severance of the British connection. This can only add to the prevailing confusion of thought. Dr. Pattabhi has said that Dominion Status must go. Eire's action and the reactions of the Commonwealth countries to that act suggest that Dominion Status has already gone. Shortly after the Commonwealth Premiers' Conference, Pandit Jawaharlal told Indian pressmen at a New Delhi press conference that the principle of a common membership for the Commonwealth had been accepted. Eire and Burma which are both independent nations in full association with the Commonwealth, were both excluded from that Conference; but there have been assurances from several Dominion Premiers after the severance of the Commonwealth links by Eire that it made no difference at all. Are we to infer from this that all units in the Commonwealth are to be independent sovereign units, regardless of whether they decide to be republics or remain under the British Crown? Or is there to be a common status to all who accept the Crown, leaving out those who declare for a Republic? For obvious reasons, Britain does not want to force an issue by declaring herself on this important point. For equally obvious reasons, it is not wise for any other unit to precipitate a crisis. If India cannot declare herself a republic but even press at Commonwealth conferences and international meetings for race equality, and still remain with the Commonwealth, there is no reason why she should give up the fight by withdrawing from the Commonwealth on her own initiative.

Towards a Kashmir Solution?:—There are signs that the Kashmir dispute between India and Pakistan is moving towards a solution through the Good Offices Commission of the United Nations. It is reported from Paris that the chief delegates of two Dominions had arrived at an agreement regarding the holding of a plebiscite in Kashmir and had referred the matter to their respective

governments. A suggestion that a possible partition was contemplated was introduced at the end of the message. This was followed by another cable maintaining that what had been referred to Delhi and Karachi was a U.N. solution for consideration. The manner in which the information is allowed to trickle out, indicates that something is brewing and that it will be unpalatable to public opinion in both Dominions. This means a patched up truce rather than a final settlement, and it is to be deplored. It is most desirable that the Kashmir controversy be settled once for all in a manner which leaves no room for a revival later.

A Bengal Protest:—Two Bengal Congressmen have strongly protested against certain remarks which Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel is reported to have made at the recent Congress Session at Jaipur. The words objected to are contained in the following extract from the "Hindustan Standard":

"Sardar Patel said that in West Pakistan there was not a single Hindu or Sikh left. They had all migrated. But in East Bengal nearly one and a half crores of Hindus were still living. They were unlike the Punjabis or Sindhis who could fight back the Muslims, nor could they come to India and quarrel with the Government. Bengalees were not strong—they only knew how to weep." It is unlikely that Mr. Patel would have added to the difficulties of the Government by indulging in this kind of language. It is altogether unjust to the Bengalis and completely uncalled for. Particularly in the context of what Mr. Patel said—he asked the Bengalis to go back and settle down in Eastern Pakistan—the reproach has no meaning. What is probable is that the speaker drew attention to the less aggressive and assertive qualities of the Bengali as against the Punjabi and the Sindhi, and his more law-abiding nature. A later report gives the authentic version as the Bengalees are weak and soft."

Dutch Aggression:—The Dutch action last weekend in proceeding against the Indonesian Republic and detaining its leading figures has provoked world condemnation. The attack was the baser in that it was staged immediatety after the United Nations had broken up. There is an irony in the fact that the Dutch attacked Jogjakarta and captured Dr. Soekarno and Dr. Hatta and other leaders, just when Pandit Jawaharlal at Jaipur was denouncing the Dutch and warning them against excess. Fierce fighting has ensued, and the Security Council has reassembled urgently to consider the situation. The probable action taken will be to ask both parties to retreat to the pre-aggression position and to restore the status quo. This will hardly resolve the conflict between the Dutch and the Indonesian Republic. Briefly stated, the difference is that the Dutch want to retain Indonesia as part of a Netherland-Indonesian Union and the Republic stands for independence. A compromise may have been possible on the Republicans' willingness to accept the status of an autonomous unit in the Netherlands Empire temporarily, before the Dutch aggression. In fact, a U. N. Good Offices Committee was working to this end when its efforts were brutally cut short by Dutch force. Now it will be difficult to restore the psychological status quo.

Foolish Imperialism: — The Dutch ground for action is their desire to have a quiescent Indonesia when they set up, in keeping with their promise, a United States of Indonesia by January 1949. It is also evident that they have been moved to act from a feeling that the United Nations is powerless either as a helping aid or as a restraint on aggression. It is for the United Nations, whose leading members have displayed a striking unanimity in denouncing the Dutch action, to disillusion the Dutch. It is faced not only with the problem of checking aggression but also of enforcing a permanent solution in Indonesia. The Dutch defence of the action is that the Indonesian Republic obstructs those who would otherwise have believed in Dutch sincerity. It is a tenable position but the Dutch have by their aggression strengthened the Republicans. Since they have disregarded U. N. advice, the Dutch cannot hope for U. N. sympathy and support. Therefore, the only permanent solution is to accept the Indonesian claim to independence which is not only just but is even justified by Dutch political and economic exploitation of the East Indies. The "New York Times" has referred to the Dutch nation as among the foremost democratic people of the world. This is only true in the 19th century meaning of Democracy as democratic at home and imperialist abroad.

Dr. Sun Fo's Peace Move:—Apart from the war with the Chinese Communists which is going against the Chinese Nationalists, there are signs of a momentous internal dispute which is reaching a conclusion. Some days back, a news item reported that Dr. Sun Fo had refused the nomination to the Premiership because of his inability to form a cabinet. This was followed some twenty hours later by the report that he was ready with his Cabinet and that he was determined to fight for an honourable peace. Now comes the news that the Generalissimo has left matters completely in the hands of his Prime Minister, even being willing to resign the Presidentship if called upon to do so. The new Cabinet is reported to contemplate an approach to Russia and America for a peaceful solution of the Chinese civil war. If these reports can be depended on, it augurs a triumph for Dr. Sun Fo and the forces of moderation in China. At the same time, the country, relieved from the nightmare of civil war, will come more deeply under Big Power influences, and the Russians and Americans will be soon enacting the quarrels that mar their relations in Germany.

THE INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, December 25, 1948

"A FREE AND RESPONSIBLE PRESS"

A new English Weekly, has been appearing in Bombay of late. After reading some of its issues, one feels compelled to infer that one of its functions—almost its sole function—is to reply to the attacks on the Government, its executives and public dignitaries published in the sensational press. The men behind the new venture evidently think that the only effective way of replying is by adopting the standards of journalism set up by the sensational press—cartoons that are often inane and frequently vulgar, pen sketches that introduce irrelevant and scandalous tit-bits from the private lives of individuals under attack. And so its issues have been liberally strewn with personal attacks, often scurrilous, on the editors and publishers of the very press on which it has modelled itself. A likely result of these attacks will be a general mud-slinging campaign. If its effects were to be confined to the opposing parties, there might be justification for allowing such conditions to develop. But matters will not stop there. The standard of journalism, already precariously low, will completely degenerate. It is true that the sensational press derives both its origin and its support from the prevailing standard of public taste, but there is a vicious circle. Salesmanship in journalism—the desire for quick returns in circulation—gives rise to sensational journalism; in its turn this sensationalism steadily produces deterioration in public taste. To read a closely reasoned article demands a degree of concentration. Most people have neither the leisure for such concentration nor the required mental training. To these, the many articles, which reduce all topics to personalities, eliminating principles and logic from the discussion, come as a welcome relief. Moreover, by circulating anecdotes of the less creditable type about persons in high authority, they give the reading public a sense of equality which is flattering, even if it is equality on the lowest scale. It is not an accident that all these productions claim to speak for the "common man". Sensational journalism not only makes thinking unnecessary; it gives the person at whom it is directed a feeling that he possesses knowledge which is not open to those who are out of the charmed circle—the subscribers' list. Hence the appeal of papers indulging in heightened, almost hysterical emotionalism, in personal criticism of the most irrelevant and even malicious kind. In India there are added reasons for the attraction such papers exercise on the public mind. One is the blithe indifference of the more sober English press to the movement against English. The standard of English has deteriorated to such a degree that the number of people capable of following a sustained argument in a language which to them has become at best a poor "second language", is steadily deminishing. The English press, instead of recognizing this condition, continues to publish editorials and comments in a style both incomprehensible and boring to the general reader.

Another reason is that the responsible press does not represent public opinion. Its readers are middle class principally, and the middle class has been compelled by the rising cost of living to reduce their standard considerably. They cannot hope for Government relief, nor fight for it as the working classes can; nor can they pile up profits as the business community can. In fact, they feed both the Government through the taxes they pay, and the business community through enhanced and often extortionate prices. They are, therefore, the chief grumblers against the Government. Since the sober English language press has constituted itself into the protagonist of Government, the average reader finds his feelings reflected in the sensational press which has been exploiting the obvious dissatisfaction. Moreover, there are few sections of society as inhibited as the middle class, and, when it sees in the sensational press matters regarding the great and near-great, which it has hesitated even to whisper about neighbours, there is a threefold satisfaction: It invests the writer with the illusion of courage for uttering unspeakable things, which is reflected on to the reader; it presents great problems in simple words as personal indulgence in the commoner vices; and it gives the reader a sense of equality with the Ministers, foreign diplomats and leaders that is flattering. Nor must we forget that the public has been fed on sensationalism and kept in a political hysteria for nearly two decades.

The remedy for the existing condition is not easy to find. The simplest solution, of course, would be for the Government to undertake the responsibility for cleaning up journalism in the city, for it is in Bombay that the evil is at its worst. But there has been enough experience of the vagaries of Government in the role of setter of standards in the film industry for the experiment to be extended to other fields. It would be undesirable at any rate in the press for Government censorship to become the accepted thing—we should soon see the press restrained from even legitimate and necessary criticism of officials. A free and responsible press is in the last analysis the most effective guarantee against official excesses and corruption. If official censorship is to be ruled out and voluntary restraint does not exist, then obviously there must be some organization within the profession which can enforce standards and insist on the observance of certain principles. This is nothing unusual and it exists in the professions, as for example in Law and Medicine. The All India Newspaper Editors Conference has tried to do something but, we say it with regret, its efforts have been most detrimental to the cause of setting standards in journalism and most irresponsible. The Conference, in the first place, looks

almost exclusively to Government to enforce any code it might evolve. To this end, it has kept up the Press Advisory Committees long after the war conditions which brought them into being have ceased. This again is nothing less than censorship, garbed in the pleasing guise of "consultative scrutiny", and Government direction hidden in press advising. Where the Conference did set up a Committee to raise the standards of journalism, it stultified itself by packing it with a majority of journalistic sensation-mongers, in the fond hope that responsibility would sober them. To expect anything from such an organisation would be ridiculous. The All India Journalists Association which is the other body to which one might have looked for useful work in this regard, is in the throes of converting itself into a trade union, concerned primarily with salaries and grades. But it can naturally only be effective when every journalist is a member of the Union, and non-members are not journalists. But at the moment it is not strong enough to challenge proprietors of newspapers who too have every excuse in the absence of a recognized training or course for a journalist; there is nothing like a "qualified journalist" now. In the circumstances, there seems to be only one immediate remedy and we have already indicated it by implication. It is that the "sober and responsible press" realises its duties and begins to discharge its responsibilities to the public. It is unfortunate that hitherto all that realisation of the duties of the press—a popular theme with Ministers and some "respectable" editors—has done is to give Government spokesmen an excuse for haranguing the press; it is being generally interpreted as responsibilities and duties to the Government. This should cease, and the independence of the press should be restored. We would suggest earnestly the ending of the Press Advisory Committees all over the country, and the formulation of minimum press laws which may operate in specified emergencies like communal disturbances. Once the "sober and responsible" press sees these associations with the Government ended, it will be able to function in a freer atmosphere, unhampered by its present overwhelming feeling of responsibility to the Government—in many cases, a subconscious feeling. It will then resume its interrupted discharge of its duties and obligations to the public and build a sounder foundation for a free and responsible press. And as its contacts with the public are made stronger, it will also find itself freer to criticise the administration, to point out abuses and corruption and to correct mistakes. The sensational press, in these conditions, will cease to appeal to the public and —as Karl Marx observed of the State in a fully developed Communist society - will wither away.

THE JAIPUR CONGRESS

The Jaipur Congress as reported in the press amply justified Pandit Jawaharlal's final appeal that future sessions should be less festivals and more party conferences. When the people had to be made politically conscious, it was all right to have side-shows although even in those days Gandhiji protested against too many distractions. But now conditions have altered. Yet at Jaipur, we saw the spectacle of a meeting delayed because some of the members went sight-seeing and shopping, and a President excusing this on the ground that his wife had herself been similarly occupied. The necessity for less publicity and greater despatch of business was noticed in the hurried way in which some of the business had to be got through. And the resolution on higher standards of conduct among Congressmen would have been appropriate to a business session but was most incongruous at a session where the Congress was practically staging a demonstration for the whole country. A great deal of public interest was aroused by the fact that the resolution was amended to include a special direction, amounting almost to an indictment, to Congressmen in Cabinets and in Legislatures, in the absence of Pandit Jawaharlal and Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel, and that next day the amending portion was deleted. The discussion suggested that the issue had reduced itself into a ministerial charge against the rank and file of seeking preferment on the strength of past services to the party countered by allegations of nepotism and corruption—in other words, there were nearly two parties both seeking to win public favour by denouncing the other. A strong President would have ruled both resolution and amendment out of order since no political party can develop healthy traditions on such a wrangle. The other resolutions did little more than restate old positions and were of little help in defining the Congress attitude. Evidently Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya's strong feeling for linguistic provinces was instrumental in having a three-man committee of Pandit Jawaharlal, Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel and the Congress President to consider within three months the Dhar Report. What effect the Committee will have on the Constituent Assembly's consideration of the Commission's findings is not known. Is the Constituent Assembly expected to postpone consideration until the Congress deliberates on the Committee's review of the Report? If so, how is the position constitutionally justified? Obviously either the Constituent Assembly or the Congress is going to be badly let down, and yet the appointment of the three-man Committee has been welcomed by the Press. The presence of Dr. Pattabhi on the Committee assures the Congress that linguistic provinces will not be rejected in principle as the Dhar Committee had done; whilst that of Pandit Jawaharlal and Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel ensures that they will not be accepted in practice. We do not see how any publicist will agree to serve on any Commission set up by the Constituent Assembly if a political party is allowed to interpose itself between the Commission and the Constituent Assembly. Dr. M. R. Jayakar resigned from the Constituent Assembly because he was not prepared to yield to the demands made on him by the Congress whose lea-

ders felt that he owed his election to its membership to them. The principle he raised at the time was blurred, and none of the newspapers noticed the subject, unless it was to attack him. Put now we are faced with the same position on an even more fundamental matter; and it will be difficult to ignore it. The further developments of this muddle will be interesting to watch.

The Congress Resolution on foreign policy which also touches on the British connection, is of the very texture of Pandit Jawaharlal's speeches on the same topic. There is no directive on the question of India continuing her association with the Commonwealth. But there is enough said to pass the initiative from the Congress to the Congress leaders in the central administration. The indications are that this will mean continuance of the connection. Even today, as a Dominion, India is expressing herself freely on international questions, and it makes little difference to Britain who equally has her own way. There could not be greater freedom for an Independent, Sovereign, Republic of India, except freedom to follow its professions by deeds. The moment that freedom comes, Indian leaders will automatically cultivate some sense of responsibility and a greater reticence. However, that is another story. The decision to stay with Britain—one had almost said, stay well with Britain—is on the whole a wise and welcome one. What is deplorable is the manner in which it is being brought about.

IRGUN VISITOR SHAKES ISRAEL SUPPORTERS

When Menachem Begin, leader of the Palestine "resistance movement," Irgun Zvai Leumi, landed in New York after wide publicity by his adherents, he found his welcome divided between friends and critics, and repercussions seem certain to continue. Newspaper advertisements, bearing the endorsement of 11 governors, 11 U.S. senators, such individuals as James A. Farley, Will Rogers, Jr., Hugh D. Scott and countless others, hailed Begin as "a man who has become a legend," and who "is considered by many to be the logical and natural candidate for Prime Minister in the coming elections in Israel."

Disturbed by this adulation of the Irgun Zvai Leumi, which had been famed as a terrorist movement, three noted clergymen published an open letter of protest, telling the signers of the endorsement that they owed it to themselves and their fellow citizens "to investigate the true record of Mr. Begin and his followers". Rabbi Morris Lazaron, the Reverend Henry Sloane Coffin and Father John La Farge, originators of the protest, charged Irgun Zvai Leumi with acts "of calculated terrorism," and the intention "of flouting the United Nations by conquering not only all of Palestine but Transjordan and other Arab territories as well."

The Irgun leader, in a subsequent interview, dismissed the complaint of the clergymen as "a smear campaign." He did not, however, successfully refute the accusations, and a number of those who had lent their names to his visit promptly dissociated themselves.

The main facts about the activities of Irgun in Palestine are on record, but seem to be unknown to a surprising number of Americans. When the King David Hotel was blown up in Jerusalem in July, 1946, with a terrible loss of innocent lives, Irgun spokesmen were reported as lauding the act as part of their campaign to drive "the British" out of Palestine. They took credit for reprisals on British soldiers—much the same indiscriminate terror that was used by Nazi executioners of hostages.

The Irgun, numbering perhaps 5,000, did not usually practice the assassination of individuals, as did the far smaller Stern Gang, but they had sharp disagreements with the large resistance organization, Haganah, about ten times their size, often criticizing its moderation.

In an authorized written interview with the New York Times on May 22, 1947, Menachem Begin accused Dr. Chaim Weizmann, long-time leader of the Zionist cause, of "open defeatism and Quislingism." In the same interview he repeated his many attacks on the Jewish Agency, major ruling group in Israel.

"Jewish fascism" is a phrase few non-Jewish critics would want to use, lest they be accused of extremism. But that is the appellation given to the Palestine terrorists, among them the Irgun, by the Jewish Labour Bund, a non-Communist, non-rightist group of labour organizations in various countries. Said this movement in one of its bulletins: "Aggressive nationalist tendencies within both camps, tendencies continually increasing in intensity, are the main obstacle... The only way to establish a true peace and to form a basis for a just solution of the Palestine problem is the renunciation by both the Arabs and the Jews, of their respective nationalist ideals and their lust for unlimited power". —*Worldover Press.*

JAPANESE WAR EXECUTIONS

General Tojo and six other Japanese war leaders were executed on Wednesday. Mr. Justice Pal, Indian Judge on the International Tribunal that sentenced them, found them all not guilty and denounced the idea of trial for war crimes. His independence has saved India from this barbarous throw-back to a less civilised time. Again, the manner in which the whole matter was conducted is revolting. General Tojo, we are sanctimoniously told, harboured hate against Britain and America. This after-death indictment might have been spared us. And, surely, the heavens would not have fallen if General Tojo had been allowed to eat Japanese meals right through detention and trial instead of having had to ask as a special favour for one last Japanese dinner. In contrast to this pettiness, the condemned men carried themselves with dignity.

WHAT SOUTH AMERICA NEEDS

(By DEVERE ALLEN)

President Jose Figueres of Costa Rica picked up a sledgehammer, strode over to the Bellavista Fortress in the heart of his capital city, and knocked off a chunk of masonry. Thus dramatically, with a true Latin flourish and in the presence of an awed crowd, he signalized the complete disbandment of the Costa Rican army. And as if that were not enough, Figueres announced that the historic old bastion was to be made a museum!

Costa Rica has long taken pride in the fact that it has more school-teachers than soldiers. For a while, some months ago, it looked as if that distinction might come to an end; civil conflict had broken out, which the present national leader's forces won. The abolition of the army, leaving nothing but 1,700 police and coast guards, has some interesting angles. One of them is the lofty manner in which most of the rest of the world has ignored the example, and even sought to hush it up. Another is the deflation of Nicaragua's dictator, Somoza, who has been charging the Costa Ricans of plotting an attack on his tightly controlled bailiwick with army intervention.

The startling event in Costa Rica has been interpreted in some quarters as a shrewd move by Figueres to prevent in the little Central American republic the same kind of army uprising which has set back democracy during recent weeks in other parts of Latin America. It is perhaps taking too much for granted that the new dispensation will "stick," yet Costa Rica has always been a highly advanced and notably civilized nation.

One could wish that a similar determination to go civil existed in Venezuela, where an army clique has staged a rebellion, throwing out of power the Democratic Action government. This regime, headed by Romulo Gallegos, was voted into office in the freest election ever held in Venezuela's history. From his enforced exile in Cuba, President Gallegos charges that the overturn was inspired by foreign oil companies, mainly based in the United States, to avoid increases in royalties—increases used by the Government to expand its social welfare programme. The oil companies deny this. In any case, the army junta has so far acted in the well known pattern: utter fine phrases about freedom, then belie them by dictatorial repressive acts.

If this keeps up as a trend toward army dictatorship throughout Latin America—and similar situations exist in Peru and Argentina—the outside world will once again begin to look upon the Latin American peoples as victims of perpetual revolution. It won't be long before the old stories will be revived, like the one about a Latin American Ambassador freshly arrived at Washington, to whom a banquet was tendered. Asked to propose a toast, the diplomat arose and said: "Here's to my President—whoever he may be!"

An uncomfortable fact for the people of the United States is their own partial responsibility for the present reactionary trend. By arming dictatorial minority groups, Washington has simultaneously increased the tendency to plot for seizure of power, along with rising nationalism among the masses. And somehow, perhaps without quite intending to do so, the Big Neighbour-up north has let the once-vigorous Good Neighbour Policy slide into comparative oblivion. Even that policy was often confused and fumbling; but incontestably the Latin Americans know the difference between it and the improvisations going on now.

Engrossed in Europe, and quite properly and understandably so, Tio Sam has created the impression below the border that he has for Latin Americans only second thoughts—or fifth or sixth. It was hard for Latin Americans to see the economic help they had anticipated in the difficult postwar transitional period fly out of the window; yet they realized that even the Northern Colossus cannot carry the whole world on his shoulders. But it would be a fallacy to imagine that Latin peoples weigh everything by economic aid, important as it is; they are prone to sense changes of the spirit, and you can't cool of in your interest without that change of temperature being registered immediately on the sensitive thermometer that is the Latin American mind.

Democratic impulses in Latin American countries do not filter down from top to bottom, but well up from the desire of the masses for better ways of life. Latin American Communism has usually been far more the expression of this hunger than a set of comprehensible Kremlin dogmas. Yet again Washington has conveyed the impression to Latin America that our sole interest is stopping of Communism by any device at all. A more constructive policy would seek to build up the democratic elements by helping them secure the industrialization they sorely need. But constructive official relationships with the southern neighbours have pretty well evaporated. If that is an overstatement of the truth, it is a viewpoint held today by 99 out of every 100 persons in the 20 southerly republics.

What is needed is a new, striking affirmation of mutuality. The Rio de Janeiro Pact of mutual aid, which became a fact when Costa Rica signed it as the last affirming state, came into being with a huge crash of silence. Perfunctory celebrations were staged, but they creaked with unreality. Washington's whole attitude has become stale, inconsistent, unimaginative, fruitful of little but resentment. It is high time for new hands on Latin American affairs, new attempts to win back the ground so needlessly lost, new coldness toward those who seize power by force and those who help the power grabs, new warmth toward democratic leaders.

—Worldover Press.

EIRE THE REPUBLIC

(By ARNOLD MARCH)

Legalization of the term "republic" as a description of the five-sixths of Ireland (26 countries out of 32) that left the United Kingdom in 1921, has made some stir among journalists and politicians in other countries, but in Ireland itself the whole question is seen in perspective and with little fuss. Nevertheless, the change is welcomed by almost everyone with deep relief. It allows a necessary dream to come true, a dream that 27 years ago Great Britain opposed with a threat of "immediate and terrible war."

More than seven and a half centuries ago the Irish Monarchy, at the suggestion of the Roman Church, abdicated in favour of the English Monarchy. For hundreds of turbulent years, Ireland had no central symbol around which both nobles and commoners would rally as a nation. Many accepted the English Crown as the authentic head of the Irish state, and some took titles and lands as the reward for their submission. But English rule never favoured Irish interests, and usually helped adventurers to despoil the country. Risings broke out over and over again, but these were mainly personal, family or local affairs. They could not be national when no national body politic existed. Neither could they be successful. The Treaty of Windsor (1175) which ended the Irish Kingship had been perhaps the greatest catastrophe in Irish history. It had made national cohesion unattainable as long as nations needed kings.

When, after 600 years, the American and French revolutions took place, they reacted on Ireland in an unheard-of way. The idea of an Irish Republic was born, based on a new conception of the common people as the nation's essential body. So revolutionary a dream was at first an inspiration mainly to Presbyterians and other Protestants in the North, where Jacobinism flourished. The decision of the United Irishmen to make an Irish Republic their aim was actually taken on a hill-top overlooking the little town of Belfast, a town that has since increased 20-fold in size, but that has also since become, by an astonishing transformation, the one remaining stronghold of British sentiment in the country, and the cause and bastion of Irish partition.

In the greater part of Ireland, the antipathy of the Roman Catholic Church was, in the 18th century, as intense against French democracy as it is against Russian Communism today, and French-inspired republicanism could not easily grow. It is remarkable that it did not die; but, even without ecclesiastical approval, it had a depth of meaning for Irishmen that nothing else could have.

The muddled, misguided betrayed and stamped-out rebellion of 1798, whose 150th anniversary was being celebrated in Dublin at the very time the Republic Bill was passing through the Irish Parliament, was the first popular, democratic rising in Irish history. It was hated and scoffed at by the Irish upper classes, but it symbolized the rise of the new nation. For that reason it left a deeper mark than any previous revolt. Now, its principle has won.

Britain, Canada, Australia and New Zealand may always be happy to keep the British Crown as the symbol of their fellowship, but although Ireland has the same kinship with these nations as they have with each other, it cannot accept an emblem that has never meant anything good to Irishmen. In so far, therefore, as allegiance to the British Crown is a conventional necessity for membership in the Commonwealth, Irish membership now formally lapses; but at the same moment, almost the whole Commonwealth seems to unite in a warm-hearted assurance to the new Republic that its practical relationships with them will be unaffected. The interchange of cordialities that has taken place is surely the most remarkable feature of this peaceful, happy and unopposed triumph of one of the longest resistances of which history has a record—but a triumph which, in fact, is likely to make little direct material difference to anyone.

The wholeheartedness of the sentiments expressed may, furthermore, indicate that at some future date, perhaps not far off, a way will be found to enable the Commonwealth to comprise republics of its kinsmen as well as monarchies. To many Irishmen such an evolution would be welcome, and even Winston Churchill, who is hostile to the idea, can hardly have wanted to extinguish the French Republic when he proposed a union of Britain and France in 1940.

One part only of the Commonwealth shows official enmity towards the step that Ireland has taken—Belfast and the region around it. One national task remains for the Republic to carry out —to win back the loyalty of Belfast. It has, of course, plenty of social, economic and cultural duties to do, but attention to them should be less distracted now that the great dream has, to the extent of twenty-six thirty-seconds, come true. With the coming of the Republic at last, Irish progress should be speeded.

—*Worldover Press.*

PAN-MALAYAN UNION?

The possibility of a Pan-Malayan Union in the near future which would join such states as India, Pakistan and China, and include Indonesia and the Philippines, was projected by U. N. delegate Melchior P. Acquino of the Philippine Islands in a speech to U. S. State Department "trainees" here to watch the work of the Assembly. Mr. Acquino was convinced that such a union would have a big role in world affairs because of its strategic geographical position, and because it constitutes one of the largest ethnic groups. It was recalled here that the Indian Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, had recently spoken of an eventual federation of Southeast Asia on somewhat the same lines.

—*Worldover Press.*

BOMBAY'S EDUCATIONAL POLICY

Sir,

The article entitled 'The Language Problem and the Educationist' by Margaret Ahmadi ('Reformer', September 18, 1948) contains a number of incorrect and misleading statements so far as the educational policy of the Government of Bombay, is concerned. May I, therefore, be permitted to correct some of them and clarify the actual position?

The decision to stop the too early introduction of English in schools has not been prompted by any spirit of "hatred and reaction to anything English." Educationists have been demanding this change for decades on incontrovertible psychological grounds. It is not the result of "politicians' demand"—in fact, they have only recently awakened to the position which many educationists have held for years. That there is no question of "hatred or reaction to anything English" is demonstrated quite clearly by the statements on the question made by leading Indians, the Governor-General, the Prime Minister and the Education Minister of the Central Government, members of the Constituent Assembly and others.

The present decision has been taken after it had been carefully considered in all its aspects by educationists in various committees, including the Provincial Education Council which has Chairmen of all Advisory Education Boards on it. It is also not a precipitate step at all—all that has been done is the removal of the teaching of English as a subject from the three lower standards of Secondary Schools and the process is spread over three years. It is really a long delayed and long-necessary change brought about as soon as it became possible to do it.

Certain administrative problems and difficulties have surely arisen, as any measure reversing a long-established policy is bound to produce. But the Government has shown great readiness and responsiveness to consider all such issues that have come to its notice. The very instances quoted by Mrs. Ahmadi prove this point. When the special position of English teaching schools was brought to its notice, the Government decided to exempt them from this order for the time being. Later, it transpired that it might result in an undesirable rush of students from ordinary to English teaching schools—as many parents are still obsessed with the snobbish fallacy that the early learning of English is a mark of superiority—which would be harmful to both. The Government, therefore, issued orders that such influx should be stopped and English-teaching schools should admit only children whose mother-tongue is English which is the real *raison d'etre* of such schools. Those whose mother-tongue happens to be any of the regional languages, should go to appropriate schools. Of course, if there are special cases, like that of Bengali-speaking children, and they are brought to Government's notice, it will certainly adjust its orders reasonably.

The argument about text-books in Indian languages is not only incorrect but in bad taste. Mrs. Ahmadi should be aware that a large majority of children actually use these books and the remedy for it is their improvement and not allowing a small minority of children whose parents are financially better off to use English books, with a feeling of smug self-satisfaction. (But that point does not appear to have occurred to Mrs. Ahmadi!).

The question of deciding the issue of the medium of instruction at the University stage is certainly important. But, as it is bound up with a number of other factors, *e.g.*, the establishment of regional Universities and the question of the linguistic redistribution of Provinces, it cannot be remembered that, while an overall planning is, in principle, sound it does not imply that reforms and reconstruction, which are otherwise desirable and necessary, should be held up indefinitely. In the field of education, particularly, there is much to be said for reconstruction starting at the bottom rather than at the top.

National solidarity is, of course, an imperative objective, but it does not imply cultural and linguistic uniformity. There are many countries, notably Soviet Russia, where education is imparted in different regional languages from the primary school to the University, and yet this cultural autonomy has not weakened their national solidarity. On the other hand, all kinds of communal and provincial antagonisms that have developed in India during the last few decades arose while English was the *only* medium of instruction at the Secondary and Collegiate stages. So, it would be foolish to hold this educational change that has yet to be introduced responsible or potentially responsible for these fissiparous tendencies. It is more a matter of the spirit in which education is imparted than that of its medium!

No one has suggested, even remotely, that the teaching of English should be abolished in India or that it should 'cut itself off completely from the rest of the world'. Such statements merely serve to confuse the issues and are entirely incorrect. All that is implied in this move is the recognition that, for the masses of people who will only study upto the upper primary or lower secondary standard, there is no justification whatever for spending a large part of their school time in the ineffective study of a foreign language which is unlikely to play any important part in their life.

The national languages of a country can only attain their full academic and cultural stature when they are given their proper status in educational institutions. The experience of all other countries confirms this statement. All talk of keeping English in its present position and hoping that the federal or provincial languages will somehow, in due course, become rich is nonsense.

It is true that cosmopolitan cities like Bombay have special problems which deserve special consideration. The Government will certainly give the fullest thought to this matter and decide it in consultation with all interests and all persons who are qualified to offer intelligent advise on the question.

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"*I will* be as harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard*".

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the LIBERATOR.

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NOTES

The Security Council:—Never has the defective procedure of the Security Council been so fully shown up as over the Dutch aggression in Indonesia. The American resolution, calling for an immediate cease-fire, the release of political prisoners and the withdrawal of both parties to the positions before the attack, was opposed by Russia and the Ukraine as not strong enough; by France and Belgium as too strong—both these nations being imperialist and confronted by problems similar to the Dutch. A Russian resolution naming the Netherlands as the aggressor got no support from the majority of the Council. Finally, the American resolution, shorn by the abstention of Canada and Argentina of the withdrawal directive, was adopted by seven votes to four. Much chopping and changing resulted last Tuesday in a Russian resolution demanding Dutch compliance being adopted by eight votes to three—the permanent abstentionists, Belgium and France, being unaccountably joined by Britain. The perseverance of the more progressive countries has shown that things can be done in the Security Council, but the procedure laid down effectively clogs decisive action. On any affirmative vote, there must be seven cast to ensure success, and, if the matter calls for action, all the five Permanent Members of the Security Council—the U. S. A., the U. S. S. R., the U. K., China and France—must be included in the seven. This means that the Imperial Nations have secured a bias in their favour, and the Security Council might be expected to uphold the colonial system. This reality outweighs all the high professions in the Human Rights Declaration.

The Dutch in Indonesia:—It is surprising that defenders of the Dutch as an Imperial Power are coming forward in Britain and America with apologies and excuses. It is a common thing for these individuals to say that the record of the Dutch should not be forgotten. What is that record? Mr. Moberley Dening, the British spokesman at the Security Council, not only praised the Dutch but he also ran down the Indonesian Nationalists as a group which came into existence during the Japanese invasion. Under the threat of foreign aggression, the Dutch left the Indonesians to fend for themselves as best they could. They could not reasonably expect a warm welcome and a return to the pre-Japanese status after the Allies had defeated Japan; in fact, the Dutch rode back on the military strength of the Allies. Even before the Second World War, the economist Colin Clive remarked that the standard of living of the people in the Dutch East Indies was about the lowest in the world. Why the representative of Socialist Britain should seek to white-wash the Dutch passes one's understanding. It means that the Allies in the Security Council are mainly interested in completing the process they began at the end of hostilities of making Indonesia safe for the Dutch.

China Changes:—As the Generalissimo is yielding to circumstances and reluctantly accepting the necessity of a compromise with the Communists, the Communist attitude there is hardening. Reports mention that the Communists have listed some 44 war criminals, headed by the Chiang Kai-Sheks. This coupled, with the fact that even Chinese Nationalists like Dr. Sun Fo are maligned by Indian Communists and "fellow-travellers", does not promise much hope of a coalition in China replacing the Generalissimo's regime. Touching on the Chinese situation, Dr. Radhakrishnan has remarked that China's place on the Security Council may be soon vacant. There is no provision for amending the membership of the Security Council without amending the United Nations Charter and that requires ratification by two-thirds of the United Nations members of a recommendation made by two-thirds of the General Assembly and the sanction of all the

permanent members of the Security Council. That is, China will herself have to vote herself out. This is obstacle one. The second is that Russia is not likely to approve of Communist China being accorded an inferior position to Nationalist China.

India and China:—The change over in China from Nationalist to Communist will no doubt have its effect on India. There seems to be a tendency to exploit the possible alienation of the Western Democracies from China to advance India's cause and interest. It is true that India has been sympathetic to Chiang's regime but, if Chiang Kai-Shek has accepted the success of the Communists, then there is little that India can do about it. For some time to come, it is unlikely that Chinese Communists will be able to do much more than clear up things in China; after the protracted civil war and the Second World War, there is much that needs attention. So far as international affairs go, the policy of the Generalissimo has served to raise China in the international sphere, and the Communists will in all probability continue very much along those lines. In the last analysis, much will depend on what help Soviet Russia is able to give to Communist China, and that should decide how Communist China will be. If it can equal what America was extending to the Chiang Administration, then Russia's role in China will be decisive and hopes of Mao Tse proving a second Tito may be abandoned. However, it is obvious that Chinese Communism will be affected by national tradition and local necessity and will be no mere repetition of Russian Communism. Eastern Europe presented quite a different problem to Russia. China is a test of Communism's adaptability, not as Eastern Europe was a trial of Russia's strength.

Dr. Paranjpye's Plea:—We publish this week relevant observations from a speech delivered by Dr. R. P. Paranjpye at a Poona students' function, on the R. S. S. Dr. Paranjpye has entered a plea for truce between the Government and the R. S. S. on somewhat curious grounds. He observes that the R. S. S. has an appeal to the youth of the country, that it has resorted under difficult conditions to the same strategy that the Congress had done and that much energy will be wasted in attempts to put it down when the R. S. S. itself could be harnessed to national effort. Dr. Paranjpye was extremely critical of the Congress technique of satyagraha and has delivered many a broadside against it. It is true Dr. Paranjpye has also called upon the R. S. S. to desist from its present policy but it must not be forgotten that the R. S. S. chief had protracted talks with the Home Minister, Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel, and the present campaign followed on the failure of an understanding. Placed in Mr. Patel's position, Dr. Paranjpye, we are sure, would have shown less patience with the R. S. S. His views, however, are of interest as indicating the general feeling in Poona.

The Liberal Protest:—Different is the reaction of the Liberal President, Mr. T. R. Venkatrama Sastri, who has objected on grounds of civil liberties to the widespread arrests of the R. S. S. and the ban on the organisation. In this he is performing the traditional part of the Liberals who intervened between Government and civil resisters. But he overlooks the fundamental difference which exists between Nationalism and Communalism. Nationalism cannot tolerate communal movements in the India of today, which has just sustained a major blow from one conflict with a communal organisation. The threat to civil liberties has already revealed itself and the Government by failing to deal more firmly with communalism has not helped to control the menace. Now that the Government of India has realised its mistake and is pursuing a policy of stamping out communalism, it should have the support of all national bodies.

Hindu Mahasabha's Come-Back: — The Hindu Mahasabha has decided to re-enter political life, and it has rejected proposals to widen its platform from a communal to a national base or to restrict itself to social and cultural work. This should mean that men like Dr. Shyam Prasad Mukherji who have steadily advocated a broader policy, will have no place in the party. At the leaders' conference in Bombay some eight years back, Dr. Mukherji suggested that the Mahasabha was prepared to change itself into the "third party" by giving up communalism but he was over-ruled by Mr. Savarkar and the Poona element. Later Dr Mukherji returned to the subject by asking for the giving up of communal politics with the repudiation of separate electorates. The Mahasabha Working Committee had a suggestion to expand the term "Hindu" to include all who declared themselves to be Hindus and regarded the territory from the "Sindhu to the seas" as their fatherland. But this was rejected by the Council which has retained the old definition of one professing a religion originating in India. Moreover, the territorial limitation accepts partition, and the Council has declared for "Akhand Hindustan" instead. We do not know whether the Mahasabha proposes to function in Pakistan but at present there are no signs of this. As against the "Akhand Hindustan" resolution, we have a refugee resolution suggesting exchange of population between East Bengal and West Bengal. The resolutions betray a great deal of confused thinking and there is nothing whatever to compensate for the revival of communalism which has been affected. As was to be expected, the Mahasabha has indulged in special pleading for the R. S. S. which will not help that body but will undoubtedly do much harm to the Mahasabha The Government of India has some months back issued a directive to provincial administrations calling on them not to entertain political representations from communal leaders and heads of communal organisations. There are signs that it will be more scrupulously observed so far as Hindu communalism goes. It would be well if it was also put into force for other communities, even when it makes Government publicity more difficult.

THE INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, January 1, 1949

CALL FOR REGENERATION

Dr. S. Radhakrishnan has uttered some refreshingly outspoken views on national questions during his visit to Madras and Bombay last week. He has in effect bluntly told his audiences that unless they settled down to raising national character and establishing national discipline all hopes of making India a great country were in vain. Dr. Radhakrishnan's interest in politics is but incidental. It springs from an all round interest in national affairs. It was during the All Parties conferences of the Linlithgow regime that Dr. Radhakrishnan entered the political field and his many friends and admirers feared that he was in danger of being sucked into the whirlpool of popular politics. That Independence has seen him strike out in the role of candid friend speaks well both for Dr. Radhakrishnan and for Indian Independence. There are few men today whose credentials for the part are as clear as are Dr. Radhakrishnan's who by his intellect and his humanity has won a place for himself nationally and internationally and, at the same time, stood out from the controversies which have absorbed smaller men. It is a happy augury that, at a time when India needed independent thinking, a man of the calibre of Dr. Radhakrishnan should have spoken out with a fierce and challenging independence.

In his Madras speeches, Dr. Radhakrishnan who was welcomed in that city as the Chairman of the Universities Commission, called for the development of national character from top to bottom. Success, he said, had brought out our weaknesses more than failure could have done. And the qualities which had illumined the national struggle for freedom, were absent at the moment when achievement was at hand. It was this disillusionment, said Dr. Radhakrishnan, which had killed Gandhiji even before the bullet ended his life. This is an analysis with which few Indians will dissent. The manner in which prominent Congressmen and others have been repeating the Gandhian message and finding that the mantras have lost their potency, is a pathetic witness to the fact. As one who had stood out of the influence, Dr. Radhakrishnan is naturally better able to value the present position. At Madras he referred to the general reaction to the Public Conduct resolution of the Jaipur Congress as an index of popular discontent which today inarticulate would in future voice itself unless it was heeded in time. In Bombay, at the Indian Philosophical Congress, he referred to the barbarism that was knocking at our gates because of empty heads, vacant hearts and faltering hands. The message of Dr. Radhakrishnan is both a promise that the intellectuals will do their part in raising the level of the people and a call for action which will help in building a healthy social system.

Dr Radhakrishnan dealt with the two world questions which are of paramount interest to the people—India's place in the international sphere and the conflict with Communists. He observed that only a strong India could be respected in the world of nations and insisted that India should aim at permanent membership of the Security Council. Freedom from entanglements with one or the other bloc would ensure for India the attention of all nations. As regards the Communist menace, he roundly stated that, in so far as we failed to effect necessary reforms, we were throwing the people into the arms of the Communists, or rather opening the door for the Communists to enter through. The theory of this is unanswerable but Indian Labour is so backward in respect of organisation, of a responsible attitude towards its work, and of present working conditions and employers are so permeated with a narrow self-interest that even elementary reforms have to be effected in an atmosphere of conflict. It is this rather than any conscious desire to be dilatory that opens the field to the Communist. With the more extreme manifestations of workers' discontent, there is every sign of readiness to deal—both on the part of Government and Business. But the more subtle forms of obstruction cannot be settled — slow down in work, absenteeism and deliberately impeded efficiency. These can only be met by a complete industrial overhaul, which will also deal with the chronic Indian tendency of under-staffing. But it will not be easy to persuade Indian Business to launch on a new industrial policy because, despite the lack of discipline which present practices entail, they are set in their ways.

In a rather less articulate fashion, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in Bangalore has driven home the same message. Since his last visit to London, the Prime Minister has developed a fondness for the thought that a great ideal confers greatness on those who uphold it, and in all his utterances it appears in some form or the other. But in Bangalore he stressed the opposite and told students that concentration on little things made one small, which is a questionable proposition. After all, it is given to few in this world to devote themselves to great ideals. And, whilst Mary's seeking after the light won her a place in Jesus' world, Martha's devotion to detail and to the humdrum routine of daily life were not despised. Another noticeable feature in Pandit Jawaharlal latterly is a growing tendency to leave more to natural development and attempt less to force the pace. In the matter of the national language, for instance, he said that it would evolve in time. An obvious sign of maturity, the change is likely to be attributed to a sense of being overwhelmed by the responsibilities of office.

LABOUR'S CHANCES IN BRITAIN

(By DEVERE ALLEN)

Within eighteen months Great Britain will hold a general election. Already Labourites and Conservatives are girding themselves for the battle, and commentators in outside countries, in the United States especially, are speculating over the Labour Government's chances of retaining power. Too often, however, these outside discussions tend to look at Britain through the experience of foreign countries. The election will be decided by British factors.

The big issue may or may not be that of steel for the nationalization of which Labour is pressing. But in any case, steel is likely to be in the forefront, for the Tories mean to keep it there. They believe there is a groundswell against further nationalization now, and it cannot be denied that a section of the Labour Party, despite the way in which differences have lately been minimized, is uneasy lest the Government may be moving far too fast. It's the "too fast" that is the main concern.

More than caution is behind the Labour doubts. When Ivor Thomas, long a Labour Party member, joined the Tories, it was dramatic, but hardly very significant. The real question that troubles many loyal Labourites is whether there are enough skilled technicians to do the good job that must be done in management. Dr. Philip Sargant Florence of Birmingham University, long known to the writer and a progressive thinker, has expressed the same doubt. "A good Civil Service for government," he says, "is not necessarily a good Civil Service for industrial management."

Labour's case is not less easily brushed aside, however, for British steel has been attacked on countless occasions by influential spokesmen of business, management and finance, and Labour is using such comments with deadly effect. Its charge is that six big firms have built up monopolistic power, dominating almost 600 subsidiaries. Public confidence in the industry is not always great. When the Steel Company of Wales tried to float a three per cent ten-year debenture issue last year, it turned out to be what the "Daily Express", Tory paper, described as "the biggest non-gilt-edged new issue flop since the war."

Thoughtful observers will be cautious in following the usual tendency in the United States to worry over Labour dictatorship. Dorothy Thompson charged this against Labour many months ago; soon after, Labour freed India and Burma, started a reapportionment of Parliament seats on a fairer basis even at the loss of seats to itself, and made it possible for humble citizens to bring suit against the Crown. And outsiders will be smart if they recall the appeal to the voters in the measures put through by Labour which are building up a basic mass loyalty—for example, the Health Insurance plan, which is working pretty well and bringing medical care to thousands previously unable to afford it.

Two things have recently given heart to the Labourites. The Truman victory in the United States has convinced Labour strategists (and to judge by their frank comments, many of the Tories) that there is a world-wide trend toward progressive legislation. Even more solid encouragement has come from quiet, unheralded, but fairly thorough canvasses of political opinion in many local constituencies. On the basis of present opinion, this sort of polling—probably sounder than the American presidential predictions—would give Labour 350 seats out of 600 if an election were to be held now. Labour expects to be ready for a better showing by 1950. And though admittedly it suffers from a lack of trained administrators in certain managerial fields, it is supporting a number of educational institutions which are turning out graduates, all of them specialists, as rapidly as good preparations will allow.

Other sources of strength are counted on by Labour also. Extremely uncomfortable over its bill to extend the period of conscript service for a year to 18 months, the Party leadership refrained from reprisals against the 134 Labour Party members who voted against it. And by pushing steel nationalization, it has taken away some of the weapons from the more radical members who on principle urge the organization to live up to its full programme.

British conservatism is in no happy spot. It realizes that while Mr. Churchill could carry a large section of American voters for any office, on his home territory he is not only a spent force but an actual embarassment. But if he is persuaded to withdraw as party leader, about which few Tories dare be optimistic, who is to replace him? From Anthony Eden through Lord Woolton to the party back-benchers, there appears to be no one who has what it takes to win the masses. And when Tory realists beg for a vital programme, it is not forthcoming. That is conservatism's dilemma all over the world, and no where more than in Great Britain.

LEND-LEASE ARMS AND CENTRAL AMERICAN UNREST

Whether the attack on Costa Rica is eventually shown to be a Nicaraguan onslaught, or an internal revolt partly inspired from over the border, this question is important: whence come the arms which make such constant Central American turmoil possible? The answer lies partly in lend-lease arms shipments from the U. S. during the war, and a strange discrepancy in the amounts granted to various nations. Costa Rica, close to the Panama Canal, and the most democratic country, got arms valued at $139,000. Nicaragua, then and now a dictatorship, got $628,000. El Salvador, then tightly dictated, got 851,000, while Guatemala, at the time the worst dictatorship of all, got 21,089,000! These differences cannot be accounted for on grounds of population: Costa Rica has 705,305 people; Nicaragua 1,013,946; El Salvador 1,896,168; and Guatemala 3,450,732. In percentages, the dictatorships were favoured out of all proportion.

—*Worldover Press.*

NEWFOUNDLAND TO GO CANADIAN

(By HAROLD BUTCHER)

Newfoundlanders are adjusting themselves to the role of Canadians-to-be. Next spring Britain's oldest colony and a Dominion until 1933, will be incorporated into the Canadian confederation. With the 313,000 Newfoundlanders and 42,734 square miles of territory will go Labrador with its 120,000 square miles and just over 5,000 people.

For years Newfoundlanders have been irked because outsiders mistook them for Canadians. Now that is what they are going to be—against the wishes of 48 per cent. They have prized their independence. But the July election gave 6,000 more votes in favour of union than the opposition could mobilize. The minority wanted responsible government, which they thought should follow a financial comeback.

Newfoundland went bankrupt in 1934 and asked the British government to set up a commission form of government. The commission consisted of three English and three Newfoundland commissioners, with the Governor of Newfounland as Chairman.

World War II brought money back to the people. "We enjoyed a tremendous boom," a St. John's lawyer told this correspondent, "due chiefly to the rise in the price paid for our fish and the construction work on the many war projects here. The strategic importance of this island was realized early in the war years, and the Canadians and Americans built airfields, naval bases and military installations. Millions of dollars were spent here, and before long our government, which had been living on borrowed money, found that its budget was balanced and soon there was even a tidy surplus laid aside. This was in addition to loans made to England to help in the war effort."

A former debtor able to make loans was certainly showing recovery. A return to responsible government might have been expected. Instead, Newfoundland is uniting with Canada, a triumph for Joseph R. Smallwood, who has worked long and hard and made stirring speeches in favour of the policy now adopted.

In or out of Canada, Newfoundland will remain strategic. Airports and defence bases are part of the island's future. The United States holds certain areas under 99-year leases. There is a military base, Fort Pepperel, near St. John's; a large naval base at Argentia in Placentia Bay near the spot where the Atlantic Charter was signed; and an airport at Harmon Field, Stephenville.

Commercial airlines are awake to Newfoundland's tourist possibilities. It is 1100 miles from New York to Gander; only 930 from Montreal. For those who love the sea Newfoundland is delightful in summer though life may be hard for those who live by it and on it. Fisheries, sealing, and whaling are the mainstay of the islanders, not overlooking pulp, paper and minerals. Life is rugged, but now hopeful. Newfoundlanders feel they have a real contribution to make as they face a new future with the Canadians.

—*Worldover Press.*

CZECHOSLOVAKIA RIGHTS A WRONG

(By ERIC GEIGER)

Europeans familiar with Hungarian problems have noted with approval the rectification by Czechoslovakia of a long-standing injustice to the nation's Hungarian minority. Last October the National Assembly voted citizenship to these persecuted Hungarians, and in early December government ministries started definite action to give them new land in place of the soil from which many had been forcibly removed.

At one time, the Hungarian minority comprised almost a million souls, though technically only 719,565 claimed the Hungarian language as their own in the census of 1930. After the reconstitution of the Czechoslovak Republic in 1945, the provisional Assembly denounced not only the Sudeten Germans, who were removed to Germany, but the Slovak-Hungarians, who had their property requisitioned and who, in many cases, were driven across the border into Hungary. It is estimated that a large number—perhaps as many as 100,000—were got rid of in this way. Most of the Hungarians, however, were sent to Bohemia, where they often laboured for low pay under severe conditions.

Credit for the new step must be given to the desire of the dominant Communist Party to unify all elements in the Czechoslovak state. Political realism played a great part, too, for Czechoslovakia is the only "people's democracy" in the Soviet orbit which has not yet concluded any alliance with Hungary. Improvement of relations with the Hungarians will tend to solidify all Communist elements in East Europe.

Not everything can be satisfactory to the Hungarian minority for a while, for they will not be permitted to take up new land until they have met the requirement, imposed on all Czechoslovak citizens, of securing authorization to change their places of employment. The new land granted them will consist largely of holdings taken away from the expelled Sudetens. The minority prefers to reside near the Hungarian border, but they have been urged to settle elsewhere.

One strange factor emerges from this handling of the minority question. According to Czech government figures, only some 200,000 Hungarians are involved, and this does not count those who were pushed back into Hungary. From the statistics of population, it appears that at least 400,000 Hungarians have completely and inexplicably disappeared. It must be concluded that war time losses in their ranks were very heavy, and that large numbers have been absorbed and "Slovakized."

—*Worldover Press.*

AMERICAN LABOUR AND FOREIGN POLICY

(By ALVAINE HAMILTON)

[In the article below, Mr. Hamilton discusses the influence on American policies of the rise to power of Socialist Governments in Europe and of the Labour Party's accession to office in Britain. Seeing the example of countries nearer to Communism, American leaders have come to the conclusion that the best answer to Communism is improving working conditions and allowing a greater place to Labour. Moreover, in foreign policy, the wisdom of consulting Labour in any issue affecting Russia is obvious; the workers have been directly addressed by the Communists and though Russia's claim to be the Workers' State is not fully accepted now, there is a certain confusion in the attitude of Labour. So far as Asian countries are concerned, Labour's growing strength has also had its effect. There is reason to feel that Business and to a certain extent even Government feel embarrassed by advances registered in Britain which cause discontent in Labour here. Business definitely feels that Indian Labour, considered less responsible, does not deserve the same benefits but Indian Business is acquiring tact.—*Editor*]

Never in United States history have the men who shape and carry out American foreign policy asked for the cooperation of the trade unions as they are asking right now. And the reason, both diplomats and labourites agree, is the presence in Great Britain and on the Continent of Europe of those labour and social democratic forces which, even to the hard-boiled businessmen-diplomatists who control the State Department and the Economic Cooperation Administration, offer the only feasible alternative to Communism.

This is not simply a courting of union favour. The men who direct U. S. foreign policy want labour participation. And some of them want labour to help determine that policy.

Presence of some of the best brains—young and old—that the labour movement has, in the E. C. A., is proof of this. In Washington, veteran unionist Clinton Golden (of the Machinists, Brookwood Labour College, and more recently assistant to Philip Murray of the C. I. O. steelwokers) and Bert Jewell of the railway labour unions, are labour advisers to E.C.A. administrator Paul Hoffman. In Paris, Boris Shishkin, for a dozen years or more the economist for the A.F.L., and Harry Martin, youthful president of the C.I.O.'s union of newspapermen, work with Averell Harriman.

In Great Britain a team of a half-dozen of the smartest technicians and organizers from U. S. unions is working with the Anglo-U.S. production committee, to help get the wheels of British industry turning faster. That is a far cry from the days when U. S. unions wanted to bar foreign-made goods from the United States because they were made by coolie labour!

In the Marshall Plan missions, from Italy to Sweden, in France and the Netherlands, there are able union men attached to each working group. They are men who were nominated by the A.F.L. and C. I. O., and who then underwent a fast and strenuous course of training in Washington before embarking on their work. Their jobs are no sinecures for inefficient aging pensioners: these men mean business.

The State Department has for some time had "labour attaches" in many countries, but these are primarily students of the labour movement and experts on economic questions affecting wage earners and their welfare. Only one unionist has broken into this sacred circle—Chris Jorgenson of Wisconsin, labour attache of the Embassy in China.

As for policy, Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas told the C.I.O. convention in November, "Today labour, better than any other element in our society, can weld the democrats of the world into a group within its power to guide western civilization, neither to the Right nor to the Left, but down the broad middle highway to abundance, to security and peace."

Douglas added: "Labour is peculiarly qualified to bridge a gap that has been growing between the United States and Europe. A new Europe is being born. New leaders have come to power in the countries of Western Europe. In almost every case their political strength is in the labour movement.....The conventional diplomat will fail miserably in these revolutionary days unless he understands the rise of the labour governments of the world and can evaluate the factors that have created and maintained them."

"American labour," Justice Douglas declared, "can help America understand that Europe under the political management of Socialists is not a continent turning Communist, but a people struggling for things that are precious to men everywhere.....On the fundamentals—the rights of man, his liberty, his dignity, his security—they are truly democratic. The spiritual values which they espouse make them our brothers. We need them and they need us if totalitarianism is not to rule the world. These are things that American labour can help the American people to understand."

Averell Harriman, who brought down the house at A. F. L. convention by the diffident, shy humility that has often surprised Europeans, told the delegates: "I have found that the people of Europe want to believe in the United States, but it is difficult for people of these countries to understand the real motivations which have led to this unprecedented programme of peacetime international cooperation. No group can speak so convincingly and so effectively as can American labour in building confidence in the American people and their objectives...In this great enterprise of leading the world to freedom and peace, American labour has an important role."

GOVERNMENT AND THE R. S. S.

(By R. P. PARANJPYE)

On the occasion of the 3rd Annual Social Gathering of the M. E. S. College, Poona, on December 8, Dr Paranjpye in his Presidential Address referred to the Civil Disobedience campaign of the R. S. S. and made the observations printed below.

While speaking about students and politics, it is impossible to omit a reference to the question of the relation between the Government and the R.S.S. although it is a very delicate subject. Perhaps I may be considered to take an impartial view of the matter as I am not connected with the Congress or with the R.S.S. and as I am not involved in current political controversies from a party point of view. I know however that the R. S. S. does make a fervent appeal to many young students just as the Congress does to others, probably the latter being far more numerous. It seems a pity from the national point of view that these two enthusiams should be pitted againt each other and although there is no doubt that the Government will ultimately prevail, its very victory means so much loss to the available fund of national energy. Every lover of the country sincerely desires that this fratricidal War—for the R. S. S. and the Congress are indeed brothers—should come to an end and the two sides should reach an honourable settlement, one which should not hurt the *amour propre* of the weaker party.

What after all led to the starting of the R.S.S.? It was due to the impression, whether well or ill-founded, that the Congress has all along followed a more or less pro-Muslim policy, that the partition of India was an abject surrender to the Muslims, that the backward state of the Hindus is due to their want of organisation rather than to any other inherent defects among themselves, and that if the Hindus had been strong and well disciplined their vast numbers would have given them their proper place in the history that is being made at present. There was also the natural love of young men and women for a semi-military training and discipline which had been so long denied under British rule. The organisation of the R. S. S. bears a strong resemblance to that of the Nazis in Germany with its Fuhrer and its Gauleiters, its secret funds and its wide propaganda machine, its flags and its parades. Perhaps the Sangh also copied a few of its methods from the old Congress Organisation itself and is at present paying it the compliment of imitating its mass satyagraha methods. Everybody, including it is said the Deputy Prime Minister himself, admitted that the R. S. S. members were generally actuated by high patriotic motives, however misguided their methods might have been. The dastardly murder of Mahatma Gandhi made many lose their heads and Government thought they found in the R.S.S. an agency that indirectly at least, was responsible for the tragedy. Charges were made by one side and denied by the other. It is impossible for an outsider to pass a judgment on them, but it must be said that after a few months had elapsed Government would have done well to bring any culprits before an open court and thus take the public into their confidence. Government would not have then been subjected to the charge of following the very methods which the Congress had been blaming the British Government for using all these years. I myself would have been content if Government had at least agreed to place all the proofs they thought they possessed, before an impartial body of a few High Court judges, if the proofs could not be published in the national interest. The vast majority of Indians would have accepted the deliberate opinion of such a responsible and impartial body. As it is the Government is losing a good deal of public sympathy by its ways, reminiscent of the bad old days of 1942. I would go further and say that Government would do well to see if the patriotic enthusiam of the vast majority of R. S. S. could not be utilised in the national interest by using them in some new avenues of work, as e.g. in the defence forces, in the home guards or in other spheres of mass uplift. Young men and women feel the need of such channels for their enthusiasm and Government should not regard them as criminals even though they be misguided.

While I am appealing to the Government to change their policy towards the R.S S. I would also like to appeal to the members and leaders of the Sangh. They must remember that the situation has entirely changed since August 15, 1947. It is no use harping on the might-have-beens. The past is irrevocable and cannot be altered and attempts to apportion responsibility for any mistakes that might have been made are worse than futile as leading only to disunity among ourselves. They have to remember that it is now our own Government and not a foreign Government against whom they would be fighting. The methods of mass satyagraha, of disobeying orders and courting arrest are now unjustified. We are in a democratic country and if we disagree with the policy of the Government our main remedy is the ballot box. The new constitution will soon be completed and promulgated, and anybody can then appeal to lawfully constituted courts for the protection of his fundamental rights. I would thus appeal to the Sangh to give up its present campaign of disobedience, to set about various kinds of constructive work and if necessory to start educating the electors. They should realise that patriotism sometimes requires not only the sacrifice of money, bodily comfort, or even life, but also of personal pride. They will deserve well of their country if they show themselves cheerfully ready for this supreme sacrifice.

THE R. S. S. ARRESTS

The arrests of R. S. S. workers continue and in Bombay and several other countries. Ministers have indicated that a strong policy will be put through. So far as one can see, there is little public support, except in Maharashtra and a part of the United Provinces. A demonstration was arranged in Bombay but it created little stir though women marched to the Secretariat. As the party which freely used the strategy of disobedience, the Congress may be trusted to have also the answer to it.

GERMAN GROUPS SHOWING ZEAL FOR PEACE

(By a Worldover Press Correspondent)

For the second time since the end of the war, the German Peace Society has held an annual meeting. The Mayor of Gottingen, scene of the gathering, presented official greetings; representatives of the major political parties were present actively; and the presiding officer was Herr Olfers, Landtagspresident. The well known peace worker, Freiherr von Schonaich, was re-elected head of the organization. Distinguished speakers emphasized the need of using science, invention and teaching for peace.

While there was no discussion of the current political crisis pulling the country in two directions, resolutions were adopted which will set the pattern for the Society's future efforts. One of these asked that in any future war, the present "lands" of Germany should be neutral. Another urged a world parliament and court, with a world Ministry of Peace, as functioning elements of a world government. A more drastic declaration stressed the right of every citizen, whatever his race, creed or sex, to refuse military service.

At Munich approved by General Lucius Clay, a more limited peace organization is laying the groundwork for what may become an important force in a new Germany. It is the Deutsches Büro fur Friedensfragen, or German Bureau for Peace Questions. Created in April, 1947, the Bureau was founded upon applications by the Minister Presidents of Bavaria, Wurttemberg-Baden, and Hesse, and the President of the Bremen Senate.

At present, the Bureau is charged primarily with the collection of material related to the eventual signing of a peace treaty with the victorious powers. However, the organization has reserved the right of ultimate ownership of its archives, and it is hoped that, in the long run, it may develop into a peace information service for the entire German people.

FROM THE ASHES

When the Nazis burned objectionable books on Berlin's Opernplatz on May 10, 1933, a 20-year-old student, revolted by such barbarism, made himself a pledge. If he could, he determined that one day he would re-publish most of the destroyed writings.

The student's name was Helmut Kindler, and in company with a friend, Heinz Ullstein, connected with a well-known publishing firm, he has brought out an anthology entitled "Banned and Burned." Each selection is prefaced by a sketch of the author and, in particular, his experiences—many of them hair-raising—during the years of Hitler terror. Some were able to escape to foreign countries, some suffered bitter punishment. The better-known authors include Thomas Mann, Berthold Brecht, Stefan Zweig, Erich Remarque, Franz Werfel and Leon Feuchtwanger. Many are less internationally famous.

All through the years of Hitler's power, young Kindler made it his business to hunt out copies of the banned books and hide them for their eventual resurrection. According to "Le Phare", Belgian daily, which gives details of Kindler's long task, it was no easy problem, for in many cases the Nazis had done a thorough job of extirpation. After the war, when it was possible to locate books which had been translated into foreign languages, the work moved faster.

—*Worldover press.*

AUSTRIAN SOCIALISTS

Austria's Socialist Party, democratic in spirit and traditionally one of the most dependable anti-totalitarian elements of Europe, has concluded a four-week drive for new members which has netted remarkable gains. No fewer than 61,152 new members were taken into the party, of whom 26,505 were women and 34,647 men. This brings the present total membership rolls up to 631,920. Every tenth inhabitant of the country is now a registered, dues-paying Socialist. In view of the continuing lack of food, clothing, shoes and other necessities, along with high prices and political unrest, observers characterize the Party's achievement not only as striking by itself, but a democratic portent for next year's elections.

—*Worldover Press*

A JAPANESE GIRL ON PEACE

Though Australia bars from its territory all persons of the socalled yellow race, Japanese school children have been permitted to send messages to "pen friends" in Australian schools. One of these letters, published by "World's Children," was written by a 13-year-old Japanese girl from the Shinagawa Girls' High School. The writer fails to say that she lost her right hand from an incendiary bomb:

"To Some Schoolgirl in Australia:

"I am afraid you may not like receiving this letter or answering it, because I am Japanese. But I hope it is not so.

"I am not your enemy. It may help a little if I tell you that I too have suffered—my three brothers, they are asleep; my house, it is burnt.

"Out of all this cruelty and mistake, could we not arrange that there should be peace and prosperity and happiness for all countries? I want it that way.

"Even to a war-scarred land like mine, spring will come. It is coming now, with plum-blossom and happiness and warmth. How do we arrange that it might be spring for all the world?

"I would beg you to believe that I write this not with my pen, but with my heart.

—*Hideke Inourie.*"

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"I will be as harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard"*.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the LIBERATOR.

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NOTES

The American Message:—President Truman's State of the Union message to the joint session of the Congress was a standard performance which marks the times we live in rather than the country over which he presides. The insistence on the backwardness of the United States of America in health and housing, education, and medicine, social security and full employment makes amazing reading coming from one who also prides himself on American achievement. It largely seemed a reminder to his countrymen that, whilst helping other peoples was all right, they should not forget that charity was also needed at home. There was an almost pharisaical note in the message where Mr. Truman referred to other countries, particularly of Europe. Mr. Truman was quite confident that America had nothing to learn, everything to teach. But his speech itself is largely derived from British Labour's example and the social democratic forces of Europe. We published last week a "Worldover Press" article relating to the growing influence of American Labour on its foreign policy. Mr. Truman's speech shows how in domestic matters too the same influence persists. The report that American Business had been rather favourably impressed by the President's message, suggests that a more definite policy of checking inflation was feared. The President has no doubt referred to controlling inflationary pressures but he has specified the manner in which that control will be exercised.

"Free Enterprise":—With characteristic Anglo-American contrariness, Mr. Truman professed to encourage the very thing which he seemed out to restrain—even to destroy in its worst manifestations. He said that Business would be encouraged and supported by Government in so far as it aimed at increased production and lower prices, whilst avoiding monopolistic developments. He said that the State would not only apply itself to expanding industries and exploiting natural resources to the full, it would even concern itself with directing industry for the relief to shortages. The minimum wage was to be raised, life on the farms was to be brought up to standards known now only to urban areas, and education, health and other security measures were to be implemented. After all this, Mr. Truman blandly observes that American prosperity can only be maintained and extended if free enterprise and free government work together with that aim. Mr. Truman might have used the language of studied moderation—he does not use the word "nationalisation" once in his speech—but he has certainly made it plain that free enterprise need expect merely a limited measure of freedom. Although the State of the Union message looked more like an election speech than the statement of an elected President, Mr. Truman's blue-print will naturally have an influence on a Congress which will be Democratic and with which Mr. Truman feels he can work in cooperation.

Americans—an American View:—There is an interesting sidelight on what Mr. Truman thinks is the American tradition and American social ideals. He described the Americans as essentially conservative in their values and principles; but that they were very determined to protect them and to extend their benefits to others. It is unfortunately true that the American, as others see him, is a man who is exceedingly experimental in his approach to men and things and not very steadfast in his enthusiasms. Swami Vivekananda after his visit to America and Britain observed that Americans were disposed to pursue every passing fancy and fad but the English were slow to persuade and, once convinced, would not easily be swayed from a course. If Mr. Truman's remarks indicate that this is the line he would like Americans to take, it is very praiseworthy indeed. But it is certainly not a fact today. As a

matter of fact, American foreign policy has been greatly marred by the uncertainties of American conviction which on its good side makes the nation more receptive to new ideas than any other and less riddled with prejudices. But naturally these do not make for stability.

Asian Rally for Indonesia: — In a speech at Allahabad, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru spoke of invitations that had gone out from the Government of India to Asian countries, and to Turkey and the Arab nations, and to Australia and New Zealand, to a conference to consider the Dutch aggression on Indonesia. The reply of the Australian Government, after prolonged consideration of the subject, is a clear indication that the conference is coming into being only because of the Security Council's failure to act betimes and effectively. It is intended as a measure for moving the United Nations to greater energy and stronger assertion of the principles it professes. Whether this is regarded as strengthening the U. N. organisation or weakening it, depends entirely on the point of view. The Dutch and those nations which sympathise with them, have been rather distressed over the move—the notorious Mr. Hughes of Australia who after World War I, had sabotaged Japan's attempt to have race equality accepted in the League of Nations, has objected to Australia's participation and certain Australian newspapers have expressed identity of interest between Australia with its White policy and Dutch imperialism. On the other hand, the Conference has been welcomed by a large body of opinion in Britain and the United States of America. The London "Times", for example, has come out with a remarkably understanding editorial on Indian and Pakistan interest in the Indonesian attitude, in which it draws pointed attention to the assistance of the armed forces of united India in "restoring order in Indonesia."

Quick Response:—If the Western reaction has been somewhat divided, Asia herself is moving forward with remarkable unanimity to the defence of Indonesia. It cannot be forgotten that at the Asian Conference which met in New Delhi, the Indonesian delegates were in the forefront of the movement for Asian consolidation and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was generally regarded as a moderating influence. In India itself, there has been a sudden and wholly unaccountable change from the old anti-British, anti-Western, attitude of nationalists to something startlingly like symptoms of advanced Anglophilism. For this there is every reason to be thankful in India itself but it is a condition which can easily cause misunderstanding in other countries, particularly in Asia. The London "Times" obviously regards Pandit Jawaharlal as a double defence against both Communism and the Pan-Asian Movement. This development in British feeling towards India—for this is what it does amount to—is equally surprising. It was not very long ago that British writers were exerting themselves to convince Indian nationalists that India, since a choice had to be made with which group she should tie up, had the best links with the British Commonwealth and little in common with the rest of Asia. Schuster and Wint have developed this view at great length. It is to the credit of India, and of Britain, that Indian leaders are trying their best to retain the ties with British nations and to develop stronger links with Asian nations. The Asian Conference is a landmark in the history of India, her stepping forward to her rightful place in Asia and it is in this light that it is seen by enlightened Western opinion.

The Wrong Way:—Sir Maurice Gwyer, ex-Chief Justice of the Federal Court, some years ago spoke at the Benares University and referred to the work of constitution-framing which was then very much under discussion. Sir Maurice observed that experience had shown that this kind of work was better done by a small committee of experts rather than in a large elected body. At the time this was regarded as undemocratic and rather high-handed. But the Constituent Assembly proceedings bear out the wisdom of Sir Maurice's remark, in a rather unpleasant fashion. The drafting Committee set up by the Constituent Assembly may be experts but they have in several details made a pretty bad job of the draft; yet the manner in which Dr. Ambedkar brushes aside suggestions and amendments is something astounding, to put it midly. A deliberate attempt is being made to run down Prof. K. T. Shah. He has admittedly a large number of amendments to his credit but there is no law against this. Dr. Ambedkar has no reason to throw stones at Mr. Shah's non-conformity and, if he is taking a high tone, it certainly is with his tongue in his cheek.

Congress Working Committee:—The expansion of the Congress Working Committee to twenty members has allowed room for an important innovation. In addition to the all-India leaders, there has been an admission of the chiefs of several provincial Congresses who, it might be noted, are not heads of Congress administrations in the provinces. So far as the Centre goes, of course there be no thought of any serious party control since men like Jawaharlal Nehru and Vallabhabai Patel, are outside the orbit of Congress criticism. It has become an established fact by now that, where the Congress Party does not control the Congress Government, the Congress Government controls the party. There was a startling demonstration of this on the Public Conduct resolution at the Jaipur session, when Pandit Jawaharlal threw his personal influence to rescind a motion and restore it to its official wording. The Prime Minister's action has been adversely commented on but the fact remains that the resolution should not have been put forward even in its original form. The tall poppies of the Congress Government at Delhi are beyond the reach of the party members and the result is greater savagery in attacking the provincial administrators. So far the bias has been for the party machine to support provincial Governments but under Dr. Pattabhi's auspices, the balance has been tilted the other way.

THE INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER
BOMBAY, January 8, 1949

KASHMIR SETTLEMENT

On January 1, a cease-fire was declared by consent in the Kashmir fighting. On the Indian side, it was said that, learning of Pakistan's acceptance of the U. N. Commission's proposals, the Indian Government which had accepted them long ago, saw no reason to continue the fighting. So, instead of delaying matters until the Security Council ordered a cease-fire, the Government communicated with Pakistan and peace was established The terms of the U.N. proposals were not known till Friday. There was some public uncertainty whether Kashmir was to have its fate decided as a whole or area by area. The Indian interpretation regarding the issue of the plebiscite, too, differed from the Pakistan one: Indian spokesmen had said that the plebiscite will decide on the validity of the accession; Pakistan felt that the Kashmiris will be asked to choose accession to India or to Pakistan. Immediately Kashmir has been divided—Sheikh Abdullah controlling the part now held by the Indian forces and the "Azad Kashmir Government" ruling over the parts infested by Pakistan forces. The effect of this division is that the Kashmir Maharaja has been virtually superseded from areas that are under the "Azad Government", and the rest of Kashmir cannot but be influenced by this act. The Socialist Party had called for his overthrow just prior to the truce announcement, and there is added validity in the demand now that the U. N. Commission has overruled him in one part of Kashmir. The Indian Government has much to do to win favour with the people of Kashmir; the Maharaja would do well to realise the fact and relieve it of the burden of carrying him with it too.

When on October 27, 1948, the military position was described as the completion of the first phase, it seemed inevitable that the Governments of the two Dominions stood poised between war and peace. Things could not continue long in the state of stalemate which they had obviously reached. The official note was that the Pakistan forces had been held and efforts to push on into the State checked effectively; but it also conveyed the impression that, if Kashmir was to be cleared further, it would mean carrying out raids on Pakistan territory. It would also be correct to infer that, whilst in Kashmir the Indian forces had proceeded with caution, consolidating their position before every advance, in Jammu the advance had been somewhat hazardous. Militarily, the Indian forces which have done a good piece of work in Kashmir, might be pardoned if they had tired of operations which threatened a protracted campaign coming so close after the end of a World War. And there has been a lack of interest in the Kashmir struggle in India itself which formed a striking contrast to the enthusiasm with which the Hyderabad episode was followed. To some extent, this must be attributed to a bad psychological approach on the part of both the Government of India and the Kashmir Government. Conferences between India and Pakistan on various issues prevented the Indian Government from all out publicity for the Kashmir cause. But apart from that, there was an unaccountable lethargy in the early stages which told on public opinion. If, for any reason, the activities have to be resumed, we would strongly suggest a vigorous official policy, supported by non-official agencies, to convince both the public and the Indian Army of the justice of the cause. Both the machinery and the technique had been highly developed in the Second World War, but they were not utilised for the Kashmir campaign which gave a unique opportunity for making the armed forces Indian in every sense of the term.

The future of Kashmir now depends to a great extent on Sheikh Abdullah and his party. The external conflict which had resulted from the interest of India and Pakistan in the decision, has been brought to an end. The appeal to the U. N. Security Council has brought about a localisation of the conflict, and Sheikh Abdullah now faces the "Azad Kashmir Government". It is true that the plebiscite which is to be held, will be under U. N. auspices. But, after all is said, the outside agency will necessarily have to work in cooperation with the two Kashmir political factions. The delay in announcing the Good Offices Commission's proposals is an indication that the U. N. had been taken unawares by the Indian Government's prompt action; it is not by any means a good sign since it leaves both parties with ample time for second thoughts and mental reservations. Sheikh Abdullah himself is confident of success, and the Union Government has taken its cue from him. But, with the example of the Khan brothers and the North-west Frontier before us, there is need for caution regarding the future.

The United Nations Good Offices Commission made known on Friday their resolution on the Kashmir situation. Nothing much is said in addition to what is already known and there is a general vagueness about the entire plebiscite proposal. But the Maharaja's accession of October 1947 has been undone and the State is regarded for the moment as independent with the choice of acceding either to India or to Pakistan. There are a few loopholes left as, for instance, the use of the word "lawful" purposes in the clause asking outsiders to leave the State. Presumably Indian troops are in Kashmir for a "lawful" purpose. The Plebiscite Administrator who is to be chosen by the Secretary-General to the Security Council and formally appointed by the Kashmir State, faces a difficult situation. But his task is rendered the more easy by the fact that the two parties to the dispute have resorted to peaceful arbitration after exhausting themselves in trying out the war technique.

"THE PARIS SESSION OF THE UNITED NATIONS"

By LAKSHMI N. MENON
(Alternate Indian Delegate to the last session of the U. N.)

The Indian delegation for the 3rd General Assembly which met in Paris last September left for Paris during the second week of September. My own journey to Paris began with a halt at Delhi which was spent in meetings in the External Affairs Department, where over cups that 'cheer but do not inebriate' we discussed the long agenda of nearly 60 items including such different subjects as the report of the Atomic Energy Commission, the treatment of the Soviet wives of foreign nationals, the Declaration of Human Rights, the admission of new members, the Palestinian question and various other subjects, with which the public is already familiar. The agenda seemed a formidable challenge to one's capacity to study and understand international problems and yet not such a difficult task when you come to think of it. My trip to Paris was by air. The Air International Constellation plane, left Bombay on the midnight of the 15th and as the plane took off from Santa Cruz for its voyage through the midnight sky the tired passengers, all of them Indians, sought peace and rest in sleep. Day dawned in "oriental splendour" as we reached Basrah and after a hurried breakfast we were again flying towards Cairo. A slight engine trouble and then an air-raid warning not only delayed the journey for a few hours, but made us realise that the Palestine problem is a painful reality. It also gave us the opportunity of visiting Cairo and our embassy there. The last flights of the journey took about 10 hours and by midnight on the 16th we touched Geneva. During the 24 hours we travelled through the humidity of India in the last stage of monsoon, the crisp morning of Basrah, the pitiless heat of Egypt, into the mellow coolness of early autumn in Switzerland. In 24 hours we crossed 2 continents and in airtight comfort we rushed through space. The journey was indeed quick, clean and pleasant. It certainly gave us a sense of purpose, of something definite. But I have my own doubts about the efficacy of such speed.

At Cairo the Palestine tangle, the fighting between the Jews and Arabs was the preface of the agenda of the United Nations. At Geneva, the air strike in France introduced us to the unstable conditions prevailing in France. But we proceeded to Paris in a bus through a countryside rich with the mellow fruitfulness of autumn, the changing tints of leaves, through miles and miles of well-laid avenues. Every minute of that journey is a treasured memory, for never have I seen a country so rich with human effort resplendent with a sense of security and peace. France is essentially an agricultural country, notwithstanding her great contribution to industrial progress. The pride with which the Frenchman surveys his well-tended fields, the plurality of things that each farmer grows in his fields, are indications of his great respect for fundamental human values, and the atmosphere of self-sufficiency and isolation in which he develops his life and attitudes.

The moment you leave the Swiss frontier, you are confronted with the woods and streams and bridges in the shelter of which French Resistance—the Maquis—worked, and suffered for the liberation of their fatherland.

Towards midnight we reached Paris, alas! no more the Ville Lumiere, the city of lights, but a city of shortages. Until we crossed the river to its right side, it seemed grey and dismal and I decided that it was a misfortune to enter even Paris at midnight.

Noon the 20th onwards, I, like the rest of the delegation, was caught in the vortex, so to speak, of international affairs. First the Security Council discussing the Hyderabad question, then the General Committee dealing with the order of items on the Agenda, the General Assembly Debate, and later the Committees.

The venue of the meetings was Palais de Chaillet; the old Trocadero rebuilt for the International Exhibition of 1937 and then converted into a museum; and now rearranged for the multifarious meetings of the United Nations. The General Assembly meetings were held in the Theatre two levels below the street, under the terrace, flanked on either side by the Paris and Passy wings. From the terrace you saw the Eiffel tower and the Avenue des Champs de Mars; and on misty mornings when the tower disappeared into misty heights, how beautiful it was to see the sun shining on that beautiful scene. Everything in and around the Palais is an object of attraction. As you drive in, the statues on the roof, the inscriptions on the tower side; as you enter the hall, the frescoes; as you wander into the Paris wing, the statuary of the medieval churches, of saints looking mercifully down on a world ridden with variety. Scenes from the Bible, so full of beauty, meaning, and significance, rich with the faith of men who believed. Then through interminal flights of stairs you reach the Theatre with its appropriate statues of the Muses, the vast stage, the red plush seats and warm comfort. On the Passy wing, the marine museum has been displaced to make room for committees. And often I have wondered whether it would not have been more profitable to study the arts of peace to which the French have contributed more than any other European nation than to attend the political committees discussions. Indeed it needed a lot of work, a lot of patience and ingenuity to devise committee rooms out of museum corridors. Work was yet unfinished when the Assembly met, and workmen formed a real part of the United Nations during the early days of the debate. I am sure the public did not grudge the 80 seats specially reserved for the workmen and women who made the Palais fit for the U. N. meetings.

So for the next few weeks the Palais was our home, where we spent most of the days and part

of the nights; we ate there, met our friends and acquaintances; wandered into the Cinema hall when we could make time; entertained our friends, discussed programmes and policies with colleagues and friends; talked of many things, sought relaxations from human society in the well-organised reference rooms and archives; there everything seemed distant, vague and un-important. The United Nations was everything. The items of the agenda became the only topics of interest: the personalities that counted, the people you met, the thoughts that kept you awake, the jokes you heard repeated, all these related to the United Nations. Your very existence seemed a part of the United Nations. The Parisian spoke of the U. N as a hostess would speak of her distinguished guest. The theatres and operas received the delegations as distinguished guests; the Louevre was flood-lit; the Notre Dame held a special service; the Sorbonne had a special programme; the Hotel de Ville had receptions for the delegates when their ancient doors were open and magnificence was displayed with pride. The National Assembly opened its doors to the delegations. Women's groups and organisations were equally enthusiastic. And for the first time in the history of Paris, the fifteen women members of the corporation had a women's reception for the women delegates. Fortunately, the Ministry which was formed late in September and was not expected to last many days, by some kind intervention of the Fates continued all the 3 months and still continues. Strikes, threats of strikes, elections, clashes between communists and the police, went on apace, but the schedule of the U.N. went on, in the almost sealed atmosphere of the Palais.

How did the Parisian react to the U. N.? He was more concerned with his own domestic problems, the rise in prices, the threats of strike and strikes, the change of Ministries; these seemed to worry him more than the Berlin question, or the Atomic Energy Commission's report. The differences between the big powers, he accepted as a matter of fact. But he was very keen that there should not be another war. The question was invariably asked of me, "Is there any prospect of peace"? Peace is worth anything, he would say, of course, everything can and will be forgiven, if we can only have peace. For him, at least, war is not a mystical something but stands for long years in the concentration camp, the dislocation of everything that stabilises, and the liberation which sounded more like another kind of occupation. For the rest, the Parisian who naturally regards Paris as the centre of the universe and the conscience of the world it was but natural, that such an august body as the United Nations should meet in Paris. And the French did not spare themselves as hosts. And the nations who met—all the 57, believed in the old saying, that for every educated man there are two homes, his own and Paris. This was more than evident in the General Assembly debates when country after country laid before the assembly their generous tributes to the thought, culture and civilisation of France. These were not formal speeches delivered for effect, but sincere expressions of deep felt feelings of appreciation and indebtedness towards a liberal culture that has vitally influenced and moulded human thought through the centuries.

It is very difficult for an outsider to realise the amount of talk and paper that are required to arrive at any decision. The 58 nations spoke in five different languages and all documents are distributed in the two working languages, French and English. All speeches come through simultaneously in the five languages, English, French, Spanish, Russian and Chinese. By manipulating a small battery set the listener can hear a speech, in any of the languages he likes to hear, in perfect diction, without any loss in manner or substance. The languour and spaciousness of the Spanish, the precision of French, the vagueness of English, the virile verbosity of Russian all came through the air with astounding rapidity and precision. The efficiency of this system of interpretation and the rapidity with which an un-restricted number of any required document is produced are typical of the United Nations Organisation. The staff worked tirelessly, without rest, without pause. Their efficiency, loyalty and sense of duty have been a source of inspiration for me as to others. So is the example of some other delegations whose conscientious and hard work proved that things can be achieved only by incessant hard work. The assembly of course did a great amount of work on different questions like Palestine, Berlin, Atomic Energy and Disarmament. We and you are familiar with it. As a member of the 3rd Committee my own assignment work was social, cultural and humanitarian questions. The draft protocol on Synthetic Narcotic drugs, the Declaration of Human Rights, Aid to Palestinian refugees, the Children's Emergency and the United Nations appeal for Children were some of the questions which came up for consideration before our Committee. When I say that it took 85 sessions to discuss the 30 articles of the Declaration of Human Rights the listener may well estimate the time actually spent in discussions. In retrospect I would not hesitate to say that the time was well spent. There was disagreement, but it was only in details. And it showed that in fundamentals of life there could be but little difference, especially when men and women pursue the same ideals of peace and security. The same agreement one notices in the discussions on political and security questions as well. And that is why when the question is asked, perhaps too often, how far the United Nations has been a success?, I am forced to say that the question is meaningless if the organisation is understood correctly. The idea of a voluntary organisation of peace-loving states for the purpose of ensuring peace is not a new idea but a recurrent expression of the huma desire to live down the instinct to violence, wa destruction and to live in peace. If these atten ze

have failed from time to time the fault lies in human nature itself which needs attention.

And now back in India, all these three months in Paris seem almost a dream. Dr. Evatt with his Australian accent and irrepressible optimism, Mr. Vyshinsky with his Messianic fever and gestures and eloquence; the American republican delegates with their usual passion for eloquence, the French with their equally indefatigable passion for precision, the Chinese with their Confucian wisdom, the Middle East enthusiasts worried about the Palestinian tangle, the United States statesman determined and persistent and last but not least Mrs. Roosevelt, so able, so conscientious, yet so unyielding. They are not dreamers but men and women trying to remake the world on a pattern of peace. If they succeed the United Nations must also succeed.

(Broadcast from AIR Lucknow)

ASIA AND UNESCO

(By J. MICHAEL HAGOPIAN)

As seen by the peoples of the Middle East, UNESCO, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, has been staging a dazzling conference, but offers no immediate solution for world problems. They feel, too, that it can do little to relieve tension in the Middle East. Hence the popular attitude, despite the Conference at Beirut, is one of isolationism instead of internationalism.

A substantial part of the students at the American University of Beirut, who by training should be most liberal and open-minded, remark that the money spent for the spacious UNESCO headquarters could have been better used for education here in Lebanon. Others wonder if UNESCO's lofty aim of preventing wars by erecting defences of peace in the minds of men is a valid approach to the world's ills. UNESCO is generally thought of as aristocratic, far above the level of the Middle Eastern masses.

Such attitudes are tragic when viewed against the needs of the Middle East for the basic principles of the U. N. A full application of the UNESCO preamble and U. N. declarations would entail an extension of democracy, mass education, and universal suffrage, none of which universally exists in the Middle East. In this part of the world, UNESCO is still a novelty, something for the intelligentsia.

There have been no splits in the gathering, but sharp issues were raised. The Arab-Jewish conflict came into the open early, when Lebanon asked that observers from Jewish organizations be barred. Turkey wanted to make UNESCO an instrument for combatting Communism. The first request was withdrawn, but the Arabs were not reconciled to the general view. The Turkish suggestion failed when it was pointed out that three Communist-dominated countries were far from UNESCO members. In fact, a great victory was won when UNESCO refused to be pushed into the controversial field of politics, which is outside its scope.

There was criticism of the sums spent on administrative work; the Netherlands, New Zealand, China, Denmark and Canada were among the countries urging more use of funds for programme activities. But such nations as the Philippines, Greece, Italy, Colombia and Brazil want ambitious projects to reach the entire world, and, unlike the others, they do not wish the UNESCO programme to be more "practical" or limited.

Most significant of the trends at the conference, however, was a mounting discontent on the part of Asiatic and African states over the place assigned them in UNESCO circles. India promptly demanded more places for Asiatics and Africans on the Paris UNESCO staff. Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Vice-Chancellor of Benares Hindu University and chief of the Indian delegation, rose to heights of eloquence when he warned that "Asia and Africa are awake: they are on the march." China also demanded greater representation on the Secretariat, while Saudi Arabia asked better representation for the Middle East on grounds of "national pride," without regard for merit or competence.

The undercurrent of just grievances and seething unrest among former colonial and "backward" peoples was unmistakably clear. There is much suspicion of the West. Future battles seem to be looming for UNESCO and other international agencies. Asia will not rest until Eastern cultures, services and talents are accepted on a par with those of the Europeans and the Anglo-Saxons. UNESCO has been warned, and through it the world, that the true bases of peace lie in bringing economic justice and racial equality to the underprivileged peoples of the globe.

THE PEOPLE WHO KNOW

(By DEVERE ALLEN)

He was a pants presser, and as I learned, a good one. He was also a walking illustration of an American attitude. When his eye fell on a pile of luggage, he looked over the ship's tags. "So," he remarked, "you have been over in Europe" I nodded: "For a while." He wanted to know what for, and there's where I made my mistake. "Oh, studying international questions, and trying to write about them." He thought this over, then suddenly jabbed a finger at my nose and fixed me with a gleaming eye. "Listen!" he barked. "Do you want me to tell you what's the matter with Europe?"

I ask you, what would you do, chum? An honest answer would have been, "No, I don't. You don't know a thing about it, except what you may have heard from some fellow on the radio, squeezing his facts into a thimbleful of time, and none too well informed at that." But can you say

it? Of course you can't. It would seem unkind, and would stamp you as an insufferable snob.

You know in your heart, anyhow, that you aren't very wise, for that is the one thing you become sure of after working at this particular job. Besides, the guy may have an uncle in Yugobackia who is "in the gumment." For all you know, he may himself be an exiled cabinet minister who just needs cash, shrewdly steering away from the intellectual professions where, assuredly, he will never find it.

It goes deeper than that. Judging by his accent, this expert in his own creditable life work is a settler on our shores, a new American. He has merely been quick to absorb American ways. That's why he has become a self-constituted instructor. For one of America's oldest folk beliefs is that everybody, except experts, has expert information about everything. And I do mean everything.

An overstatement? Let me tell you about George Buildup, a first-rate advertising man who wrote me a letter during the war, after I had spent months in Belgium, and many days of toil getting facts together on a certain hard subject. I had confided in George, who sensed the trouble right away. Said he: "You can't get any information about the Low Countries over there. Why don't you come home?" I started a reply, commencing, "Why don't you"—but tore it up. After all, George wasn't being nasty. He believed it every word.

Letters of praise come to this writer sometimes, believe it or not, and when anyone on the staff gets too critical about something I am about to palm off on my little section of the public, I get one of these out, wave it aloft, and cry: "Carefull Remember this?" Rarely, though not unhelpfully, comes a bit of downright abuse; more often, a useful suggestion. All these make you feel important; you can always go around saying, "Somebody wrote me, back in 1942." But the letter which gets you down is always the one from Edgar Billboard, a fine poster paster, about whose complicated techniques you know nothing, but who knows all about yours.

A while ago the news service which risks this column ran an article on a certain country by a man who knows its language, has been all through it countless times, has interviewed the cabinet at a special sitting, has taught about it at four big universities, has written it up in many standard books and some of the encyclopedias. Afterwards came a letter bitterly assailing our writer, who in certain respects just didn't know what he was writing about. The critic admitted he had never been there, had merely talked with a friend who had, had never made any detailed study of the swiftly changing issues. But that made no difference. Brother, he knew!

The economist, Walton Hamilton, used to insist that you had to earn an opinion before you had a right to offer it. That was a trifle severe; nobody wants to see a whole nation stricken dumb. But I thought of him the other day when I stopped for lunch at a dinner. The juke box was turned off, and everybody had put mufflers on the soup. For a big, loud, and doubtless excellent truck driver was lecturing extensively on Indonesia, the trouble in Costa Rica, the Marshall Plan, rationing in Europe, the chances of Truman's re-election in 1952 and King George's leg. He was original, too. In years of reading and writing on such questions, I had never heard any of the truths he made so vivid.

The New Year has come, and it is time for introspection. I have decided to reject the ancient idea that a little knowledge is a dangerous thing. You can go anywhere with a microscopic accumulation of half-truths, fancies, and attractive guesses. You will be accepted as a fellow-countryman, a respected, likeable chap. You can win friends and incredibly influence people.

But let anyone suspect you are one of these screwballs who wears out his eyes and ears trying to get details, seeking to be sure; who contorts his spine looking for facts in the places where they are born, and also in books, documents, or meticulous studies! If that ever leaks out, you are condemned to a sort of isolation. You can hold forth only to those pathetic people who know they haven't all the truth, those bloodless souls who wander into forums on cold nights. Everywhere else, you can't make yourself heard. Somebody who has the real dope will stop you with a gleaming eye and a pointing finger, and beat the pants off you.

—*Worldover Press.*

RUSSIA CHANGES ARMY DOCTRINE

Whenever high Soviet military officers are promoted or demoted, political observers in outside countries interpret these moves as due to rivalry and personnel scheming inside the Politburo. As a matter of fact, recent shifts in celebrated army personal have been connected with a reversal of strategy which has significant international implications.

Last November, Marshall Vasiliewsky, Chief of the General Staff, was made First Deputy Minister of the Armed Forces.

Colonel-Generals Kurasov, Malandin, Chuikov and Shtemenko were made full Generals of the Army. Shortly before, the elderly Marshal Timoshenko, who had not been heard of for several years and had been supposed dead, appeared prominently at an army review.

Behind these events is an important overlooked story of a change in the major military set-up inside the Soviet Union. Traditionally, Russia has, always depended on massed armies, possible because of the overwhelming man-power in the country. After the war, however, the old pattern was gradually rejected. In line with many other countries, the Soviet Union began to emphasize

smaller forces, highly mobile, well equipped with the mast modern destructive weapons. Decentralization was abandoned, though the new policy was often noted from the outside; for political reasons soldiers were dispersed to remove any danger to the regime from those who had been stationed in parts of Europe with higher living standards.

It was believed by the Russian High Command that in the event of a war, massed Russian armies would not be needed any way, for all the satellite states possessed armed forces, trained by Russian army men and steadily, if slowly, becoming better equipped. The defection of Yugoslavia, the unrest in Poland, and a rising dissatisfaction in most of the nations dominated from Moscow, struck a heavy blow at the Soviet programme. It was realized that in an actual conflict, especially after heavy initial losses,. the satellite armies could not be counted upon with absolute certainty.

Furthermore, although it is never admitted publicly, it is understood by top Soviet leaders that Russian successes in the last war were due in no small measure to the supplies of arms shipped in by Britain and the United States. Despite all the bold talk about Russian technical re-armament, and the tendency to belittle Allied help, the arming of the U. S. S. R. by the efforts of its own bloc is not going well enough to meet security requirements by the Politburo's definition.

That is why a right-about-face has been ordered, and the former concept of huge massed armies re-adopted. Vasiliewsky, in his new position, can co-ordinate the changeover. And Timoshenko, resurrected from oblivion, is the most noted and experienced Soviet advocate of the massed-forces technique. It was Timoshenko, in fact, who actually built the old massed forces along traditional lines. With Timoshenko's oversight and a large corps of proved youthful officers working under Vasiliewsky, it is hoped that the new massed armies can be re-formed in a matter of months.

A master plan has been worked out, through which the most vital harbours, industrial areas, communication centres, etc., will have a massed army near at hand. Thus the project calls for a sort of centralized de-centralization. The massed forces can be distributed widely, both preserving order in remote districts and protecting vital centres. Smaller offensive units, utilizing the best weapons developed, will be held in readiness for any requirements outside of Russia itself, with th large forces in reserve.

The shift of strategy was difficult to adopt, because under the tightest controls a large army far from Moscow might become a political liability. Security for the Politburo's position of dominance is expected, however, from Vasiliewsky's brilliant capacity as an organizer, and from close liaison work with all the field commanders.

—*Worldover Press.*

THESE ARE "DISPLACED CHILDREN"

(By N. HELÆNE JEANTY)

Editor's Note:—The writer is a Belgian woman who, with her husband, was arrested by the Gestapo during the war for hiding a British aviator. Feigning lunacy to save her husband from execution, she was taken to a German asylum where she lived for many months. Toward the end of the conflict her husband was finally shot by the Germans with all the members of his forced labour brigade. Nevertheless, Mme. Jeanty works in Germany for relief of the needy, and is employed by Church World Service. Her book, "Certified Sane," has been published in England, and her story dramatized over the B. B. C. from London.

Prien, charmingly located on Bavaria's Chiemsee, is a centre for displaced children. Most of them have no families; though sometimes parents are discovered in Poland, Romania, Yugoslavia or elsewhere, and then they are repatriated. Some have been taken care of by German families, and when separation comes, there is tragedy.

Nearby is a simple German family who, though they had three children of their own, five years ago took in a little French boy. Last winter, when he had typhus, his German foster-mother stayed by his bedside 40 nights. The boy is now eight, and a French grandmere has claimed him. My friend, the social worker, has to go to the German home and take him away; she comes out shaken. The despair of the German family was horrible to see, and Miss M. says: "The real mother is the German one—if she did not give life to the child, she has given it back." But on the whole it is best to repatriate the youngsters, for later, when they have become men, they might turn into rebels.

At Prien there are four hotels and three houses requisitioned to harbour these children. At the hotel housing the offices you find Miss S., an American woman who could have stayed at home and remained comfortable. Here she does a marvellous job. But it is emotionally hard. Many of the boys and girls have been abandoned by their mothers, some of whom have gone off with an occupation soldier. When they are taken away from Miss S. they cry bitterly, for they have then lost the one mother they have known.

We go from postwar to prewar when we enter the magnificent old house where five of the social workers are billeted. Schneider, the gardener, says that the house belonged to General Braun, of the Luftwaffe, who committed suicide in this dwelling on April 30, 1945, unable to bear the regime, or defeat, any longer.

We sit around the lounge, so spacious that at first one hardly sees the grand Bechstein in a corner. I start a Chopin prelude, then a Bach invention, and soon one lives for the moment. The children will be there tomorrow . . . . and tomorrow.

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"I will be as harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard".

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the LIBERATOR.

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NOTES

G. A. Natesan:—G. A. Natesan, founder-editor of the "Indian Review", died in Madras on Sunday. Natesan had been in indifferent health for some years. When this writer last saw him in October 1947 at Madras, Natesan was, unlike his usual habitual optimism, in a very depressed mood. A close associate and friend of the late V. Srinivas Sastri, Natesan was a Liberal. And before party politics came into the country, he was Court publisher, as it were, for Indian Nationalism. Through the biographies of famous Indians and friends of India, known more familiarly as the "four-anna patriots", which issued out of his press, the public was given access to political literature written with sobriety and moderation and presented in the pleasing form of narrative. Others sought to imitate him but without the same success. His "Indian Review" was a strange venture in Indian journalism. Men who have started a newspaper or a journal in India, have usually done it because they had a cause to advocate, a fight to wage. The "Indian Review" has not been particularly known for the fervency of its advocacy of any particular principle. It was more a work of reference, giving in a handy form the principal happenings of the month than a journal of opinion. In another sense, Natesan was unique among Indian journalists: He was a businessman who succeeded without resorting to sensationalism and scandal-mongering.

Indo-American Relations:—Speaking at the Benares University, Mr. Loy Henderson, the American Ambassador, referred to the prevailing American lack of knowledge on Indian affairs and the growing consciousness that the ingnorance should be dispelled. Obviously Mr. Henderson was speaking of the politicians and businessmen of America. So far as the university group goes, there has been for years a keen interest in India, keener than there is in countries nearer to us. The present curiosity is not an unmixed blessing since it has to be fed on a mass basis. For one thing the American correspondent abroad is a journalist very much in a hurry; for another, we are ourselves putting out in our sensational press matter that is meant to be read in a hurry. All this makes for hasty and unbalanced judgement—on both sides. Mr. Henderson referred to the early days of American Independence and contrasted it with the conditions existing here after Indian Freedom was attained. We are glad that he did so. The condition of the American press in those days when scurrility flourished so much as to have been credited with driving George Washington out of public life, will help him to understand certain developments in the Indian press, which must be deplored since it tends to discredit even fair comment and just criticism.

As Others See Us:—A common reaction on the part of Western observers of Indian politics relating to the R. S. S and its recent demonstrations is that after Soviet Russia India has the unfortunate distinction of holding the largest number of persons in detention. It is startling enough to call for notice. We have had this remark shot out at us fairly often in recent days. But it is an unfair summing up of a situation which has aspects other than those presented by Civil Liberties. After the partition of India on a communal basis, itself following on an era of intense communal campaigning, the migration of a large population into India created an unprecedented situation. Many of those coming over had stories of personal hardship to narrate; the rest were under a great emotional strain. Rioting in the capital and the assassination of Gandhiji when he was working hard to achieve communal tolerance produced strong Government measures which drove communalism out of public life but at the same time set it working in subterranean channels. Even

firmer handling was needed and the Government's various policies gave scope for mischief. The challenge of the R. S. S. followed by the Hindu Mahasabha's decision to revive its political activities, came as a sinister reminder that communalism was not dead, even in the majority community where it had least reason to persist. The Government could not sit quiet under the threat and it has acted. We are not so much a Democracy today as a Democracy in the making. As such, a certain amount of paternalism in our rulers is necessary and to be expected. Unfortunately, there are several factors which prevent a frank statement of this position and there is a consequent misunderstanding even in quarters which ought to know better.

Linguistic Provinces:—Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, the Congress President, has spoken on the subject of linguistic provinces. The Jaipur Congress had set up a Committee of three, on which the Congress President serves. It is not fitting that Dr. Pattabhi should go about propagating his views and denouncing the Dhar Commission's report even before the Committee meets. Dr. Pattabhi has stated in Adyar that the Commission was not able "to sense the new currents of thought in the country in solving this fundamental problem". He cannot get away from the fact that the Commission was appointed by the President of the Constituent Assembly and that it is improper to question its competence in a superficial way. It is rather straining constitutionalism to have even a political party interposing a Committee of scrutiny and revision, as it were, over a Commission duly appointed by the Constituent Assembly and directed to report back to that body. The Congress Committee is to take three months at the most and meanwhile the Constituent Assembly, presumably, will not be able to consider the Commission's report. This in itself is an awkward position for the Government and it will find it difficult to have able and independent men serving on any of its Committee in future. But it is even more embarrassing for the Commission's Report to be publicly attacked by the Congress President, during the period of scrutiny. Dr. Pattabhi's views on linguistic provinces are well known but that itself is one more reason for a discreet silence on his part. Moreover, he is creating all manner of difficulties for his two colleagues on the Committee—Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel.

SOVIET RUSSIAN RELATIONS

(By SHANTI)

Marcel Cachin, Deputy Leader of the French Communists, struck a curiously conciliatory note in his address at the opening of the French Parliament. It contrasts strangely with the unseemly sparring indulged in by the Russian and American delegates during the debate on Indonesia at Lake Success. Referring to the relations between the U. S. A. and Russia Marcel Cachin observed: "Nobody would dare to assert that the two powerful nations are at this time irreducably opposed and that their different systems prevent them from collaborating pacifically. If it was possible to reach an understanding to conduct war, it is undoubtedly easier to collaborate to maintain peace." There is something so promising in this passage that one is led to believe that the Communist foreign policy might have been changed. Both the thought and sentiment of this observation reflect the feelings of a detached observer of the international scene. It is true that Communist Russia endeavours to control all human activity. But it is equally true that Russia has been compelled to make concessions to allow individual initiative to assert itself. What is even more important is that like all other autocratic governments the Russian government always has suppressed civil liberties on the ground of expediency. Its excesses constantly have been justified with the excuse that the young state hedged in by hostile capitalist powers could not afford the luxury of freedom of thought and expression. Communism has branded liberty as a bourgeois concept, but its concept of liberty was identical with that of the unbridled freedom prevailing in capitalist countries at the beginning of the century. That notion of liberty is now dead. The pendulum today swings indeed in an opposite direction in democratic countries. While Russia is engaged in adapting her ideal of economic equality to allow scope for individual initiative a capitalist country like the U. S. A. is devising means for increasing state control of economic activity. President Truman's latest address to the Congress bears this out amply. It is significant that American thought is reviewing today its ideas on freedom of the press and expression with equal earnestness. The two reports entitled Freedom of the Press and Freedom of the Movies published in the U. S. A. make interesting reading In politics also the absolute supremacy of majority parties is creating a problem in democratic countries similar to that of countries governed by one party governments. As Laski himself has observed, the principle of give and take between parties operates succesfully only when all parties are agreed on fundamentals. When parties are faced with vital differences the power of the party whip is apt to be exercised ruthlessly on the individual members of the party.

For all these reasons it seems possible that if Russia and America can be pursuaded to allow each other to work out their own social patterns peacefully the world can easily be saved another war. It is even conceivable that under such circumstances the Russian and the American way of life will gradually be harmonised. A society might then evolve which will have reconciled the seemingly irreconcileables—collectivism and individualism. Revolutions like wars are caused by fear and insecurity. If one's cherished way of life is threatened one resorts to eliminating the elements that endanger one's peace There is a Nemesis that overcomes all one's efforts to secure peace forcefully. Like revolutions wars never solve problems but create new and more acute ones. It is strange indeed that liberal thought which abhors revolutions should be reconciled to wars.

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THE ASIAN CONFERENCE

Few events have aroused as much notice as the projected Asian Conference during the past few weeks. Its announcement has evoked jubilation and fear. Those who rejoiced, sought to expand its scope and a suggestion was made current that the conference was a precursor of an Asian bloc which would be a counterblast to the other two blocs within the U.N. There was started a subtle propaganda against it by interested quarters hinting that it was the beginning of a new anti-white bloc. Obviously this propaganda was aimed to win over the Western powers who were sympathetic to the Indonesian cause. It was both nefarious and stupid to introduce the colour complex into the issue. Whatever the result of the Conference—and Pandit Nehru has stressed that it will not supplant the U.N., — if during its meetings the beginnings of a Union of countries in the Asian sphere are established, then there will have been laid the foundations of the breaking down of national barriers which only obstruct the economic advance of Asian countries. The participation of Australia is surely surety enough of no anti-white bloc being formed. Besides, colour consciousness is a peculiarly Western complex. Neither Indians nor Arabs discriminated against people because of colour in the days when they were spreading their influence abroad. An Asian Union, when it is formed, need not be anti-Western, any more than the Western Union need be anti-Eastern. It is true that the part the Dutch are playing is creating a bitter feeling, that the implicit support the French and the Belgians are giving them, is not helpful in creating a trustful attitude in Asian people. Also the encouragement given to Israel has made the Arabs feel that the Western nations will always support people of their own way of life. Pandit Nehru's task in keeping the Conference to its purpose of only showing sympathy for a neighbouring country which is the victim of aggression may not prove easy. But active Australian participation will help him a good deal, so will the sympathetic attitude adopted by the U.S.A. In the long run whether Asia becomes anti-West or not depends entirely on the West. Actions like those of the Dutch, vacillating and doubtful protestations against imperialism as those of the British do not help matters. The U.S.A. today can play the most dynamic role in establishing a harmonious relation between East and West. But to do so it will have to be more precise, more bold and imaginative than it has been to date in implementing its verbal sympathies for Asiatic nationalism.

SYED ABDULLA BRELVI

The death of Syed Abdulla Brelvi on Sunday evening at his residence in Bombay, removes from Indian journalism a silent and unostentatious worker. If one were asked what were the permanent achievements of his effort, the reply would be the Bombay Journalists' Association of India—now the Bombay Union of Journalists—and the "Bombay Chronicle". It is interesting to note that Brelvi's first published article appeared in the "Indian Social Reformer" some thirty-five years ago. Much has been said of Brelvi's political views and party affiliations but the fact remains that Brelvi's personal leanings were for independent writing. In a recent personal talk on the daily newspaper as compared to weekly journalism during which this writer spoke of his own inclination to turn away finally from daily journalism, Brelvi had a nostalgic look. Then he smiled and said, "It has always been my ambition to edit a weekly journal." Indian Journalism has two facets in its struggle for freedom: One with the Government and the other with Business, particularly that side of Business which controls the Press. The Indian Press as a whole won whatever it did against an alien bureaucracy partly because there were men in it who worked through negotiation whilst others more spectacularly broke the law; and the moderating element dominated because journalism is not a profession controlled by the have-nots, and those who represent and speak for the Press are usually men with a vested interest and a certain amount of property or their deputies which has necessarily a sobering influence. Men with presses to confiscate will not flout the Government. The very thing which enforced a working arrangement with Government obstructed the securing of working conditions for journalists, the domination of the commercial side of the newspaper. It was in this condition that Brelvi found the Press and he made the best he could out of it. An unequalled committee-man, Brelvi could always be relied on to produce the right formula for the right occasion. The country and the press can ill afford to lose him at this juncture when ministers are so sensitive of public criticism. For Brelvi may have saved many an irresponsible editor from the consequences of his irresponsibility, but he has even more often saved the Government from making mountains out of molehills. To Brelvi, the modern conception of a press not only free but responsible as well had a great appeal, and he was rather inclined to slur over the dangers of a responsibility forced on the press from outside.

GERMAN REARMAMENT

(By DEVERE ALLEN)

Kenneth C. Royall, Secretary of the Army, has denied that the United States and its prospective allies in the proposed North Atlantic Pact are considering the re-militarization of West Germany and the formation of a German army. Mr. Royall's statement was made, rather significantly, at Frankfurt, while on a military and economic survey of Europe.

The denial was necessary because the German press had been full of rumours to the effect that a vast armed force was to be created by the Western powers, based partly on leadership from former officers under Hitler, supposedly converted to a new, and surprising, job as defenders of democracy. Soviet propaganda had of course been saying this right along; but the wave of German interest in the proposal was something quite beyond propaganda.

It is odd that pratically all press reports sent out of Germany about this development have tried to blame the story on the Germans. A Frankfurt writer, one Eugen Kogon, was supposed to have started the tale, declaring that the task of re-militarization was already under way.

Not that simple is the explanation. It was no German paper, but the "United States News", which asserted: "Military experts of the United States are to work on a new political line: they recommend the rebuilding of the German army as a balance against the Russians. It is the opinion of the military that the Germans would be more willing to take up military duties than the hesitant French."

In their poverty, many Germans would undoubtedly enter almost any army that provided good food and clothes. But how secure would the West ever really be, once those Germans who are most interested in fighting got rifles in their hands again? Fortunately, there are many voices in Germany which have been outspoken in their denunciation of re-armament for their country, and the possibility of being drawn into another war.

One of the first German papers to be suppresed by Hitler when he came to power was "Das Andere Deutschland", meaning the other Germany. It had long played a valiant part in the struggle against the old type of German militarism. After the war it was revived, and was licensed in the British Zone. About the rumoured creation of a German army it said: "While in Nuremberg German Field Marshalls are still on trial for war guilt, assemblies in Germany are legally sanctioning refusal of military service; the German soldier is typed, by the side which condemns him; as willing to give his blood, like a lout, ready to follow anyone who points a sword to the East."

Says this paper: "A clear mission challenges German youth. It is the mission of peace, in a society above nationalism. The Germany of today is ready for any kind of agreement that is honest. But it is not willing to be used as a 'balance,' or for ruthless ends which cannot serve peace."

Is the plan dead? Will Mr. Royall's denial stick? Was he speaking only of a situation up to now, or will the plan for a German army be revived later on? That is what Europe would like to know. Because so many utterances in favour of German re-armament have been made in places low, there is a tendency to believe that the proposal still has support in places high. It is plainly a subject on which there can be no shilly-shallying. If Germany is not to be re-armed, there will have to be more explicit statements still. This is one topic about which America can leave no doubt in European minds.

Almost anything can be found in present-day Germany. It all depends on what you are looking for. The long dictatorship on the top of the old influences of Prussian militarism has left some of the older generation who think on traditional lines. Yet there are a really astonishing number of small groups working for a peaceful Germany in a peaceful world, and pathetically eager for outside contacts and moral backing. There are youth groups which show a genuine promise, amid the prevalent frustration.

Not mere imagination but a genuine feeling was expressed by a German editor who recently remarked, of the suggested German army. "The overwhelming majority of German youth, who would be the object of a German re-militarization, have 'the nose full' of war and cries of war. They have entirely different concerns. Yet think of it! Hardly has the last general been judged, before the first new general is enlisting a commando!"

What do we want of the German people? A true reformation? A turning away from the habits and ways of thought which we have excoriated for the past 35 years? A trustworthy country, growing toward the democracy which it has only fitfully known? Or a revival of the goose-stepping, heel-clicking, bullying civilization which turned its mechanical genius toward conquest and advancement by force? We can have it only one way, not both. For the sake of the next German generation, for the sake of West Europe, for the sake of the world, Mr. Royall had better be sure he means it when he says the West will not rebuild German militarism, for any purpose whatsoever.

—*Worldover Press.*

COLOMBIAN ARMY PLEDGES LOYALTY TO DEMOCRACY

(By ROSA E. LOBEL)

President Mariano Ospina Perez of Colombia, after the usual adjournment of the National Congress, raised the state of siege which had prevailed throughout the country ever since last April 9, declaring that civil order reigned in every corner of the Republic.

Noting that rumours had been flying about because the Venezuelan army had seized power

in the neighbouring country, General Ocampo, War Minister, issued a statement to the press categorically denying that talk of a similar act in Colombia had any foundation. He declared, on the contrary, that the armed forces would always support the legally elected government and maintain public order at any cost. Through him, the army asserted its loyal backing to the present regime, as to all constitutional government in general.

At the eleventh hour, Congress approved several measures for the stabilization of the nation's fiscal and economic affairs, including a new law which requires firms whose capital exceeds a specified sum to pay a tax on profits, which is to be passed on to their employees, to give greater security to the workers.

—*Worldover Press.*

FINLAND'S INTERNATIONAL ROLE

(By REGINALD SPINK)

Accustomed though they are to Soviet demarches, the Finns were alarmed, and slightly puzzled, when in quick succession their government received two sharply worded notes from Moscow on comparatively trivial matters.

One note concerned the detention of two minor Russian officials who had clearly underestimated the potency of Finnish liquor. The other dealt with two plays that had been running for months at Helsinki theatres but had already been taken off when the protest was made.

Non-Communist opinion in Scandinavia is agreed in thinking that there is more in the Soviet protests than meets the eye. Their deeper significance may be indicated by an article in the Moscow "Novoya Vremya" which followed up the diplomatic notes and accused influential Finns of "sympathizing with Sweden's desire to join in an Atlantic Union."

There can be no doubt that many Finns look longingly toward Scandinavia, to which by culture, tradition and democratic development they felt they belonged until recent history brought them once more under Russian dominance. Karl August Fagerholm, who heads Finland's Social Democratic government, is a popular figure in Scandinavian labour circles, and although he has been at pains since he took office to stress Finland's wish to be on good terms with Russia, his lifelong advocacy of Scandinavian cooperation has been made the basis of attacks on him by the Finnish Communists.

It is widely inferred that the Russian representations were intended to chasten such pro-Scandinavian groups, and Finns generally, lest they forget the lessons of geography at a time when discussion of Scandinavian cooperation, in Norway, Denmark and Sweden, is no longer confined to social and cultural matters, but mainly concerns defence.

So far, despite a series of conferences and much back-stage negotiation, little progress has been made towards achieving a common Scandinavian defence programme, mainly because of the failure to reconcile Norwegian and Swedish foreign policy. For while Norway would like to see a defensive union in association with a wider grouping of the Western powers, such Swedish desire as there is to "join in an Atlantic Union" remains limited to a small, if vocal, band of publicists in the Liberal Party press. Official Sweden, backed undoubtedly by a vast majority of Swedes, stands by its traditional policy of neutrality, or what they prefer to call independence. Scandinavian Union must not be a halfway house to Western Union.

The trump card of Swedish separatism, significantly, is Finland. If Sweden were to unite in a bloc opposed to Russia, so runs the argument, then the Soviet Union would be provoked into military countermeasures against Finland. The relative independence which the Finns now enjoy would be lost, and their country would become a full-time partner in the Soviet bloc.

This argument is thought to weigh heavily in Swedish government councils, and it is credibly reported that Sweden's crack diplomat, Eric Boheman, since he was recently posted to Washington, has been meeting with some success in his efforts to persuade the State Department of its force.

There is, however, another aspect to the question. Many people are asking, throughout Scandinavia, whether Russia, playing cat and mouse with Finland, may not be following the very aim of promoting Swedish neutrality, thus preventing the establishment of a Scandinavian bloc along the lines on which Norway seems to insist. How else explain the extraordinary mildness with which Finland has been treated, compared with other Soviet satellites? Alone among countries in the Russian orbit, Finland has a freely-elected social democratic government, with the Communists in opposition. That by itself is a perplexing fact; and there is relative freedom of speech and movement, press and parliament. Were Finnish democracy to be replaced by a regime like that of Czechoslovakia, Swedish independence would obviously lose overnight its principal reason for being. The realization of the fears which now restrain the Swedes might well then cause them to throw in their lot with the West.

If this theory to account for the softness of Russian policy in Finland is correct, the Soviet notes become part of a wider strategy aimed not so much at Finland as at Scandinavia. In this strategy, a Finland relatively free and independent, but open to encroachment at any time, is of greater value to Moscow than a subjugated vassal. An occasional expression of discontent with the Finns, put out as a warning to Sweden, is all that is necessary to maintain what seems to be an obvious aim of Russian policy—a divided Scandinavia.

—*Worldover Press.*

"RE-EDUCATION" IN POLAND

The Communist government of Poland is intensifying everywhere the process of popular political "re-education" in accord with the principles of Marxist-Leninism. The job is the order of the day in every city and village, in workshops, offices and schools.

Under the new Minister of Education, attempts are being made to indoctrinate children with Communist ideology. The method is less drastic than might have been expected from a member of the Communist Executive. What the Polish child is expected to know, and made to pass an examination in, is an ostensibly innocuous subject called "Polish Contemporary History." It includes the whole system of the "people's democracy," and knowledge of its friends and foes.

The child is required to know not only who President Bierut is, but also to understand the significance of the July Manifesto, which formed the basis of the present political system. Contemporary history is given an entirely new interpretation. Even such questions as the Marshall Plan and the Pope's letter to the German bishops, which caused such an outburst of indignation against the Vatican, have found their way into the elementary school classroom, and the children are asked to write essays on them.

What is looked for in the elementary school pupil is also expected in a far greater degree from the grammar school pupil, the university student, and, it appears, in the university professor himself. To facilitate the teacher's task of giving political education, the Education Ministry is issuing special periodicals directly concerned with current affairs from the official point of view.

For the political education of adults, the Polish Communists have a Central Political School at Lodz with branches in several big cities. First to obtain political training are the party "activists," most of whom hold positions in state administration and are leaders of the movement in the provinces. They in turn indoctrinate others. Thousands of these functionaries have already gone through political courses in the Central Political School and their places are now being taken by members of a lower rank.

The courses are compulsory and last from one to six months, depending on the education and intelligence of the students. Lectures designed for the party hierarchy, for the workers who have now become directors of state undertakings, differ in form and substance.

On the same lines as the Communists, the members of other parties in the government bloc have their own centres of political instruction. Nationalism is regarded as a formidable vice in the curriculum of political education; but nationalism means, actually, any form of independence from the East European system of thought promulgated by the Moscow Kremlin.

In the lecture on "Liberty and the Workingman in the People's Democracies," the student is told that freedom is not absolute, but a class concept, and that it is impossible to speak of it without first deciding who has a right to enjoy it.

—*Worldover Press.*

"THESE ARE DISPLACED CHILDREN"-II

(By N. HELENE JEANTY)

At the Kampenwand Hotel at Prien are children under 10. They don't understand much about their situation, throwing themselves into our arms in a spontaneous need for affection. There is an exhibit of the children's work—drawings, embroidery, etc.—the same as among all the children of the world, with bright flowers, the sun, the mountains, but chiefly the animals. I warmly congratulate little Marco, the Russian with a dreamy face; he is all pink with emotion.

At the Strand Hotel there are Jewish children, many of them over 18. One could wish they, too, did not understand what they are up against, but they do. Their questions, their imploring eyes! "What about me?" And then, when their companions leave, "It's all so hard!" One young girl spent five years in a concentration camp: her family are all dead; ever since the war she has been waiting to emigrate. While she sobs her heart out, Miss M. can only stroke her hair.

Another girl of 17 years asks nothing, but begs with her eyes. Everything was arranged; she was going to Canada. But at the last moment her father was found. He has married again and doesn't want her; but because she is not now classed as an orphan, she cannot leave. It means months longer, to start new proceedings and put them through.

A future rabbi, eight years old, wearing the calotte, with two patches of long hair covering his ears, comes toward us to shake hands with a seriousness which is, somehow, not at all funny. Some are not allowed to shake hands with a woman; their food, especially prepared by Jewish rite, arrives in cans carefully assigned to their personal use.

And here are some favoured ones. A lovely boy, nine, and his sister, well bred and refined, await shipment to a rich aunt in America; But in the corridor we come across an adorable young girl wearing a long nightdress, and with angel's hair, who smiles at us sweetly. Then Miss M. sighs: "She is deaf and dumb, and no one will want her."

Here are letters from a 16-year-old boy who went to Canada all by himself, and with the help he found along the way made a place for himself. If all could be as fortunate! Off at a distance, these remaining children may be thought of as "cases." Here they are warm and infinitely varied human beings, flotsam on a sea of cruelty and war. At the end of the day, we are strangely worn.

MALAYAN TRADE UNION

(By STAN AWBERY*)

Malaya is about the size of England, but 80 per cent of the country is jungle. It has a population of over 5,000,000 consisting of Malays, Chinese and Indians. The two chief industries are tin-mining and rubber-planting.

Both these industries were partly destroyed during the Japanese occupation, but the work of rehabilitation has made good progress and output is increasing. The psychological injury done by the Japanese occupation was, I believe, worse than the material damage, and it will take longer to repair.

The trade union movement in Malaya is in its infancy. Before the war it did not exist. There were, however, numerous social clubs, and it was in these that the workers discussed their industrial and social problems. When the Trade Union Ordinance of 1940 became effective in 1945, these clubs formed the basis of the unions.

A great problem which faces the movement in Malaya is that of educating the workers in trade union practices. This is very difficult, for not only is there a great deal of illiteracy to contend with, but also the fact that a very large number of workers, who were members of guerilla bands during the occupation and who practiced illegal methods with great success, resent being expected to return to a normal, lawful existence. Only time and patient teaching will bring about a change in their outlook.

In 1945 and 1946 scores of trade unions were started, and there is no doubt that the promoters of many of them had a genuine desire to improve the conditions of the workers. But others had different motives

In addition to the unions, there are federations in each of the states, and there is also a federation of all the states—the Pan-Malayan Federation, which was recently outlawed by the Governor.

The federations employ permanent officials, who travel from factory to factory and from plantation to plantation to collect contributions from the workers. But when we inquired from many officials of unions with reasonably sized membership whether they had any funds, the answer was either "No" or that they were very small. It is problematic what is being done with them. While federations in Britain were formed to serve the unions, in Malaya the unions are subservient to the federations.

We discussed with several managers of plantations the complaint we had received that union officials were not permitted to hold meetings and collect contributions. The answer was that people unknown to the management and the workers often visited the plantation by night and created trouble. The managements would continue to object to such people, but they were willing to provide facilities for bona fide trade union officials who had a permit issued by the Labour Office or the Trade Union Adviser. Any officer holding a permit would be allowed to hold meetings on the estates and collect contributions. One can appreciate the attitude of managements when it is realised that most of the estates are like islands in the jungle. The workers live on the plantation, their children attend its schools, the sick go to its hospitals and the people buy at its shops. They see and know little of the outside world.

They are easily frightened and intimidated, particularly by strangers. A man claiming to be a trade union official appears among them and brings about a strike. The manager meets the workers and even though he agrees to all their demands, they will not settle until some outside power has been consulted. This outside power carries no responsibilities and appears to be more concerned with creating chaos in the country than in obtaining a square deal for the workers.

Although there are many unions in Malaya, there is practically no wage-negotiating machinery, but in many industries it is in the process of being established.

The railwaymen, who are organised in seven unions, have set up an interim joint industrial council. I attended the inaugural meeting, and was impressed with the ability of the men in grappling with their problems. The Welfare Officer at the railway centre is an old executive member of the National Union of Railwaymen, and he has been of great help to them.

The rubber planters are endeavouring to set up similiar machinery. The employers are organized in a federation and their president is a far-sighted and progressive man. They are inviting the unions to form a similar organization so that joint meetings can be held for the negotiation of wage rates and conditions for the whole rubber industry.

Other industries, and also government departments, have their joint committees, but they are not functioning as they should. In some cases the committees are regarded by the employers as places for just "letting off of steam", instead of reaching agreements providing decent wages and conditions. This attitude has a tendency to weaken the unions that are desirous of reaching reasonable settlements and avoiding strife, and tends to strengthen the direct actionists.

The government, which is probably the largest employer, should set an example to the other employers by establishing joint committees in all departments and seeing that they function efficiently in dealing with labour problems. If this were done, there is no doubt that other employers would follow.

* Stan Awbery, Member of Parliament and Member of the British Transport and General Workers' Union, recently visited Malaya and Singapore on a seven-week inquiry into the trade union movements and labour conditions there. The following article is reprinted from the September, 1948, issue of the "T. & G. W. Record."

Wages in Malaya are very small in comparison with Western standards. Before the war, the average wage of an unskilled man was half a dollar. It is now a dollar and a half. A piece-work tapper on a plantation can earn two dollars a day. In other industries, a man may earn four or five dollars, but such cases are very few. In addition to their wages, the workers in most instances receive free living accommodation for themselves and their families and one meal a day The working day is eight hours. Most industries work continuously, with no week-end break; but most of the workers have a day off once a week and, in addition, they have days off for festivals and religious holidays, for which they are paid.

While wages have gone up by three times since 1939, the cost of food has risen by four times or more. Rice, for example, which is the staple food of the people, and which cost 1 penny a pound in 1939 now costs 6 pence a pound. Rice is rationed at about two and two-thirds of a pound per week per person. But no one can live on this, and consequently people are forced to buy the extra they need in the black-market at, of course, much higher prices. This is a source of considerable discontent, which could be removed if the ration was increased.

While there is some factory inspection, there are no Factory Acts or regulations in operation. In many of the factories I visited, I noticed the machinery was unguarded.

There are no social services as we understand them in this country. But many of the rubber plantations have hospital systems which are quite good. Treatment is free to all the workers and their families Schools are also provided. These are built by the employers, who also provide the teachers, but salaries are paid by the government.

In the towns of Malaya there are a few large schools. The standard of education is fairly high, and each year scholarships are awarded to students to attend a British university. It is from these large schools that will come the future leaders of the country.

At Singapore that are 6,000 dockers—Malays, Chinese and Indians. Other ports are Penang, Swettenham and Malacca. Wages are approximately a dollar and a half a day, with meals and living accommodation. All discharging and loading is done by winches. There are no cranes. The work is all casual and the men work on an average five days a week.

At Singapore the dock company used to employ labour through a contractor, who received a piecework allowance from the company and who paid the men. But while I was there, the company decided to engage the labour direct. I wondered what the reaction of the men would be, but they accepted it quite willingly, despite attempts by friends of the contractor to stir up strife.

The officers in the Labour Departments which have been established by the government, and the Trade Union Advisers are giving all the help they can to the new unions. These are men who have had a long experience of the movement in this country, and they have enlisted the active support of a number of young natives whose work is having a great influence on their fellow-countrymen. The government is arranging for some of these young men to come to this country for training. The British Trades Union Congress is cooperating in this venture, and I have no doubt that, after touring our industries and studying our industries and studying our wage-regulating machinery, they will return to their country with practical knowledge of the methods to employ in grappling with industrial and social problems.

INTERFERENCE WITH THE LAW

When Dr. Ambedkar secured the amendment of his own original article in the draft Constitution requiring separation of the Executive from the Judiciary in three years, he pleaded that this provision would give some provinces an excuse for putting off to the limit a reform which they could really achieve much earlier; he also contended that for some provinces, specially States units, three years would be too short a time to carry out the reform in. The position today is that the principle has been accepted but there is no guarantee that it will be applied, at any rate in the calculable future. Meanwhile, instances are accumulating of the need for an early introduction of the reform. The latest is reported in a recent issue of the "Statesman" from Bihar where the Patna High Court of its own motion cancelled the order of discharge in a case where a Merchant was charged with attempting to bribe a rationing official and had his case twice withdrawn. Mr. Mahesh Prasad Sinha, M. L. A. and advocate, interceded on both occasions, first by a letter to the District Magistrate and, then, when on an interpellation in the Bihar Assembly the Provincial Government ordered it to be restarted, by writing to the Secretary to the Government of the Price Control Department. It seems that the letter to the Magistrate, which, it was pleaded in the High Court, was addressed not to him as the judicial officer trying the case but as to the head of the administration in the district, described the case as false and required looking into by competent persons. The High Court has strongly condemned Mr. Sinha's conduct as an attempt to prejudice the Magistrate by giving a one-sided version and to question his competence. The second letter has vanished in the dark pigeonholes of the Secretariat and was not produced in Court by the Government for "reasons of State." Evidently the Bihar Government is ashamed of something and Mr. Sinha's influence extends over a greater area than is apparent on the surface. If this had taken place in any other country, there would have been a Secretarial inquiry with several suspensions. There is no reason why there should not be a thorough overhaul in Bihar.

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"I will be as harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard".

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the LIBERATOR.

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NOTES

The Asian Conference:—There is evident in Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's inaugural address to the Asian Conference more than a little anxiety lest it get out of hand. Though he has stressed the fact that it is for the Conference to decide its own objectives and purposes, he has carefully suggested that it should work within the United Nations and with the intention of strengthening it and rendering it more effective as an organisation for world peace. At the same time, he was extremely careful to keep the delegates from any racial or national prejudice, even going so far as to declare that the Conference was against no nation or group of nations. Several delegates who spoke on the opening day were inclined to go much farther than the Indian Prime Minister. General Romulo of the Philippines, a champion of small-nation solidarity to check the Big Powers in the Security Council, very practically called for effective action if the Security Council should not respond to the lead of the Asian Conference. The General's suggestion that a permanent Asian Secretariat should be set up in Delhi or in Manila, is an important one which the Conference would do well to adopt. Apart from the speeches, the Conference is a momentous rally of Asian and other exploited peoples to the call of India, not only for help to Indonesia but also for effective machinery to resist aggression. It is to be hoped that the assembled delegates will show themselves as capable of organisational work as their countries and governments have shown themselves responsive to the call of freedom and peace. This is more important than any assurances to the guilty West that there is no intention of punishing its past misdeeds and persecutions. Long before Asia can even think of revenging her wrongs—and this is more true of Africa—it is necessary to put in solid patient work to remove the imperial yoke from the last Asian neck. That this should be resented as an anti-White campaign, shows that Europe is a parasitic continent which owes its prosperity to the toiling millions of Asia and Africa. Without them, it must perish, and the West is not yet ready for equal cooperation. It is to the credit of Australia and New Zealand that they have recognized the justice of Asia's cause and associated themselves fully with the Conference. But we trust that appreciation of this recognition will not lead to a toning down of the Conference decisions. It is worth mention that after the initial aversion writers in the West have rather welcomed the Asian Conference, particularly in the United States of America.

Panic in the West:—The Western Powers who have only themselves to thank for recent developments, have reacted in a state of panic to the Asian Conference which has been summoned at Delhi. The failure to do justice to Asian nationalism is a long-standing weakness of all international organisations dominated by European nations. The League of Nations was sabotaged from the start by this excessive racialism. The United Nations saw a practical demonstration of "White solidarity" when Dutch aggression on Indonesia was not only tolerated but even encouraged by the vacillations of the imperialisms and pseudo-imperialisms of the West. The Asian Conference, about which Pandit Jawaharlal has been both anxious and circumspect, is the natural answer to the fellowship of the Colonial Powers. The very fact that it has been summoned, has roused the U.S.A. into greater action in the United Nations, evidently in the expectation that by timely decisions there the Asian Conference can be forestalled and its thunder stolen. This, however, is counting without the Dutch who have done all they could to embarrass their apologists. The Asian Conference which was called for immediate relief to Indonesia, is now the symbol of something more.

China Sacrificed:—Devere Allen commenting on the indications that there is less tension between the U.S.A. and Soviet Russia mentions as the most prominent of these Mr. Truman's attitude towards China and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek. This is certainly more significant for Russia than any assurance of the American President that he contemplates no change of policy towards Russia. Mr. Allen remarks that there are other signs too of a growing feeling that the U. S. State Department can effect a deal with the Politburo, and he welcomes Dean Acheson's appointment to succeed General Marshall as bringing to the tasks of the State Department a more experimental and less rigid mind. Mr. Allen might be right in his estimate of the American policy but he seems a bit too optimistic when he holds out the greater moderation of the Soviet criticisms of the West as a proof of change on the other side and he rather tends to overlook the fact that the very argument he puts forward for "a let-up in the cold-war"—"Communism, where it has not been able to rule by armed force, has steadily and drastically lost momentum"—while perfectly valid ground for America to seek peaceful adjustment is very much calculated to force Russia to manoeuvre more and more for armed-force decisions. Mr. Allen asks for a new approach which will prevent World War III and at the same time not sacrifice more countries to the Soviet influence. He feels that the United States and the Soviet Union can work together without giving up ideological differences; he even thinks apparently that "Soviet cruelty, dictatorship and suppression of dissenting views" can and should be condemned by Americans. We wonder. After all there is much to be said for differences in point of view and the Americans certainly do not relish outside denunciation even of things they themselves admit are wrong. We publish this week an article which suggests a rather different approach—that of trying to understand the other points of view. Mr. Allen wants conflicts restricted to the plane of reason, avoiding armed clashes. This other approach goes deeper and seeks to replace conflict by understanding. So long as differences are left unexplained or even fanned, there will always be the fear, and sometimes the fact, of open warfare. It is significant that the better American mind is rather uneasy about the sacrifice of China.

Puerto Rico's Autonomy:—Luis Munoz Marin, sworn in as Puerto Rico's first elected Governor, has given practical demonstration of his democratic and secular principles. A "Worldover Press" correspondent reports from the capital, San Juan, that at a huge reception at the Governor's residence, scores of peasants were asked as guests of the Governor. "The island's outstanding Negro woman singer danced in turn, to the music of Puerto Rico's most well-known composer, with a Navy officer, an Army officer and a coatless tieless peasant. In the most predominantly White part of the West Indies, President Truman's envoy was welcomed by a Negro. In the most predominantly Catholic community under the U.S. flag, he was followed by the son of a Presbyterian minister. Negro leaders from the mainland, from the Virgin Islands and Jamaica, were among the guests who came to San Juan that day. Munoz Marin took advantage of what is left of colonialism in an effort to invite distinguished exiles from certain lands and thus ignore the official status of dictators. No foreign government was invited as such. As a result exiles from the Carribean and from Europe were guests and no one had to worry about protocol." It is refreshing to see this example in effective democracy given to the older nations by the U. S. island "State". Certainly it is an act of imagination which cannot fail to establish firmly in the public mind the principles of Munoz Marin's political programme.

Students and Strikes:—There is an unhappy aftermath from the days of the Civil Disobedience movements. Congress leaders then encouraged students to participate in political work in every way. And there was established a habit of observing hartals, threatening hunger strikes, marching in processions whenever a leader was arrested. Indiscipline in schools and colleges became the fashion. The irony is that the habit perseveres even now though a popular government rules both in the centre and in the provinces. As there is no national cause to support, the habit of indiscipline is finding its own reasons for revolting against educational authorities. There is even the ridiculous spectacle of a hartal being observed because examiners will not lower the standard sufficiently to allow all and sundry to pass. The situation is pathetic, because no one suffers immediately except the students themselves.

Tej Bahadur Sapru:—With the death of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, one of the few remaining Liberals of the country quits the scene and another link with the past is snapped. Sir Tej Bahadur was prominently associated in peace-making between the British Government and the Gandhian Congress and managed to retain the good opinion of both parties, both qualities which strangely manifested themselves in one of his irascible temperament. He tried hard to persuade Lord Linlithgow to indianise the Executive Council and seemed to think at the time of the All-parties and No-parties Conferences that this would restore tranquillity in the country. At the same time he had strong prejudices against some of the Indian Executive Councillors who, he believed, were largely responsible for the excesses of the administration. His hospitality at his home in Allahabad was well-known and it was almost "open house" in the evenings where Sir Tej Bahadur received visitors with friendly warmth. Temperamentally unsuited for organisations and organisational work, Sir Tej Bahadur broke with the Liberals, though his political ideas were essentially of the Liberal persuasion.

THE INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, January 22, 1949

CONGRESS AND CORRUPTION

There are two important statements regarding the eradication of corruption in the Congress and in Congressmen in the past week: The first is Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya's directive to Congressmen reminding them that as Congressmen it is their duty to support the Congress Ministries and asking them not to abuse their membership of a party which controls government at the Centre and in the Provinces and not to seek favours or advantage for either themselves or their friends. The other is Mr. K. G. Mashruwala's article in the "Harijan" explaining that he has criticised the Congress and Congressmen strongly not because he thinks they are particularly bad but because he feels there is more hope in them than in others; and that what is true of them is a hundred times truer of the others. The Jaipur session of the Congress made it necessary that both these declarations should follow: Dr. Pattabhi's rather irresponsible remarks about the need for the Congress to prod the Ministers into action and tone up their programme had placed Congress Ministers in a very difficult position, in fact, at the mercy of any Congress group which felt inclined to assert itself; whilst the Public Conduct resolution and the way it was handled brought discredit rather than honour to the party. The Public Conduct resolution was a tussle between Congressmen who held office and Congressmen who did not. The original Resolution was directed by the ministerialists at the rank and file who had expected to reap some benefits from their party's success and who had become a positive embarrassment to men in office. The amendment, insisting that Congressmen in office should have the greater responsibility for establishing better conduct, was the rank and file reply. There are reports that the amendment was preceded by consultations between Dr. Pattabhi and Mr. Shankerrao Deo, both Congressmen out of office, who decided that there was nothing to be objected to in the amendment. In now asking Congressmen to support their governments wholeheartedly, Dr. Pattabhi is undoing the damage done by his presidential remarks and by encouragement of the amendment. Mr. Mashruwala has been very vehement in his condemnation of what he regards as Congress weaknesses and his explanation is by way of amends to a party which is extremely sensitive. He might also have mentioned that the Congress, by its insistence on Truth along with Non-violence, has claimed a special position for itself which ill accords with influence, blackmarketing and profiteering among its members and that he can rightly expect Congressmen to listen to his words more attentively than men outside the party. It is a strange commentary on the irony of history that the two men who are today rallying the Congress to pure Gandhian principles, are the very two who grossly misunderstood and misrepresented the thoughts of the Master on vital issues: When the Cripps offer was made in the moment of Britain's severest crisis in the East, Gandhiji's factual comment, "It is a post-dated cheque", was embellished into a political forecast by Dr. Pattabhi's adding, "on a crashing bank", a characteristic piece of irresponsibility which involved Gandhiji in much explaining. Mr. Mashruwala, who held the reputation of being the Mahatma's mentor, derailed the 1942 Movement by the casuistry that the Gandhian teaching of non-violence did not extend to property.

The Congress Ministers are in a very difficult position. If they hold the scales with stern impartiality, they are misunderstood on both sides—the party and the bureaucracy. And they cannot act in an impersonal way with men who have been in jail with them, even though they might be fully aware of their shortcomings. They cannot rid the officials of the sneaking idea that any Gandhi-capped member of the public must receive the fullest attention. This writer was told not long ago by a provincial Minister that he did see the necessity for a bureaucracy and even for bureaucratic ways but there was always the difficulty that the Congressman who had hitherto been looked down upon by officialdom, would receive a raw deal from the officials, and he desired to restrict that to the minimum, even though he was fully conscious of the other danger of placing the officials at the mercy of the Congressman. Incidentally, Mr. Vaikunt L Mehta, Bombay's Finance Minister, recently said something very sensible about bureaucracy when he maintained it was inevitable. It is useless kicking against the pricks. Even Lenin who never tired of attacking bureaucracy, red-tape, and the rest of it, ultimately accepted it as a necessity, not even as a necessary evil. The best suggestion he could make for combatting red-tape and bureaucracy was to set up a body of officials to do it—in other words, have one part of the administration watch over the other.

Public opinion is not sufficiently developed to realise that appointment and promotion cannot be determined by personal relations, much less import and export licences. It is this which is at the bottom of all the corruption—or at any rate, a good deal of what has manifested itself since the Congress Ministries took over office in the provinces and, later, at the Centre. It is useless beating about the bush and making ridiculous attempts to stir up a mass like the Congress members into a stupendous moral effort without first curing this evil. Whilst the official believes that a Gandhi cap is a passport to the Minister's presence, and the rest of the public accept this view, the Congressman has a perpetual temptation to pose as a go-between and exact bribes in payment for imagined favours. And whilst it is not unknown in Bombay and places like Bombay where there is a middle-class, independent of the Government

servant circle, in the provinces where there is practically no middle class, the evil must be rampant. We are well aware that several Ministers have attempted strenuously to impress on the public mind that they are above party and that access to them is not difficult. But there is a certain confusion owing to the fact that India today is between a national party system and a democratic set-up. As things take shape, this confusion will be resolved and there will be some stability.

THE USA AND THE USSR

(By IRVING H. FLAMM)

Ex-president of the Chicago chapter of the National Lawyers Guild and author of "An Economic Programme for a Living Democracy."

The enemies of Russia seem to fall into two main groups. Those who believe that political democracy can never emerge in that country and those who fear that it *will* emerge. In the first group you will find many people of goodwill—mostly liberals and socialists. Time will tell whether they were misled and formed final judgments too soon. But time may not repair the damage being done by them as cat's paws of the second group, for in that group are the reactionaries and the fascist-minded. Though they sneer at the democratic aspirations of the liberals, they do not hesitate to capitalize on their prestige in order to promote their own selfish ends. At this crucial point in history it is dangerous to help the smear campaign which links Russian aims and ideals with those of a Hitler who was created to serve the ends of the reactionaries. The Russians at least have democratic aspirations, and given a peaceful world, they have a good chance to realize those aspirations. Unrealistic liberals who expend their energies guarding against "totalitarianism of the right or left" had better remember that it is the fascists who are the real threat to human freedom.

It is only natural that different peoples, residing in different lands, with different backgrounds, customs, habits, languages and resources, should have different cultures. We Americans, with our tradition of civil liberties and free speech, would find Russia a difficult place in which to live. But, as I read the evidence, her harsh disciplines are tied up with her fears of a hostile world. When those fears are allayed, the disciplines will very likely be relaxed. In the meanwhile, let us keep in mind that the rank and file in Russia do not share the pessimism of our intellectual libertarians. They feel that they have made considerable progress since Tsarist days and will eventually enjoy all the civil rights we have. In any case, we cannot improve their lot by a war against their government.

We may disapprove of many Russian institutions. There is no harm in our discussing in a constructive way, the shortcomings in the Soviet system. But let's get the facts first. After all, in the early years of our nation, our people enjoyed few civil rights; and even today many of our citizens are denied rights granted under our Constitution. We can each stand a bit of good-natured ribbing about our respective shortcomings. But beyond that let's leave to each nation its own solutions.

If we Americans consider our social system superior, let's also keep in mind that the Russians regard theirs as superior, and indeed seem to have more confidence in their future than we in ours. Time will bring about many changes in both societies. The late Justice Brandeis attributed much of our progress to the fact that individual states were willing to serve as experimental laboratories for new and radical ideas. If the Russians choose to use their nation as such a laboratory, instead of sniping at them, let's watch their experiments closely to see if they yield any useful information.

That, to me, is the proper approach towards Russia, not only for the rank and file American, but even for the capitalist; for only in a peaceful world can he protect his position. War destroys his capital. War multiplies his tax load. War drives the masses leftward, and the next one may drive them all the way. As a minor capitalist, I can think of no greater threat to my investments than another war. The last one increased our national debt ten-fold, and the next one will increase the present one ten-fold, not to mention the destruction of homes, factories and skyscrapers that we have luckily so far escaped. It is we capitalists and Big Business who have most to lose by war and most to gain by peace. Let's not encourage our press to inflame the citizenry against the nation that can best help us to maintain peace.

The United States and the Soviet Union are now the two most powerful nations in the world. Each has in its camp many followers, some by conviction, others because of economic or military advantages or pressures. In a world divided between two hostile camps, no one, be he rich or poor, can feel secure In this twentieth century world, where oceans and distances are no barriers to atomic and bacteriological weapons carried in automatic rockets by remote control—in such a world, one's wealth affords little security for oneself or one's family. Only a peaceful, cooperative world affords security. And that kind of world can be assured by the two most powerful nations —U.S.A and U.S.S.R.. When those two nations cooperate to keep the peace, who will dare undertake a war of aggression?

The anti-Soviet crusaders have led us to believe that Russia is herself an aggressor bent on swallowing the world. Didn't she take over the little Baltic states, parts of Finland, Poland and Romania? Students of history point out that this was Russian territory taken away by force when she was weakened by revolution and war; that in this sense it is not aggression but a recovery of land stolen from her. There is the further contention that these recoveries are approved by the overwhelming majority of the people in each

territory. That, if true, (and I believe it is) is the decisive factor. The will of the people at large, not merely the ruling or propertied elements, should govern.

But there is still another consideration, namely that Russia, by her sacrifices during the recent war and her back-ground of experience, has earned the right to security for her borders. Surely Russia's claims in this respect have at least as much merit as our own. Two invasions of her land in one generation, the brutal murder of millions of her people, the devastation of her cities and destruction of hundreds of thousands of homes and factories—these are horrors that the Russians actually experienced. If this has produced fear and suspicion and a frantic quest for security, the behaviour is quite understandable—especially when you recall that Hitler's gigantic military machine was built up by design and financed by reactionary interests who stupidly thought that the best way to head off Communism was by stirring up a war against Russia. Shall we let them try that again?

It is only in terms of security, not aggression, expansion or imperialism, that one can explain Russia's attempts to extend her influence in the nations on or near her borders and to insist that the government of those nations be friendly. No other explanation makes sense; for the Soviet Union, unlike those nations that were inclined toward imperialistic ventures, does not exploit other peoples. There is no evidence that she has ever tried to profit economically at the expense of her neighbour nations or "inferior races".

For a great power to insist upon security is nothing unusual in this predatory world of ours. All the great nations, our own included, have at one time or another used coercion—economic or military or both—to overthrow unfriendly governments near their borders; and often they have gone far beyond their borders. Witness our present race for strategic bases and island trusteeship. Our Monroe Doctrine, though we may pretend that its purpose was altruistic and paternal, was issued as a warning to Europe that we intend to maintain preferential rights and influence in our hemisphere. At present, though we are not threatened, as is Russia, our "spheres of influence" extend thousands of miles from our borders and we have authorized the largest peacetime military appropriation in our history to preserve that influence. Under the circumstances, Russia's insistence upon a sphere of influence near her own land is quite understandable. With powerful interests supporting reaction in many lands and urging an Anglo-American alliance against Russia, with men of influence calling for the immediate use of our atomic bombs on Russian cities, with newspaper headlines to condition the minds of the American people against her, with military bases all over the world, some near Russian cities, with an unprecedented peacetime military appropriation of 13 billion for "defence", all this coupled with the recollection of old intrigues and Russia's terrifying experiences in two invasions, explains Russia's "expansionism", not any real desire for more land. She already has plenty of land, rich in resources, and needs only peace to develop it. She needs no war to solve problems of unemployment or surpluses. To her, war is a calamity which calls for sacrifice by every citizen, rich or poor. None can profit by it. The nature of Russia's economy, her persistent campaigns for collective security, her willingness to join the United Nations and her present campaign for disarmament—all these add up to only one thing: security, not imperialist expansion.

Some day we may have a world that is disarmed and peaceful, and social systems in which outside pressures are unnecessary. When that day comes, when there is no danger of another invasion of her land, I am confident that Russia will join with the peace-loving nations in some form of world government.

In the meanwhile, the United States and Russia are the two powerful nations that can hasten the coming of that day. Cooperation between them is, therefore, of paramount importance; and if we will try to understand the basis for Russia's fears and exercise mutual tolerance and respect, I am sure that we will get much further than by trying to intimidate her. Let the reactionaries remember that the Russians have taken about as much punishment as can ever be administered to any people and they came through it with heads up and without any thought of abandoning their ideal of a socialist society within their land. The evidence indicates that they are behind their leaders, determined to preserve their system and to make it work for a greater abundance for all. They seem to feel that under their system they can live up to our Christian ethical code more easily than we do in our everyday life. Their ideas may seem utopian but it is unlikely that force will ever cause them to change. You can shoot or imprison people but not ideas. Those can be conquered only with better ideas. If we are to undermine Communism, it must be by making our own type of democracy work for abundance, freedom and peace. And we can do that more easily if we work together with Russia and Britain for a peaceful world.

It may be well to remember that friendly relations with Russia will also assure us a more stable economy at home. Russia can easily become our largest solvent customer. She is rich in resources that we will need. And she can use in exchange an unlimited quantity of our manufactured products. Before long our expanded industrial plant will have caught up with orders accumulated during the war—and we will need, and need badly, foreign customers who can use the surpluses that can't be sold at home. Trade with the Soviet Union is worth cultivating; especially so because she is not our competitor for world markets. Her interest is primarily in more imports, not exports. And because her

need for goods is so great, it is to her advantage not to export her ideology. It is good business for both nations to promote trade relations.

These two considerations—international peace and expanded foreign trade for our industries are certainly attractive inducements for friendly relations with the Soviet Union. We can only hope that our press and the business community will reappraise the situation and put a halt to the business of needling Russia and misrepresenting her motives. Let's begin anew and work for a lasting friendship and cooperation between U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. The dividends to the people of both nations and all others will be enormous. That is what Franklin Roosevelt must have foreseen when in 1933 he brought about a resumption of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union and initiated a policy of trade and friendly relations. We cannot allow the forces of reaction to divide us again and thereby weaken both our domestic economy and the United Nations. This may be our last chance to save civilization from a suicidal war followed by fascist tyranny for those who survive it. It is, indeed, a crucial period of history, for, given a world of peace, with atomic energy developed for industrial use, we can look forward with confidence to a bright future for all mankind.

THE FORRESTAL PROGRAMME

(By DEVERE ALLEN)

James Forrestal, Secretary of Defence, is going to have two satellites if he can have his way. One is a sort of man-made moon, to be sent up into space, where it will hang around in the encircling void until needed, then called down by radio to land on an enemy country and pulverize it. Combining the genius of Jules Verne, Adolf Hitler and Buck Rogers, this little project of the Research and Development Board is to be entrusted to the tender ministrations of the Committee on Guided Missiles. You can now see why fifteen billion dollars of the taxpayers' money is too small a bit of loose change to satisfy some of the military minds at Washington.

The other satellite Mr. Forrestal has in mind is simply the population of the United States, which from now on is expected to revolve tamely around the Pentagon. The Secretary wants the standing right, without any discussion at the time by Congress, to send military help to any country. Technically it would be by Presidential order; but if Congress and the people aren't consulted, that shouldn't be too hard

Congress is asked by Mr. Forrestal to sign away its legal right to speak for the people in an emergeney; or, rather, to find itself caught in an emergency without the chance to do anything about it till too late. No better way could be devised to get the country into a first-class war overnight, no matter how it may hate itself in the morning. If any other country were to come forward with such a plan, a howl would go up that would rock any stellar satellite off its course. There are, in fact, countries where such methods would be possible; but so far we have not been expected to think highly of them.

An alien idea through and through, the Forrestal programme would cut the ground out from under every safeguard the American people have erected to prevent seizure of power by military dictators. Already, under existing laws, the power of the state is virtually unlimited once war has been declared. But though Congress has voted a vast war machinery, it has thus far insisted on holding the trigger in its own hands. It won't hold it any longer if the Pentagon has its way. The lads who plan affairs in that gigantic edifice seem bent on justifying Voltaire, who said, "The first king was a successful soldier."

Civil predominance over the military was always uppermost in early America. Article 1559 of the oldtime "General Regulations for the Army" declared: "Respect and obedience to the civil authorities is the duty of all citizens, and more particularly of those who are armed in the public service." That article was scrapped in 1881 to suit those who, then as now, wanted to bury the right of the people to decide, through their elected spokesmen, their own fate and that of mankind. The justification for such arbitrary power in a few hands is always, of course security. The result of such concentration of power is always, of course, the end of security for the people.

John Bright once gave voice to words which suit the present time as well as his own day. "I cannot believe," he said, "that civilization, in its journey with the sun, will sink into endless night in order to gratify the ambition of the leaders... who seek to 'wade through slaughter to a throne." But there have been improvements since John Bright's time; we don't just journey with the sun in our atomic generation, but with a radioactive satellite hung above the human race, an artificial meteor of explosive doom, marked "Made in the U. S. A."

Outdated nowadays, John Stuart Mill nevertheless spoke the truth when he asserted. "Where liberty cannot be hoped for, and power can, power becomes the grand object of human desire." The people can still hope for liberty, however, for both Congress and the State Department may turn thumbs down on the Forrestal fantasia. Perhaps the best thing is to create the interplanetary warhead, put on board it all the politicos who dare to arrogate to themselves such fateful decisions, and send it aloft. If the satellite happens to stray off and gets lost in some back alley of the universe, humanity may be the gainer.

Not yet have we quite reached the point indicated by a certain announcement recently posted on a church in Frankfurt, Germany. But we will get there fast if Congress does not watch its step. The notice said: "Tonight at Eight—Lecture by Professor X—The Holy Ghost will descend upon us—By permission of military Government."

—*Worldover Press.*

LATIN AMERICA AND DEMOCRACY

(By SAMUEL GUY INMAN)
President, Worldover Press

Democracy in the Latin American republics, as in the rest of the world, will survive only if it can move ahead towards greater economic welfare. Dictatorships will spread, army seizures of power will march like a scourge across the continent, if the basic needs of the peoples remain unsatisfied.

While the Marshall Plan seeks to raise the living standards of Western Europe, a survey of conditions in the neighbour countries of Latin America shows that out of a total population close to 150,000,000, two-thirds have never slept in a bed, have never had sufficient food, have never gone to school, and have never received modern medical care.

Half of these people, numbering slightly more than those in the United States, suffer from contagious diseases. An overwhelming majority of their agricultural workers are landless; two-thirds labour in semi-feudal circumstances. Most industries are owned by foreigners.

It is not surprising that the rebellious spirit of the masses is discernible in Latin American literature. Witness "The Drill," by the Venezuelan poet, Miguel Otero Silva:

The drill enters the earth,
Venezuelan earth.
The Venezuelan man
Sweats, and sweats again.
Rattle of Yankee machines,
Cry of the Yankee engineer.
The Venezuelan men
Are coming home to the shanties,
Dirty and tired and hungry.
Four malarial children
Eating the dirt for food.
A trickle of greenish water
Gives the warning of fever!
A woman waits for her man,
Disheveled and full of fear.
Thermometer of the dollars
Is rising, rising, rising.
Palaces, yachts and churches,
Cabarets, limousines,
Are always being born.
(Far off, in Venezuela,
Four malarial children
Are eating the dirt for food.)

Such cries of protest are reflected, economically, in an almost universal demand for local industrialization. Backward nations, so-called, have found that the system of "colonial economy" will keep them in perpetual poverty. The Argentine masses, it appears, would rather lose many of their political liberties under Peron than follow any longer rich landlords who sell their wheat, meat and linseed to wealthy countries, and receive in return high-powered autos, refrigerators, and objects of art, leaving the peon in abject poverty. Labour holds its nose, encouraging Peron to defy the land-owners and industrialize the country.

Industrialization in Latin America means many advantages for the common man. He sees it as a means to higher wages, more machines and less elbow grease, longer hours for recreation, an occasional government-built house, a radio, a motorcycle. In the eyes of many it signifies a shift from the peon-powered hacienda to freer labour. It may mean a chance to move from a 20-cents-a-day farm wage to a two-dollar factory job. For the industrialized country it means more business; the superior wage of the factory worker makes him a potential customer of every manufacturer putting out low-cost goods.

More industrialization, however, can bring no true economic freedom to the Latin Americans unless accompanied by political liberty. And the United States, which holds the key to industrialization below the border, has lately been remiss in the promotion of democratic ideals which for a few years during the war, were moving onward at an encouraging pace.

Last spring the Ninth Pan-American Conference met in Bagota; it had a great opportunity to show both Fascists and Communists how a democratic continent could cooperate for the people's benefit. None of the difficulties which slow down the United Nations were present—there was no veto problem, there were no Russians.

But the United States, with other American democracies, heaped honours on the dictators. They elected as president of the meeting Laureano Gomez, known in Washington and everywhere as one of the worst Fascists of the Hemisphere—friend of the Nazis during the war, buddy of Dictator Franco since, now residing under the protection of Spanish Falangism. Since the Bagota gathering, favours have been handed out right and left to dictators; there has been no marked policy of open differentiation to stimulate democracy and retard those who seize power to rule with a minority iron hand.

After army coups in Peru, Venezuela and El Salvador, with plots or attempts in other countries, the threat to constitutional rule became so obvious that Washington began to awaken. It asked Latin American governments whether they had suggestions for any concerted action that might hold back further encroachments on freely elected regimes. Reports indicate considerable bewilderment and hesitancy. After all, it was set forth at Bagota that "continuous" or "automatic" recognition should be granted to governments, by whatever means they came to power. To reverse that trend will take more than a confused policy now.

A clear-cut stand in favour of democratic nations would help. So would it to cease the granting of loans to reactionary regimes merely because they will work negatively against Communism. The exertion of a strong leadership for freedom and the welfare of the Latin American peoples would restore the prestige we have allowed to

rust. Democracy is under fire in more than a few of the Latin American states. The responsibility —and the opportunity—largely rest with Washington.

—*Worldover Press.*

PEIPING AMERICANS STICK IT OUT

(By FRANKLIN WALLICK)

American personnel in two large institutions supported by American funds are intending to stay in the ancient, troubled city of Peiping. At Yenching University and Peiping Union Medical College, both backed by U. S. endowments, American faculties with surprising accord are planning to weather the unknown political and military storms ahead.

General Fu Tso-Yi was empowered by Chiang Kai-Shek to take full command in the remaining pockets of North China. Fu's personality may be found to have a lot to do with future events He is a crack officer who lives on the same level as his troops. His soldiers are strong country boys who do not forage on the countryside as do most Chinese armies. He is against grafters, and in favour of a house-cleaning for any elements of Nationalist China who need it.

The Americans at Yenching University, where U.S. Ambassador Leighton Stuart was once president, are somewhat consoled by the fact that many Yenching graduates are influential Communist political leaders. The Foreign Affairs Department of any Communist regime taking over Peiping would certainly be peopled largely by Yenching alumni.

The Americans at the Rockefeller-supported Peiping Union Medical College are confident that the esteem in which the institution is held will preserve it from undue disturbance.

There is, however, one deep concern among Americans. It is the problem of how to obtain money from abroad should communication be cut off with the outside world. Communists sometimes have a custom of confiscating what they deem foreign luxuries, as taxation.

—*Worldover Press*

A CHECK ON CRIME WAVE

(By ERIC GEIGER)

With all the distress it has brought here and there, the currency reform has remarkably helped to clean some of the centres of smuggling, racketeering, and general petty crime in Germany. One of the worst was Munich, to which the new currency has brought a noteworthy change.

For a long time, Munich had an underworld consisting of certain refugees from Eastern Germany, natives of the city itself, some displaced persons, and a number of soldiers belonging to the occupation forces. Their more open hangouts were small cafes, where they made merry with women of low type and all sorts of shady or gullible characters; their better-hidden headquarters were hard to locate.

Smuggled money was the stock in trade of these groups, along with articles of contraband brought in from Switzerland, France, and elsewhere. Barter went on in a dozen languages. To these elements came people with "connections," who took limited credits on the Bank der Deutschen Laender, the official bank of the Bizone, sold Deutsche marks in Switzerland or France for dollars; bought cigarettes and other goods in great German demand, smuggled these in, and thus paid back their credits with a high profit. A still lower class traded in drugs.

German police, unable to cope with such a large-scale illicit trade, appealed to the American authorities for aid. Not yet has the clean-up been completed, but the currency reform has helped, and the liquidation of many crooked centres is proceeding. —*Worldover Press.*

TITO SHIFTS HIS STRENGTH

From a correspondent who with some difficulty came out of Lyblyana, Yugoslavia, to Trieste, Worldover Press has learned that Tito has withdrawn large numbers of his troops from the areas around Italy and Free Territory of Trieste. The move is believed to have been inspired by the break with Stalin, which has required the disposition of more forces along the frontiers of Bulgaria, Romania and Albania.

Heavy fortifications are being erected on new sectors of Yugoslavia's boundaries, and along the coast. The factory at Jesenice, Slovenia, theoretically in a dangerous spot close to Trieste and Italy, is turning out at forced speed armour plate in thicknesses of five, seven, ten and fifteen centimeters. A large powder plant at Kamnizka, 14 miles north of Lyblyana, Slovenia, has, however, been completely removed to an unknown destination.

A NEW COMMUNIST FRONT?

It has been known that many Communists, outside of Yugoslavia, have been as firm as Tito in opposition to the Cominform's attempts to rule Communist movements all over the world with a monolithic ideological control. Though it attracted slight attention in America, Communists from Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxemburg, Denmark, Sweden and Switzerland recently held a quiet conference in the last-named country, to plan a campaign against the Moscow dictatorship. The gathering is not to be confused with the Trotskyites, who have long fought "Stalinism" on tactical grounds.

The new movement may develop genuine significance, for in many a country considerable numbers of Communists have been awaiting just such a call. In Dortmund, Germany, for example, a group of Communists has asked permission of the British authorities to form an Anti-Soviet Communist Party.—*Worldover Press*

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"I will be as harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard".

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the LIBERATOR.

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NOTES

Gandhiji—One Year After:— Tomorrow, January 30, is the anniversary of Gandhiji's death. It has been a difficult year and an eventful one. The Kashmir fighting, which Gandhiji had approved somewhat hesitantly, is ended; and relations between India and Pakistan have improved to the point of common working on a matter of Asian importance like Indonesia. In the country itself communalism seems to have received a severe set-back; the States are coming in into the Union to form a solid block; the elimination of outcastes is a settled policy of the State; and the Congress is turning its attention to internal reform, forced in a way by realisation of the corroding influence of anti-social customs and practices and of the limitations of a purely nationalistic attitude in a free nation; and the place of women in public life is an accepted fact. All the five developments spring from the teachings of Gandhiji during a full life which illustrated those teachings better than words. In the other spheres of national life, a period of intense experimentation has set in and experimenting necessarily involves mistakes. Much has been said in criticism of Congress administrations but no one can justly accuse them of fear in trying out new ways. If there has been a certain uncertainty of decision owing to the difficulties of reconciling the precepts of Gandhiji with the practical situations created and the real problems posed by the responsibility of day-to-day administration, there have been critics from both extremes who have not hesitated to express their dissatisfaction. Generally speaking, the year after Gandhiji's assassination has served to show the impress that he has left on national life. Internationally too, the new relations that have been cultivated with the British by Indian leaders after freedom, have lifted the curtain which hid India from the rest of the world; and there are signs that the meaning of Gandhiji's life and leadership is coming to be better appreciated in other countries. The message of Gandhiji may be summed up as unity, peace and conciliation; and nothing could have stood the Congress in better stead in the difficult days of covering the transformation from an opposition party to a party in power and responsibility than this message. It has been the fashion to present the core of satyagraha as the passion for Truth. But, as asserted by Gandhiji in all his campaigns, it was more correctly the readiness to compromise, to search the common points in humanity even with one's opponents, and, in spite of provocations from the other side and misunderstanding on one's own, never to destroy the bridge of thought between mind and conflicting mind or to slam the door on the possibility of negotiation. In this, he was essentially Indian in his outlook, we would even say Hindu. The modern element in Gandhiji lay in his impatience, his anxiety as it were to see results in his own lifetime which often led him into compromises on a short view of the situation. The unwillingness to allow time its proper place is essential to politics but it detracts from the universality of the principles proclaimed. That probably is the unconscious reason behind the trend among his followers to ignore in their presentation of the Master the urge to compromise and to focus attention on his passion for Truth. If the attitude of Gandhiji might be summed up in this matter, it might be put somewhat like this: Gandhiji's love of Truth was — does it need saying? — a predominant trait but his anxiety that others should see the truth as he saw it was supreme and nothing was too much for him in the achievement of this objective. It was an attitude which could be taken advantage of, and it was in those spheres where he was most anxious to achieve results.

Sheikh Abdullah's Programme: — Speaking in Bombay at a meeting of the Progressive Group, Sheikh Abdullah defined his party's programme as one guaranteeing to the people political as well as economic liberation. He was confident that this programme would be supported by the people, for 'they had mapped it out themselves'. Sheikh Abdullah's confidence is encouraging; you can succeed only when you have faith in yourself. There are difficulties in his way and contradictions in his speech. If the people would support those who could be trusted to give them political as well as economic liberation, then whatever the slogans Pakistan employs the people will be staunch to their leader, Sheikh Abdullah. And yet Sheikh Abdullah warned his audience that it would be necessary to give effective answers to dangerous and destructive slogans. "Slogans are more powerful than logic", for they influence "simple and unthinking persons". Again, there is an initial difficulty about his programme. Political liberation, presumably, means either the abdication of the Maharaja, or his complete withdrawal from Kashmir affairs. Economic liberation would again mean the elimination of the zamindars and jagirdars who are firmly entrenched. But nothing immediately can be done as the plebiscite procedure favours the status quo. Once Kashmir accedes to either India or Pakistan, the issues will have to be fought out on a wider canvas. But that is another question.

Indian Housing and U.N. Report:—In a study of the world housing situation the U.N. Social Affairs Department has referred to Indian housing conditions in an exceedingly impartial manner. The very restraint of the language employed in the report should impress upon the reader the gravity of the problem. It acknowledges the difficulties of the Indian Government in coping with the situation. It refers sympathetically to the necessity of using all facilities for solving the perpetually serious food situation, and makes allowances for difficulties created by 'the deterioration of much equipment' and the 'unrest' which occurred after partition. It notes that private builders have failed to improve the housing conditions in which the majority of the people live. "Stimulated by high rents and high selling prices they have lost no time in supplying the demand for new residential buildings for the higher income groups and surmounting all difficulties in the construction of such non-residential buildings as motion picture theatres and commercial buildings in India. The income of the average family is very low and such housing as private enterprise can provide at a profit at this economic level has to be "sub-standard"! The Report suggests, therefore, the establishment of a public housing authority to deal with the problem. It also justly blames the Government for its 'laxity in enforcing building by laws". An implied warning is given by its observation that past efforts of public authorities, such as improvement trusts, in town and country planning achieved no significant results owing to high land values in overgrown and congested areas. The scrupulous fairness of this Report, the fact that it is published by an international authority, one trusts, will induce the Centre and the Provincial Governments to deal more promptly with this problem, which is daily increasing in gravity. A prophet is not honoured in his own country. Indian critics of the Government have not been indifferent to the situation. But their voices have had little effect, partly because of the sensitivity of popular ministers, and partly because the criticism has been frequently rabid and unconstructive. One cannot help feeling that if Congress Ministers had realised the relation between bad housing and social vices such as excessive drinking they would have directed their efforts first to the improvement of living conditions and then to the establishment of prohibitive laws. True reform gets to the root of the problem. Prohibitory legislation like curative medicine does not prevent the breaking out anew of epidemics.

A. I. W. C.'S 21st Session: — Mrs. Urmila Mehta's Presidential address to the 21st session of the All India Women's Conference indicates that all is not well with the organization. It covers a wide range of subjects social, economic and political. She expressed the need for a 'new social conscience;' she demanded economic and social freedom for the masses, without which political freedom would remain an illusion. She deplored blackmarketting, sympathized with Labour and declared that 'exploitation of man by man' must cease. Wealth is not to be concentrated in the hands of few, and social changes are not to be introduced by violent methods. She called for spreading knowledge of birth control among the people, and for the establishment of social organizations to undertake scientific research into problems of public health. She enjoined women to carry their social work into the villages and to raise the status of 'downtrodden women', and appealed to Government and private employers to give 'a fairer and more just' treatment to the middle classes, who were 'the backbone of the country's social and intellectual life'. That an address covering such a wide range has to be full of cliches and without a detailed programme is inevitable. It is equally obvious that confusion of thought must be implicit in it. On the whole Mrs. Mehta's address sounds too determinedly progressive. One gets the impression that the organization is torn between different political factions, and that its constructive activities are being brought to a standstill. Evidently its energies are being frittered away in unconstructive channels. However, the importance of Mrs. Mehta's address lies in its implication that the All India Women's Conference recognizes no separate spheres of interest for women. This is all for the good. A harmonious society can only exist when its members are actively associated in all social activities, irrespective of sex.

THE INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, January 29, 1949

LABOUR, CAPITAL AND THE STATE

What distinguishes Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru from his colleagues is his ability to go beyond details to essential principles. He is, therefore, able to do what other more positive ministers cannot, give a clear lead. This was clearly in evidence in his address to the members of the Central Advisory Board of Industries, which met in Delhi this week. He defined India's problem to be the raising of the standard of living of her people, her immediate need increased production. He deplored the strife between Capital and Labour which was holding up production, and without hesitation blamed both. Labour, he declared, was more interested in pursuing a policy of narrow self-interest than in developing efficiency. He condemned the policy as injurious even to the interest of Labour itself. If they continued to seize on every opportunity to drive home their advantage, they would create a situation in the country whereby their own standards would deteriorate. His admonition to Capital was tinged with a note of contempt. Pandit Nehru indicated that he was rather weary of hearing continuously that Capital was sullen, Capital was afraid, that it wanted guarantees and safeguards. He referred Capital to the Government's announced industrial policy which declared that only certain basic industries would be nationalized, and explained that the question of nationalization depended not on Government's decision only but on a number of other factors, such as available finance and technical personnel. "Government's resources were meant to increase production and not just to apply them to a transfer of ownership." With this significant sentence, he indicated to Capital the policy of his Government in unambiguous words. There is a world of truth in this sentence. In an undeveloped country the main problem is to push ahead with development of industries in the quickest possible way. The problem of ownership arises only when there is something to own. It can always be settled later. To hold up production because of a quarrel of ownership is short-sighted, as well as dangerous. And Pandit Nehru warned both Capital and Labour most seriously. If you want to avoid a sudden upheaval, get along with your job, for the alternative is a sudden change, he seemed to say. This is a grave warning, and worth heeding. Sudden upheavals bring more problems than solutions and development along gradual lines retaining old continuity is the only sure way of progress. Revolutions have a habit of setting the clock back, for with the destruction of evil is destroyed also much good.

As a matter of fact, the Government has not added to stability by its various policies. It is not so much that it supports one side or the other, or that it favours nationalisation as the fact that too many ministers indulge in thinking aloud. The feeling that Capital is shy and that Labour is not awake to the wider needs of the country, has found expression in practically every speech that has come from a Minister. And it is almost an obsession now. The Government, at the same time, has assumed responsibility to secure an industrial truce and, in the presence of Government members, both Labour and Industrialists have promised the fullest support. If either side is creating trouble, the Government should surely step in and see that justice prevails. It can depend on public support and it is aware of this. The Bombay Minister of Labour, Mr. Culzarilal Nanda, once sought to throw responsibility on the public by asserting that it was the public's duty to hold the scales between Labour and Capital. In so far as this recognises an interest wider than that represented by either disputing party, Mr. Nanda is right. But the Government is the organized will of Society and it is the Government which must give effect to the wishes of the people. The Government has assumed recently powers of revision, supervision and appeal over provincial tribunals. It should follow this up with certain drastic changes which experience recommends. The first is a time-limit by which the intrusion of outsiders in Labour unions and associations is disallowed, coupled with effective guarantees to employees in their trade union work of protection against victimisation by employers. There is no reason to prevent workers in the same industry from functioning in unions of workers in another firm. In fact, it was suggested officially that every encouragement will be extended to efforts to organise workers by their trade or profession, so that certain standards might be evolved. This is a wise move and should be followed up. Secondly, industrial cases should not be conducted after the manner of lawsuits but informally and with a view to arriving at early settlement. The average lawyer is not interested in the spirit of labour adjudication; he argues from a brief. Nothing tends to promote more bitterness than a feeling that a good case has been lost by poor advocacy or on a mere technicality. Industrial Tribunals have been very sensible in this respect but the toleration of legal representatives prolongs hearings and confuses the issues. Thirdly, now that provision has been made for industrial appeals, it would be desirable to appoint on tribunals representatives of both Labour and Capital. There should be in both fields men and women who have the general confidence of the public as individuals of integrity and public spirit. It would be a measure going far to eradicate ill-feeling and suspicion of one another and it will, even if hazardous to begin with, inculcate in both parties a sense of responsibility. Something along these lines must be done soon, and the industrial situation will show early improvement.

PEOPLES AND PRINCES

In his recent tours round the States, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel has been increasingly appreciative of the Princes and extremely sceptical of the popular leaders. In Madhya Bharat, he said that he was anxious to see large units but if the leaders kept squabbling over little matters, then unity would be smashed. He was inclined to suggest that the Princes had shown more commonsense than the politicians. In Rajasthan, his compliments to the Princes went a degree further and he spoke of their traditions and chivalry. In Baroda, he roundly told the popular representatives that they were ruining everything by quarrelling and, on that account, he was forced to take counsel with the Maharaja. And at Jamnagar, he completed the lesson by maintaining that he had only visited that part because of his affection for the Jam Saheb, that had the Jam Saheb been in Kathiawar many distressing things that had taken place would not have occurred, and that it was up to the people's parties and their leaders to maintain the record that the Jam Saheb had established and not to permit it to be tarnished. He even went so far as to say that much of the recognition received by himself was due to the Jam Saheb. This gradual transformation into almost enthusiastic support of the ruling Princes is significant. It certainly contrasts strongly with Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya's analysis of the States problem, enunciated at the Jaipur Congress, to the effect that most of the troubles arise from the fact that, after the elimination of the Princes' influence, there were other second ranks of reaction which had still to be dealt with. And there can be no doubt that Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel controls the policies of the State Ministry.

What is the reason for Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel's greater understanding of the Princes since his assumption of ministerial office and his active dealings with the States? It cannot be that the Home Minister has only now discovered the politician in the States to be an adventurer for he must have known it all along. In fact, there is little that Sardar Patel could not have known because States agitators were largely the creatures of the Congress and took their instructions very often from Congress leaders. Nor could it be recent knowledge for the Sardar to appreciate the Princes. It is an acknowledged reality in Indian politics that most of our veteran and experienced States administrators are not alive and their successors are but poor substitutes. At a juncture like this, much could have been contributed by men like Sayaji Rao of Baroda, the late Maharaja of Mysore and the old Maharaja of Bikanir, to statecraft and peaceful negotiation. As it was, the only old ruler, the Nizam of Hyderabad, was lost to the country by the mess into which his communal prejudices had taken him: Similarly, the old States publicists who had graced the political scene, are no more in active political work. Even the "friends" of the States and Princes in Indian public life are either no more or are in a temporary eclipse. Today, it might be asserted with perfect correctness that States politics and public life is at about its lowest ebb, and, if there is any justification for Indian intervention, it is now. Sardar Patel, however, obviously realises that in his present position he can work either through the Princes or in opposition to them, and he is shrewd enough to see the value of taking things over as "a going concern" rather than to indulge in the wasteful process of breaking down in order to build anew.

Mr. Patel is very clear in his own mind about the necessity of breaking down the small states and forming larger units either by merger into States Unions or by joining them to Indian administrative units. Even for a State of the size of Baroda he has recommended union with a larger unit, on the plea that there is no room for small states instead of adducing as his reason the scattered territories of Baroda and the mixing up with Bombay. Naturally with these larger units, the rulers will be quite lost and even the little appeal they have to the loyalty of their people will dissolve in the larger populations that the units will contain. It will, of course, be open for the abler rulers to strike out new paths and win even greater popularity. But this can only be hoped for by men of exceptional ability. And it is equally open to popular leaders in the States, in fact more so. Sheikh Abdullah has posed a problem for the States Ministry which will take some handling. In his recent speeches he has claimed a special, "honoured place" for Kashmir and its people in the Indian Union. He does not threaten non-accession if this is not granted; he threatens to fight for this place. And that it is no idle threat can be seen from the fact that his Kashmir National Conference is about the only States Peoples Movement which has developed free of India and with a definite programme of progressive Socialism. It would be no easy matter to resist this influence once it got moving and it would affect all the other States and the Union itself. It is significant that whilst before the Kashmir Leader spoke of communalism and pleaded with Indians to shed the prejudices in order to enable Kashmir's accession, now he is laying the greatest stress on the Kashmir National Conference's economic programme and demanding that there should be no interference with the decisions taken long ago. Kashmir is a large unit and it has a strategic position. Its views cannot but influence whichever Dominion it forms a part of. Here is an added reason for consolidating the position vis-a-vis the States as early as possible. Delay will only add to the complications of the Kashmir political issue. And the settlement has to be achieved before the States leaders, now preoccupied with their own petty squabbles, realise the meaning of the Kashmir portent to their context. It is no accident that the Deputy Prime Minister's increased activity in States matters has coincided with the truce in Kashmir.

THE ASIAN CONFERENCE

The resolutions of the Asian Conference are restrained in language and are based on the past agreement between Indonesia and the Netherlands. Much of it is taken from the Renville Pact. And the authority of the Security Council has been repeatedly recognised by the Conference decisions The resolutions in fact are recommendations and there is nothing assertive about them. It has been made clear that Indonesia should be freed from the Dutch by January 1950, and that meanwhile there should be no military pressure, no economic boycott and no political manipulation to set up satellite governments. But how to secure this is left to the United Nations. Indications were not wanting in other ways that a deliberate attempt was made to keep the Conference moderate. Some of the methods were not very wise. For instance, there is nothing served by keeping the Drafting Committee to the four Dominions of Australia, Canada, Ceylon and Pakistan. Whilst much would have been gained by bringing in a delegate from the Middle-East at least. Much can be excused because of the sudden emergency and the speed with which the Conference came together and despatched business. But it is necessary that some permanent secretariat be established in order to establish effective cooperation. That has been left over for a future date after consideration by the Governments that were represented at the Conference.

The provision for future consultation between diplomatic representatives and representatives at the United Nations headquarters of the governments is a step forward. As General Romulo, the Philippines leader, remarked, this brings together a third of the membership of the United Nations. We have published in the past General Romulo's views on the part small nations can play in holding the Big Powers in check. He has striven hard to achieve small nation unity but there have been many set-backs as one nation after another came under the orbit of one or the other Big Power. We have also referred often to the new wave that is sweeping over South America and the efforts of the Republics there to attain real democracy. The Philippines have this in common with South America. They are economically tied to the American system and have in the past suffered because of it. Asian countries as a whole have in common with South America the striving for political and economic democracy, without slavish adherence to Anglo-American methods and techniques. It should be no difficult task to bring South America too into the new group—it would be premature to call it a "bloc." If the participating nations in the Asian Conference follow up the work begun at Delhi, then there are limitless possibilities for bringing peace to the world. Even the two rival Blocs that are now dominating the United Nations and threatening war, will welcome the entry of a stabilising force into international affairs. There is, of course, the danger that it might lead to a breaking up of the United Nations should one section of the powers feel that they are being thwarted. And at the beginning at any rate the small nations will have to move carefully between charges of being under Anglo-American influence on the one hand, and Soviet Communism on the other. It is true that, as the "New York Herald-Tribune" has insinuated, it is easier to get together in protest against colonialism than to work together on constructive matters. We have the example of American-Soviet relations in War and Peace to show us the truth of this remark. But there is no reason why the Asian nations should not get together on things on which they can easily do it, hoping at the same time that habits of common action and cooperative thinking will develop after a time. The beginnings of all blocs are shrouded in doubt and suspicion.

The question for the Asian Conference is whether its future work will lie within and in support of the United Nations or outside it and under its opposition. As is proper, the first steps are being taken in the hope that the United Nations will be supported by its resolutions and will move forward with added strength. Should the United Nations fail to act, then the Asian Conference is forced to work out alternative methods of asserting itself. For though it conforms to the requirements of a regional conference or association under the U.N. Charter, the Asian Conference owes its existence neither to the Charter nor to the United Nations. The United Nations will not be allowed to collapse but it might be virtually abandoned, as its predecessor the League of Nations was. Or worse, it might be distorted to suit the ends of some Powers. In that event, the Asian Conference will have seriously to consider the developing of an organisation which can at least salvage the greater part of the world. And it would be better if the thinking were done now. The posibilities are so vast of development along these lines that the effort would be well worth making. Not only could the South American Republics be brought into the group, but even the peoples of the reactionary countries could be mobilised to support it. This would mean the Big Powers on the one hand and their exploited African colonies on the other. It would even be not without effect on Soviet Russia and her supporting nations. At the moment, the Russian attitude is, very similar to the doubting American's, one of extreme suspicion towards the Asian Conference. The Moscow press has condemned the Conference as a move to build a defence against Communism after its China success; and it has denounced the resolutions as feeble and as sanctioning Dutch continuance in Indonesia. This is natural since Russia regards India too as dominated by Imperial Britian. But that attitude can only alter with solid work by the Asian Conference and by the respect and support it gains from a distributed world.

CHINA CHANGES!

(By SHANTI)

Comments on Chiang Kai Shek's exit from Chinese affairs have been guarded. To some extent this restraint is due to the feeling of awe that descends on an audience when the curtain falls on the last act of a drama. But mainly it is derived from the increased uncertainty that has been introduced into the international scene by the emergence of Communist China. There are still talks of a coalition government being formed, but there is little doubt which party will dictate. Liberal opinion, reluctant to acknowledge the possibility of Communist victory in the past, now derives consolation from the hope that Communist China will differ from Communist Russia. It is argued that the Chinese Communists are nationalists first, that during the years of their struggle their immediate objective was a democratic revolution, that the natural serenity, detachment and tolerance of the Chinese will prevent Chinese Communism from being aggressive, ruthless, and fanatical. These arguments are forced. A party fighting for power in a life and death struggle, demanding continuous sacrifice from its adherents, has necessarily to emphasise its nationalistic objective. The brotherhood of man is still too remote an ideal to inspire self-abnegation in a mass. It is significant that Russian propaganda during the war became increasingly nationalistic, even extolling, it is said, the peculiar virtues of the Slavs. It is true that the Chinese Communists stressed the democratic character of their revolution in the past. But the following extract from Edgar Snow's "The Battle for Asia" is illuminating. Mr. Snow reports that he asked Mao Tse-Tung in a written question to define the objectives of the Chinese Communists. This is how he phrased his question:

"Many people now assert that the Chinese Communists are in fact no longer social revolutionaries but mere reformists. How do you answer them? Do you still maintain that the Chinese revolution.....is 'anti-imperialist and anti-feudal, with the possibility of transformation at a certain stage, into a socialist revolution and that the responsibility of the Communist party is to lead the nation toward that revolution?"

Mao Tse-Tung's reply as given by Mr. Snow reads as follows:

"We are always social revolutionaries and we are never reformists. There are two main objectives in the thesis of the Chinese revolution. The first consists of the realization of the tasks of a national democratic revolution. The other is social revolution. The latter must be achieved, and completely achieved. For the present, the revolution is national and democratic in character, but after a certain stage it will be transformed into a social revolution. The present becoming of the social revolutionary part of the thesis..... .....will turn into its being—unless our work in the present phase is a failure."

This is a clear definition of objectives. Presumably now that the first phase is achieved, there will begin the second phase. The methods employed for achieving the social revolution will depend on both internal and external conditions. If there is a section of people seriously opposing its progress there is little doubt that this section will be suppressed. Security of the state will aways provide sufficient excuse for ruthless suppression of opposition. The Chinese character, one fears, will have little influence on the methods used for achieving the end. The British, tolerant of political opposition and imbued with respect for civil liberties in their own country, were capable of calculated cruelty in their colonies against their opponents. Their record in Ireland and India is not one of justice being tempered with mercy. The Americans pride themselves on their kindliness, and yet the lynchings of negroes committed by White Americans have been primitively brutal. It is difficult to imagine a Chinese, who if he would go 'over to Roman Catholicism, is sure to become a Jesuit at once, and a rabid one into the bargain.' The intensity that Dosteieffsky considered the natural characteristic of the Russian is not known amongst the Chinese. But circumstances alter cases. And Communism inspires all the fervour of religion. There is, however, one reason for hoping that Chinese Communism will be more liberal than its Russian counterpart has been. China not being the first country to experiment with Communism, the Chinese experimenters may profit from the initial errors of the Russians. Communism having succeeded in one country the Chinese Communists are not called upon to demonstrate the effectiveness of their creed. Moreover, knowing how the Russians were compelled to compromise with their initial objective, they may be persuaded to move with greater moderation and to allow for a gentle breaking away from old habits.

As far as aggressiveness in foreign policy goes, it will be conditioned by the attitude of foreign countries. The vastness of China's territory, the number of her population, the backward state of her economy, and an inherited bankrupt administration provide such acute problems that the Chinese Communists are likely to want to concentrate on their own internal problems. An alliance of democratic countries against a Communist-dominated China will certainly throw China on the side of Russia. Chinese Communists have steered clear of the Cominform so far; they are not likely to abandon this policy unless they are discriminated against. Discrimination against Communist China must be avoided at all cost, at least by Asian countries. An Asian Union, such as has been envisaged by the representatives that met at the Asian Conference, cannot become a reality without China. China with her cultural heritage, her immense potentialities will give added strength to an Asian Union, whatever the form of her internal administration.

ANTI-IMPERIALIST STRUGGLE

(By SERGE FLIEGERS)

An International Committee of 30 members 10 from each of three continents, has been appointed to promote the work of the Congress of Peoples against Imperialism, the organization formed in the French capital at an initial conference last June. A strong centre has recently been established in London, representing 13 British movements, in addition to the Paris centre.

The new International Committee represents the Mass Nationalist Movement of Senegal, Morocco, Tunisia, Lybia and the Sudan, and a place has been left open for representation of Negro movements in the Gold Coast, Nigeria, and East Africa. Also represented are the Socialist parties of India, Ceylon, Pakistan, Viet-Nam and Indonesia, and the All-India Peasants' Congress.

Centres are now being arranged in Calcutta for Asia, and in Cairo for Africa, while a Negro African centre will be set up either at Dakar or Khartoum. A monthly bulletin is soon to be issued by the Congress.

When the Congress had its first meeting, a surprising thing was apparent—the primary initiative came from citizens of the lands most commonly called "imperialistic." Fenner Brockway, well-known British labourite, and Jean Rousse, of the French Socialist Party's executive committee, got the drive under way, finding immediate support in such countries as Belgium and the Netherlands, which also have overseas possessions. Later, other European groups, such as those in Norway and Luxemburg, joined in.

Another kind of support came for the movement, in the adherence of refugees from Eastern Europe who have set up what they call a "temporary heaven of democracy" in Paris. Members of the exiled and out-lawed Socialist parties of Yugoslavia, Romania and other East European countries sent spokesmen to the opening meeting, and have been helping in the work of the organization. This move drew on the Congress strong criticism from Communists in Europe and from "New Times," the semi-official organ of the Soviet Union Foreign Office.

The Congress stands for "the right of presently dependent peoples to freedom and national independence, as a prerequisite of all progress, whether social or economic." Detailed views on the implications of this principle have been formulated, and presented to the United Nations. For Madagascar, demands have been put forward for a dissolution of the court which gave out death sentences to leading nationalists, and a retrial in Paris. For Viet-Nam, the Congress asks immediate cessation of hostilities and negotiations between the French government and Ho Chi-Min, President of the provisional Viet-Nam Republic.

According to the Congress, French authorities have been guilty of suppressing workers' and nationalist movements in Morocco, and the international representatives are supporting Moroccan members in asking that the double protectorate by France and Spain be abolished, and a single, independent Moroccan state be recognized.

Regarding Malaya, the Congress programme consists of three points. The first is the granting of Malayan nationality to all present residents of that territory. This step, it is held, would grant national privileges to a large number of Indians, Pakistanis, Chinese and others who now lack any such status. Singapore, says the Congress, should be joined to the Malayan national administration. Finally, the colonial spokesmen urge popular education on a democratic basis, with free voting for all qualified citizens.

Italy's former colonies must not be settled by the "bartering" of the great powers, a procedure which the Congress condemns as completely inconsistent with the United Nations charter. No settlement should be made, in any case, the Congress says, without consultation of the peoples involved, on the basis of genuine democracy and freedom.

Though Trygve Lie, Secretary General of the United Nations, has taken cognizance of the Congress request for admission to the non-governmental organizations working with the U.N., and agreed to circulate the memorandum presented to him by the Congress, the leaders of the movement emphasize that nothing worth while is likely to come from such negotiations unless the delegations from various colonial territories, and those from countries interested in freedom for all peoples, raise the issue forcefully at all U.N. sessions.

A ferment is at work in the whole colonial world, and it is the aim of the People's Congress against Imperialism not only to organize protests against power-dominance, but to direct discontent into united and constructive channels.

THE READER'S MEMO PAD

Book News from Worldover Press

"The Bikinese, 160-odd people, are not the first, nor will they be the last, to be left homeless and impoverished by the inexorable Bomb. They have no choice in the matter, and very little understanding of it. But in this perhaps they are not so different from us all." In "No Place to Hide, by Dr. David Bradley, Little Brown and Co., 182 pages, $2.00", the author, a radiological monitor during the Pacific A-Bomb experiments, is at once grim and enlightening. He clarifies the process of fission for the layman, writes vividly and humanely, and appeals—with facts not always disclosed elsewhere—to reason and racial common sense.

"Socialist Britain, by Francis Williams, Viking Press, 278 pages, $3.00", is one of those rare jobs which combine warmth of partisanship with objectivity, statistics with human anecdotes. It's the best book yet out for a comprehension of Labour's aims, methods, successes, short-comings, leadership and ways of thought. Along with it read "The United States and Great Britain, by

Crane Brinton, Harvard University Press, 302 pages, $3.75", a more pedestrian volume, but one which has special interpretive value because it discusses human relations between the two peoples as well as economics. This is a new re-write of a 1945 book, and is interesting because the judgements—some of which will surprise American readers — were made before the Labour Government came to power. Professor Brinton shows why he thinks Britain and America must steer, "not in the same boat, but the same fleet."

Vera Britain has written what is probably her best novel since Testament of Youth. It is "Born 1925, Macmillan, 320 pages, $3.50". With a wide sweep through Britain, the U. S. A., Germany, it superbly catches the perplexing influences of World War II, on a growing generation that finds itself troubled by frustrations, idealism, and the complex social and personal issues that youth has had to face. Her characters are neither super-wise nor empty-headed; they move from agonizing reality to superficiality, just as most of us have had to. Some reviewers may brush this off because the author faces with tolerant understanding unpopular questions of our time, such as peace, combat, the challenge of international sympathy, rather than the conventional sex upheavals that impress so many critics. You don't want to lay the book down, but when you do, you go on thinking about it; it's life as intelligent folk have been confronted by it.

These are pretty solid fare, but rewarding: "ERP, the European Recovery Programme 309 pages, $4.50 and "Foreign Economic Policy for the United States, 490 pages, $6 00", both "by Seymour E. Harris," both from "Harvard University Press"—two thoughtful, documented studies, "Most of the World, by Ralph Linton, Editor Columbia University Press, 917 pages, $5.50", a compilation which gives all the essential facts about the peoples of Africa, Latin America, and the Orient; and "Crusade in Europe, by Dwight D. Eisenhower, Doubleday, 559 pages, $5.00", a "must" for reference and study about wartime strategy.

You can go south, for wisdom and pleasure, in fact or imagination, through a more than ordinarily excellent book with a Latin American angle. "Let's Go to Colombia, by Lyman and Ellen Judson, Harper, 332 pages, $4.00", gratifyingly unites readability, interest in the people, and the necessary factual background. "Southern Empire: Brazil, by Bertita Harding, Coward McCann, 215 pages, $3.50", is misnamed, for it deals little with economic matters and is a straight guide by an author who has written lively stuff on various Latin American themes. For historic perspective, don't overlook "The Fall of the Spanish American Empire, by Salvador de Madariaga, Macmillan, 443 pages, $5.00—"by a distinguished writer whose judgements, often open to challenge, are always interesting and important.

—*Worldover Press.*

A USEFUL CHANGE

Sir,

In your issue of Dec. 18, you publish the text of the Declaration of Human Rights, approved by the Social Committee of the United Nations General Assembly and adopted by the Assembly by a large majority.

If it be compared with the original Draft Declaration, it will be found to contain a number of additions and modifications. One of these may have for India some historic interest and value.

Last May, I was one of two delegates of the Theosophical Society at a Conference of Non-Governmental Organisations held at Geneva, for the purpose, *inter alia*, of studying and advising upon the Draft Declaration, Article 14(1) of which read as follows:—

"Everyone has the right to own property in conformity with the laws of the State in which such property is located."

I took the opportunity of pointing out to the Conference that, notwithstanding the statement in Article 3 that "every one is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race (which includes colour), etc.", the apparently innocent Article 14 (1) might be held to justify the retention of the racial segregation laws of some of the member-countries of the United Nations. In support of this view, I gave the illustration that, during the time that Mahatma Gandhi was living in Johannesburg as a private citizen and a professional man, he could not, had he so wished, have legally owned in his own name his place of residence or his office-premises, because of his race and colour, though as a European I could have done so on his behalf. I pointed out, too, that, since then, the Transvaal racial segregation laws had been deliberately extended to Natal, where most of the Indian community reside.

This information came as a great surprise to the Conference, which passed a resolution drawing the attention of the Social Committee of the United Nations General Assembly to this possible way of evasion of the requirements of Article 3 of the Draft Declaration, proclaiming equality of racial rights. Evidently, note has been taken of this, for Article 18 (1) of the Declaration of Human Rights, as finally adopted by the General Assembly, reads as follows:

"Every one has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others." The phrase "in conformity with the laws of the State in which such property is located," which would have recognised the practice of legal racial segregation in matters of property ownership, has been omitted.

Hy. S. L Polak.

London.

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"*I will* be as harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard*".

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the LIBERATOR.

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NOTES

Truman-Stalin Cross Fire:—A curious argument between M. Stalin and Mr. Truman is proceeding through a third party, the press. M. Stalin in an interview with a news agency correspondent declared that he was willing to meet Mr. Truman at a mutually convenient place. He indicated then and subsequently that what would suit him, was either Moscow or some other Soviet capital or centre. Mr. Truman's views were indicated by a White House reminder that there was a standing invitation to M. Stalin to come to Washington. M. Stalin has countered by saying that he is medically advised not to take a long trip by sea or air. The Americans are getting rightly restive about their President being asked to make a fourth trip half-way round the world. Mr. Acheson, U.S. Secretary of State, has demolished the very necessity for such a consultation, the declared purpose of which is to issue a joint declaration of peace. He observes that the United Nations Charter is there and all that is needed is honest implementing of it.

Adjudication Anomalies:—The Bureau of Economic Research in Cawnpore draws attention to a curious difficulty that has arisen in the settlement of Labour disputes in the United Provinces. For all adjudications, the Government appoint officials of its Labour Department who are "imbued with ideas of social justice and equity and are perhaps briefed to apply these principles in the adjustment of Labour-Management relations." The Industrial Courts, however, are presided over by lawyers who take a legal view of the question and "very often uphold the employers' legal rights with the corresponding denial of the workers' case." The Bureau gives an example which is worth quoting:

> Departmental officers acting as adjudicators have almost invariably upheld the workers' claim for bonus in all those concerns which have shown profits, but Mr. B. P. Elhence, Civil and Sessions Judge, Kanpur, negatived this claim of the workers in the industrial dispute in the J.K. Cotton Spinning and Weaving Mills. He held that the payment of bonus was a "question of high policy" and it was for the State to decide what the relations between workers and employers should be, whether they should be co-sharers or whether the workers should be merely wage-earners and the employers entitled to all the profits. According to him it was not a question for individual companies and mills to consider while departmental officers have made bonus the concern of an individual mill. The important point is that both the officers' awards and the courts' decisions are enforced by the Government without either alteration or attempt at coordination.

There is an appeal from the Conciliation Board to the Industrial Court and more than 80 per cent of the awards are appealed against by employers successfully. This means more trouble since the hopes of the workers are raised only to be dashed down later. The departmental officers, says the Bureau, should have legal training and industrial experience, and the Government ought to exercise its right of revision and amendment to secure uniformity. It might also be useful if Industrial Courts were different from courts of law.

Greater Bombay:—The news of the merging of the States of Kolhapur and Baroda with Bombay Presidency has had a mixed reception. It has been welcomed generally. For the breaking down of state barriers implies greater uniformity in the administrative and economic life of the Union, a condition which is desirable to those who believe in its essential unity. That there will be administrative difficulties in governing so large a Province, as Bombay will be when the merger is completed, is recognized. These need not be insuperable, however. Baroda in any case has drawn extensively for its administrative talent on Bombay. Its present Prime Minister, Dr. Jivraj Mehta, is a personality who has commanded the respect of the Bombay public for a long time. Its social and economic life has many points in common with that of Bombay, and in many ways Baroda is more

advanced, particularly in social legislation and education. The merger of Baroda, and Bombay can but profit both. Kolhapur admittedly is more backward. But in recent years the State has made valiant efforts to progress. If its determination continues—it should be indeed reaffirmed and strengthened by example—Kolhapur will not be a drag on Bombay. Opposition to the merger comes from a quarter which is increasing in volubility—the protagonists for linguistic provinces. That among them are Congressmen of rank-such as Shankerrao Deo, the General Secretary of the Congress—makes the position only more anomalous.

Prison Reform:—Prison reform and the better handling of prisoners have been keenly interesting Congress ministries in the different provinces and there have been several experiments, notably in the U. P. There is a journal issued from that province, "The Penal Reformer", which deals with the subject. According to reports, what is contemplated in Bombay is far ahead of anything tried out elsewhere so far. Already prisoners serving long-term sentences are allowed out on "furlough" for ten days or a fortnight after four years. It is further proposed to use prisoners in batches of ten for construction and building work, settle them in colonies and even allow them to live with their families. All these concessions and improvements depend on good conduct. Apart from these, there are other general amenities like tobacco and better food and remunerated work which are being gradually extended. It is said that psychiatrists will be engaged at the Central Prisons in the province. Writing some years ago, Mr. Richmond Harvey asked for prison treatment being based on a process of re-education—diagnose the causes of the man's conduct and then try to build up his will and character so that he can return with confidence to the world after his term. This is where the reforms are all taking us and the Bombay Government deserves congratulation for its bold initiative. There is one point, however, which must be borne in mind: The proposal for prison reform is the Government's contribution to the social treatment of criminals during the time when Government alone is responsible. What about the ensuing period when Society too has a responsibility and an opportunity of discharging it? Quoting Oscar Wilde's dictum approvingly—"all trials are trials for one's life; all sentences are sentences of death" —Richmond Harvey observes, "In a very real sense, punishment begins only when a man enters the world again and joins in the struggle for a living." If the prisoner has to be re-educated into a worthy member of Society, Society too needs re-education in its attitude towards discharged prisoners. Often it is forgotten that deprivation of freedom itself is sufficient atonement and that, whatever the offence, the period in jail is a purging of the offence. But with the added assurance that there is a conscious effort at training and education, it should be easier to accept the freed man as the equal of all those who have never been to prison. It would do well to bear in mind that often the men in jail are the men who have been found out.

Dwarka Temple:—A little noted item in the daily newspapers carries an interesting report. The decision to declare Dwarka temple open to Harijans on Sarvodaya Day, the day of Gandhiji's assassination last year, was frustrated by a section of the public who practised satyagraha. Dwarka has been for some time the symbol of orthodox obduracy and reformist bungling. How a decision could have been taken without ensuring against obstruction passes one's understanding. There seems an attempt at forcing an entry without complying with even the very restricted conditions now needed for legally effecting this reform. Dwarka is in Baroda State and there have been previous attempts to have it thrown open but the Government has not found it possible to intervene. More distressing is the report from Monghyr that several caste Hindus are charged with the murder of a Chamar woman because a niece of hers drew water from a village well. The report goes that the altercation which began at the well, grew into a raid on chamar huts. Here is a reminder that despite the admirable spadework done by generations of social reformers, a great deal more is called for than a resolution in the Constituent Assembly incorporating abclition of untouchability among our fundamental guarantees.

Ex-Communication:—A Bill of seemingly minor inportance, but really of great significance, is the Bill seeking to deprive individual communities of their powers of ex-communication. The necessity for a community to possess this power may be paramount in a primitive community. It is thoroughly unjustifiable in a modern society, where the only communal loyalty to be tolerated must be the larger loyalty to the nation. Individual communities by seeking to keep themselves apart from other communities within the nation are but impeding the growth of a national consciousness. Lesser loyalties tend to distract the individual's attention from his larger loyalties to the nation and humanity. In the case of Muslims the power of ex-communication enjoyed by the individual communities prevents free intermingling even between one Muslim and another. Thus certain Muslim communities threaten and put into practice ex-communication when their women marry Muslims of a community other than the one to which they belong. In the Bohra community, a member could be ex-communicated for so small a transgression as the abandoning of wearing a beard. Indian communities have every reason to rejoice over the contemplated reform for the power exercised by their heads has caused unnecessary unhappiness to individuals. It implied for the rebel a breaking away from family ties and frequently prevented him from practising rites to which he was emotionally attached.

THE INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, February 5, 1949

HYDERABAD—TODAY AND TOMORROW

Answering a question in the Dominion Parliament, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel said that it would be wrong to speak of the present administration in Hyderabad as a "military" government; it was in the nature of a "caretaker government", and the Military Governor was assisted by a Civil Administrator. He remarked that the administration will continue as it was until a popular government took over when "proper conditions for the smooth and efficient functioning of that government were created." These observations suggest that there is to be no change in the immediate future. Sardar Patel also said that by a Nizam's firman last December there was a directive to have the election rolls prepared for the Constituent Assembly. There were other details, sought and given, regarding the arms and ammunition seized and the number of Razakars detained or released after arrest, and about the activities of the Communists. All these, however, are very much beside the point and have little value in relation to the future of Hyderabad. They have certainly not helped in giving any coherent picture of what is happening in Hyderabad and of how Hyderabad is shaping. As a matter of fact, Sardar Patel's repudiation of the term "Military Administration" is not correct. The question is which is the supreme authority in Hyderabad. Since the answer is the Military Governor, it is a military administration, however much precaution may be taken to soften the rigours of a military administration. It is significant that the Sardar in his replies never once referred to the Nizam's authority in terms of recognition. His power to issue "firmans", evidently, is very similar to the constitutional monarch's assent to measures commended by his ministers. Regarding the Government of India's position, Sardar Patel remarked that he wishes its control to continue in Communications and Defence whilst External Relations will continue to be treated as the concern of the Union Government. The picture of Hyderabad today as it emerges is that of a constitutional monarchy without a constitution, of local autonomy without local government. In other words, it is an anomaly following on the collapse of a feudal system.

The subject has not been adequately dealt with in the Dominion Parliament partly because even to ask questions it is necessary to know something of existing conditions, and partly because no question was put which the States Minister would not have wanted to answer. No one apparently desired to know what was the position of the Nizam today and what it was meant to be in the future; no one asked how the economic position was developing in the transition in manning the Hyderabad services and in making appointments; and no question was put regarding the internal dissensions which marred the functioning of the Hyderabad State Congress. The Hyderabad Struggle Committee of the Socialist Party put out some months ago a booklet containing valuable information on the conditions existing in Hyderabad entitled "The Hyderabad Problem: The Next Step", which has not been noticed in the press. In it, it is shown that the mixed population—Andhras, nine million; Marathas, four million; Kanarese, two million; and Hindustani and Urdu, two million—has been a source of weakness rather than of strength. "The population of Hyderabad is a heterogeneous mixture which, lacking anything like a collective social conscience, is incapable of progress." Of Hyderabad's industrial life, it refers to the method of development adopted by the State, by which "several large concerns belonging to the State are entrusted for management to a few private individuals-Muslims-on a managing agency basis or to companies dominated by Muslims". It points out that these persons who need not possess any capital in the first instance, take away the greater part of the profits. Concrete examples are quoted where the State provides over half the capital without any controlling voice. A class of Hindu financiers grew up, says the booklet, from the financial difficulties of the State because they helped to pull it out of its difficulties. The possibilities in this situation are enormous. It would be interesting to learn which way the present adminisitration is directing future development, state ownership or the substitution of one class of exploiters for another. In the services, there is a similar communal unbalance. The 1931 census gave the figures for the Hindus in State service as 11 per cent in the Army and police, and about 23 per cent in other branches most of whom were village officials and petty officials. "The Hyderabad Problem" remarks that in the 18 years that have passed since that Census, the proportion is even less. Obviously a very unsatisfactory condition since the Hyderabad population is some 85 per cent Hindu. But it will be difficult to effect an immediate change because the educational policy of the Hyderabad State has been calculated to support the building up of a Muslim class to man the services. The booklet quotes from the Imperial Gazetteer (1909) which wrote:

> "While the Muhammedans form only 10.4 per cent of the State, they include 63 per cent of the students in college, 45 per cent of the pupils in secondary and 42 per cent of the students in primary schools. These results are due to the position held by Muhammedans in a State of which the ruler belongs to their religion. It is noticeable that the Hindus are more successful in examinations proportionately to their numbers than the Muhammedans."

However that may be, it is obvious that both in government service and in industrial life there is not the necessary condition in Hyderabad to effect

a change without immediately disturbing the life of the people and at the same time reducing efficiency. A certain amount of borrowing from the rest of India is inevitable, and this borrowing would naturally be preferable in government rather than in industry. Even if Indian industrialists are invited to participate in the life of Hyderabad, it is desirable that they should be clearly told that their operations will be closely supervised by the Government of India. Labour conditions and security provisions are very poor in the State, and the Union owes a definite responsibility to the people to raise the level of working conditions there.

THE PEOPLE AND THE PRESS

Considerable alarm has been expressed of late at the growth of the sensational press in India. Its increasing reliance on gossip instead of accurate and authentic reports, its substitution of personality featuring for argument and discussion have been its most unpleasant features. Indian journalists no longer able to close their eyes to its existence have been compelled to search for its origins and to devise measures for controlling its exuberances In their initial efforts to get at the root of the trouble they have tended to put the blame on the public. Public taste, it is said, encourages the irresponsible and unethical journalism indulged in by sensational papers. There is nothing objectionable in this statement. **It is human, indeed, to blame others rather than oneself for one's shortcomings.** In any case there is a partial truth voiced in it. The lowering standard of education, the fact that today the average individual has little leisure and less mental energy to follow a sustained argument makes sensational journalism inevitable to some extent. But whilst public taste may account for some of the defects of the sensational press, it cannot be held responsible for the shortcomings of the sober press. At any rate, it is difficult to understand how the remedy suggested by Mr. Devidas Gandhi can improve existing conditions. A few weeks ago Mr. Gandhi, President of the All India Newspapers Editors Conference, virtually threatened offending editors with expulsion from his organization if they did not mend their ways. As membership of the A.I.E.N.C. confers no material benefits on its members and expulsion is not accompanied by a fine, loss of membership involves merely the loss of a dubious privilege. Moreover, the importance of the organization to date lay in its representative character. Also it is difficult to see how membership to the A.I.E.N.C. can be made a condition for publishing or editing a paper. Mr. Gandhi's exasperation will be shared by all responsible journalists, but mere exasperation is not enough. And punitive measures against a few editors will not really improve the conditions of the Indian press.

What is needed is a thorough investigation into its working conditions. It would be important to examine the extent to which the Indian press is a genuine agency for communication of information and thought, a bona fide carrier of all ideas that affect the social, economic and cultural life of the country. A definition of the functions of the press in India is called for. It is a fact that the 'sober' press itself is given to suppression and toning down of news-items unpalatable to its editorial policy. Leftist news, for instance, is not given a prominence according to its news value, frequently. Statements made by leftist leaders tend to be relegated to inside pages. On occasions news value itself is determined by editorial policy. Again there have been at least two instances in which certain 'sober' papers either played down the reports of blackmarketting cases against prominent businessmen, or dropped them after a brief notice. And this when the press had unanimously asked Government to take strict measures against corruption Public taste surely does not account for these defects! In a genuine inquiry into press conditions a number of vital questions will have to be examined The relation between increasing newspaper chains and toning down of leftist ideas would have to be assessed. Similarly one would have to inquire into the role that advertisers play in the publication of news-items. It would be necessary also to find out how independent editors really are in the determination of their policy. The fact that the publisher and the editor are responsible legally for all that appears in the paper is by no means a guarantee of their independence from proprietors. There is the further complication of the editor and proprietor being the same person in several instances. The importance of the part the proprietor plays in the determination of the policy of the paper cannot be minimized. It has particular significance in India for at least two reasons. One is that an increasing number of papers are being controlled by men whose interests extend into other businesses. And unlike his American counterpart this kind of proprietor does not publish several newspapers, holding diametrically opposing editorial views. Nor are the different Indian political parties all able to finance papers expressing their views as English political parties do. The likely result in India of a concentration of ownership will be that the Indian citizen will have no opportunity to participate in discussions on political views of varying shades. The modern newspaper requires a good deal of finances. Some concentration of ownership is inevitable, but its consequences have to be guarded against. Some time ago Pundit Nehru expressed his desire to see a number of independent papers growing up in the country. It is significant that Pundit Nehru's colleagues did not associate themselves with his preference. In any case a mere expression of a laudable wish is somewhat futile. It has been said that the American press is more objective than the British press, although the latter reflects public opinion more adequately than

the former. This is true and for obvious reasons. The leading British papers are associated openly with British political parties. Also there are no radical differences in internal policy between America's two political parties, such as divide British Labour from British Conservatives. That is why an American businessman can and does publish a paper reflecting Republican views as well as one supporting the Democrats. Unfortunately the Indian press differs both from its American and British counterpart. Its plight, therefore, deserves greater attention. Indian publicists would do well to take a warning from the following observation contained in the Report of the American Commission on Freedom of the Press in the U.S.A.: 'In the last thirty years, in Mr. White's opinion, newspapers "have veered from their traditional positions as leaders of public opinion to mere pedlers and purveyors of news... ....the newspapers have become commercial enterprises and hence fall into the current which is merging commercial enterprises along mercantile lines."

COLOUR AND CULTURE

Sir Alan Burns, a colonial civil servant who had served in West Africa and West Indies, a former Governor of the Gold Coast, and at present U.K. representative on the U.N. Trusteeship Council has in "Colour Prejudice" (Messrs George Allen and Unwin, London; Price 12s.6d.) condemned both the unthinking "lover of the negroes" and the person who sees no good in them. He professes to give us a picture of the negro as he is. We in India are familiar with all three types, and the Alan Burns model generally ends up inclining to either the first or the second. In this particular case, the leaning is certainly strongly towards the second. There are three points which, Sir Alan suggests, must be borne in mind in any consideration of the problem of coloured races: First, the political domination of the White Race which, Sir Alan admits, started through force and fraud, and, he asserts, ended in giving justice and law to the non-Whites. "The position has been complicated in some countries by the seizure of land by members of the ruling race." Secondly, there is the legal discrimination which prevails in so many countries, notably the U.S.A. and South Africa. Sir Alan deals with this fairly exhaustively so far as narrating the facts go. He sees that it is the result of white domination and that it is grossly unjust. Thirdly, there is the question of manners which Sir Alan unreservedly condemns. He remarks on the fact that the presence of white women on the colonial scene immediately leads to a deterioration in race relations. With the presentation of the position, there is little ground for objection and Sir Alan must be congratulated on the painstaking work he has put into this effort. But his conclusions are rather halting. He does not think, for instance, that very much can be done to change the political situation or even that it is desirable to do so. The "native taskmaster" is, he says, often infinitely worse and more exacting than the White civil servant; and, as for the seizure of land—in Kenya for instance, the white settlers were encouraged to do this by their governments, and they cannot now be cheated of their legal claims. Admittedly, there are difficulties but this is hardly a valid reason for, after all, where the whole White attitude is concerned, the blessings of a White government hardly constitute an honest basis. Sir Alan is too much of a civil servant to see the anomaly of White administrations claiming the credit for introducing law and justice in the colonies and at the same time perpetrating and perpetuating gross injustices against the coloured peoples. So far as the legal discrimination is present, Sir Alan thinks that we must wait for time to bring about the change that is necessary. It is only on the need for good manners and courteous behaviour that Sir Alan can think of immediate action—and here, too, he asks for something from both sides. He asks the African to be more trusting and less suspicious, and he appeals to his own race to be courteous "because courtesy would be a better hall-mark of civilisation and culture than material progress." From what he says about the Americans in another context, one almost feels that he has been driven to this observation after watching them with—well, distaste. There is another point which might be mentioned: Sir Alan is at pains to establish that colour prejudice has existed in other times and among non-whites as well. May be, but there has never been the kind of economic exploitation which has gone with White Imperialism in the colonies, by which large populations were kept at literally starvation level. Sir Alan has pleaded strongly for cultural acceptance of the coloured—that is, for distinctions based on ways of life and possibly thought rather than on race. This is also what the British Commonwealth seems to be feeling its way towards, somewhat haltingly. The Crown as the link of the Commonwealth means necessarily a racial tie but acceptance of certain common ideals and ideas would imply a cultural bond. The reactions to the various feelers thrown out from time to time indicate with what difficulty the change is confronted. And whilst the British Dominions hesitate, there rises another star of challenging brilliance—the Asian Conference.

ATOM BOMB CHAOS

An army atom bomb expert, Col. James P. Cooney, writes Devere Allen, recently declared, that radiation was scaring too many people. At Hiroshima, he said, 85 per cent of the deaths resulted from the instant blast and fire, while radiation killed only 15 per cent. On the very next day, however, the National Military Establishment at Washington released a statement saying that every atom bomb dropped by an enemy would kill 20,000 out-right, with another 20,000

dying soon, and 60,000 seriously injured. And it put its emphasis on radioactivity. The boys in charge are not together, but marching off in all directions. If the experts are confused to such a degree, naturally the public is confounded.

—*Worldover Press.*

TRADE UNIONS IN BRITAIN

(By HERBERT TRACY)

Member of the British Trades Union Congress and Editor of "Labour", the official journal of the T.U.C.

Unofficial strikes in British industry, which have been occuring rather frequently of late, seem to call into question the value of the trade union organization. So much publicity is given to stoppages of work in defiance of union instructions that often an unfortunate impression is created abroad. Public opinion generally is led to believe that unions have no real control over their members and that agreements into which unions enter after negotiation with employers have no binding force.

To the uninstructed observer, therefore, the British trade union movement sometimes presents a picture of disunity and internal conflict, with the rank and file in revolt against responsible trade union leadership

On the facts, this is an entirely false picture. Industrial relations in Britain today are more stable than they have ever been. The influence and authority of trade union leadership had never been a greater force. Industrial policies have been framed by trade union executives, and are accepted by an overwhelming majority of trade unionists, which run counter to the traditional practice of unions in their dealings with employers on question of wages, working hours and conditions of employment.

Almost without being aware of it, trade union policy has been transformed in recent years by the development of a joint advisory and consultative machinery in which both sides of industry are adequately represented and in which Ministers and Government Departments systematically participate. This policy has done more to stabilise industrial relations and to minimise conflicts between employers and employed than is generally appreciated, especially by those who read from time to time about unofficial strikes.

Perhaps the clearest evidence of the remarkable improvement in industrial relations is supplied by official statistics relating to industrial disputes. There has been a considerable decrease in the number of working days lost in strikes and stoppages not only from year to year but almost from month to month. The last available figures show that in November, although there were 126 stoppages of work—none of them official strikes—no more then 88,000 working days were lost, whereas in the corresponding month of the previous year there was a loss of nearly twice that number of working days, 176,000 involving nearly 42,000 workers against less than 30,000 in November 1948.

About one-third of the stoppages in November lasted not more than one day; only five of the stoppages, affecting less than 2,000 workers, extended over six days. Practically all of them were settled within a week, mainly, it should be added, by the unions concerned using their influence to promote settlement, although they had given no sanction to the strikers.

The record of a single month is confirmed by an official analysis showing the incidence of industrial disputes in the first 11 months of 1948 in comparison with the record of 11 months in 1947. Between January and November, 1948, there were 1,658 stoppages of work involving more than 400,000 workers. They caused an aggregate loss of 1,912,000 working days. In the corresponding period of the previous year, there were 1,598 stoppages, involving 604,500 workers and causing a total loss of 2,253,000 working days.

If they stood by themselves, these figures would seem to testify to the very marked decrease in industrial disputes in the last 12 months. They are in striking contrast to the state of affairs that arose in British industry after World War I. In the first three years after World War I, the total number of working days lost by industrial disputes reached 65,500,000. In the three years since World War II, the total loss of working days does not exceed 65,500,000.

Here are the comparative figures of working days lost: 1919 = 34,903,000; 1920 = 27,111,000; 1921 = 86,000,000; 1946 = 2,160,000; 1947 = 2,430,000; 1948 = 1,912,000.

The 1948 total is for 11 months. The others, in each case, are for the full year. It is important to emphasise the fact that practically all recorded stoppages in the three years following World War II were unofficial disputes. The number of strikes in these years to which unions gave official countenance and support can be numbered on the fingers of one hand.

In the corresponding three years after World War I, there was a wave of officials strikes, many of them—particularly those involving miners, cotton workers and railwaymen—on a national scale. It can be said with some emphasis that it is contrary to union policy to allow any dispute to escape settlement by the established machinery of an industry for collective bargaining or by the use of machinery of conciliation and arbitration which is today under Government management.

A notable feature of the industrial record in 1948 is the drop in the number of days lost by disputes in the mining industry. In 1947, nearly 900,000 working days were lost. For 1948 the total was 456,000. This clearly indicates an improved spirit in the mining industry. The same can be said of conditions in the transport services. In 1947, 620,000 working days were lost because of industrial disputes; whereas in 1948 the total was no more than 340,000 working days. This is clear testimony of the strength and wisdom of trade union leadership in Britain today.

UNREST IN LEBANON

(By J. MICHAEL HAGOPIAN)

The crises which have agitated Egypt and Syria are expected to spread to Lebanon, where the popular "revolution" may, however, assume a constitutional form. The mass movement which in Syria overthrew the cabinet of Jamil Mardam Bey renders precarious the position of the Lebanese Prime Minister, Riad Solh, for the ferment among students and shopkeepers is not confined to any single country of the Middle East.

There is usually a time interval between the effects of mass unrest in Syria and its results in Lebanon. Lebanon is more westernized, is exposed to French and American cultural influences, and has Christians as half the population, with many racial and religious minorities. Middle East popular resentment spreads westward from the interior of the Syrian and Arabian deserts, and spends much of its fury before it reaches the cosmopolitan port of Beirut.

Causes of the present mass discontent are manifold. Foremost is the failure of Arab Governments to wage a successful warfare against the Israeli forces, as they had promised Due to censorship, it was months before the populations of the Arab countries learned about the adverse tide of battle. Only now have the peoples come to know what American and European newspaper readers heard about last summer. Faith in Arab governments has waned.

There is also great dissatisfaction among the masses at the proposal of King Abdullah, as the story filtered down, to establish a Greater Syria, consisting of Transjordan, Arab Palestine, Syria and parts of Lebanon. Popular wrath is focussed on the Prime Ministers of all Arab countries.

Another source of unrest is the U. N. partition plan for Palestine, and the support received by Israel from the United States.

Added to all these factors producing discontent among the peoples, is a rising criticism of Arab leaders for their handling of internal questions, particularly economic and social problems, and their alleged neglect of Arab refugees.

When the Syrian Prime Minister was ousted on charges of having become involved in business transactions abroad which damaged the nation, similar accusations were not long in developing against the Lebanese Prime Minister. If the criticisms are unjust in these particulars, the accused leader has nevertheless pursued in general the same policies as the Syrian Premier. L'Orient, Beirut paper, has been urging Solh's dismissal, and so has the Arabic paper, Al-Amal. If King Abdullah gets for Transjordan any substantial part of Arab Palestine, the fall of Mr. Riad Solh appears almost certain.

Oppositionists are suggesting that the President of Lebanon, Sheik Bichara el Khoury, use the powers conferred on him by articles 53 to 55 of the constitution, and bring about a legal revolution. In three steps this could be accomplished; (1) dismiss Riad Solh; (2) form a new government of a national union coalition; (3) dissolve the Chamber and call for new elections. By such methods a violent upheaval could be avoided, and a popular government, expressing the people's will, be put into power. In any case, Middle East unrest is not likely to be quieted without definite satisfaction of the masses.

—*Worldover Press*

WHAT CHILDREN NEED

CHILDREN IN NEED by MELITTA SCHMIDEBERG M.D. (Published by George Allen and Unwin, Ltd.; London. Priced 12 sh. 6 d.)

This is a disturbing book. You can't retire into your little ivory tower so easily after you have finished reading it. Dr. Schmideberg is a psychiatrist who has worked among working class families and has acquired insight into their problems. Her study of juvenile delinquency is documented with case-histories from her own notebook and these make the most uneasy reading. It has sincerity and all the force of original thought, although much of what she says is not new. There is nothing startling in her insistence on the importance of a normal home-life in the child's growth and her thesis that juvenile delinquency arises from the sense of insecurity and neglect that prevails in poor and unsatisfactory homes has been elaborated frequently. The reader will have recognized the child's need for affection and security long ago. But he will be startled out of his complacency when he reads how homeless children are treated in the institutions established for looking after them. The Indian reader, particularly, will be ill at ease for his tendency to look to Government for curing all social ills is pronounced. The recognition that institutional care is inadequate even in England where social service is fairly advanced, will come to him as a shock. Dr. Schmideberg points vividly to the difficulties created for the social worker by red tape; and her graphic case-histories serve the useful purpose of making society realize that juvenile delinquency is not controlled by the mere existence of orphanages, approved schools, remand homes and borstals. These can help only if they are adequately staffed with trained persons who have insight into the emotional problems of homeless and neurotic children and adolescents. Her insistence on institutional after-care points to the urgency of creating a service of able social workers. Her contention that the parents of juvenile delinquents deserve attention should not pass unheeded. She deplores the practice of sending a child to an institution without any efforts being made to secure an improvement in his home conditions or in the child-parent relationship. And rightly so. The best of institutions can be no substitute for the warmth of a home, for the normal give and take that goes on within it from day to day. At its best institutional life cuts its inmates off from the problems of normal living.

Dr. Schmideberg, incidentally, has valuable comments even on the public school. Indeed the great merit of her book is that juvenile delinquency is not set apart as something terrible, something that is to be relegated to experts and is best forgotten by the more fortunate members of Society. "There, but for the Grace of God, go I", one feels. And that is as it should be. Juvenile delinquency is associated with poverty, because emotional maladjustments occur more readily in the atmosphere of insecurity and despair which it engenders.

PEACE MANOEUVRES PERPLEX CHINESE

(By FRANKLIN WALLICK)

Chinese liberal circles in the political sanctuary of Hong Kong are bewildered by the recent broadsides from the Communists, especially their list of "war criminals," for that list includes leading Kuomintang figureheads known to have sought peace at great cost to their personal safety in the Nationalist government.

These liberals, who established an exile home in Hong Kong when the Democratic League was outlawed by the Nationslists, feel that the cause they espouse will be more difficult to uphold if they enter a Communist-sponsored coalition at the complete sufferance of the Reds. They had expected to maintain the delicate equilibrium between the two wings of a Nationalist-Communist coalition whenever both parties could agree to set it up.

Some of the Democratic Leaguers will enter any coalition without reservations because they are convinced that a drastic Communist government in China is inevitable. Those who hold this view are the most vocal in Hong Kong and publish a newspaper which faithfully backs the Communist party line. According to diplomatic observers, it is not necessary for the Communists to print a paper because these totalitarian liberals do it perfectly for them.

A more cautious brand of liberalism in Hong Kong, which is still too outspoken for safety in Nationalist China, is taking an independent course with respect to coalition and cooperation with the Communists. Some of these liberals have been snared into supporting an English-language newsletter, the Far Eastern Bulletin, which often bends over backwards to sanction Communist behaviour.

Among this group of liberal democrats—who call themselves the Reform Group of the Democratic Socialist Party, to distinguish them from Socialists who joined the Nationalist government—there is a vital concern for the protection and extension of human rights. One member of the group is Mrs. Herman Liu, whose husband was formerly president of the University of Shanghai (Baptist) before he was shot down by the Japanese. She has been a staunch critic of the Chiang Kai-Shek regime for its suppression of civil liberties, and is chairman of a movement called the International League for the Protection of Human Rights. This group includes a roster of prominent liberal Chinese, in addition to two influential American editors in China, William Powell of the "China Weekly Review" and Randall Gould of the "Shanghai Evening Post."

This movement is significant, for it is agreed by thoughtful observers that civil liberties will need to be fostered under any Chinese government, whether Nationalist, Communist, or coalition.

—*Worldover Press*

"FEUDALISM" IN HAWAII

(By MINEO KATAGIRI)

Many writers in the past have referred to Hawaii as "feudal," largely because of the Unlawful Assembly and Riot Act, and the Conspiracy Act, which have been law ever since U. S. annexation of the islands. Both acts have now been declared unconstitutional in a momentous decision handed down by Circuit Judges John Biggs Jr. and Delbert E. Metzger, together with District Judge George B. Harris.

In the sugar strike of 1946 and the pineapple strike of 1947, mass arrests of 127 strikers took place under the two laws. The International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union challenged the laws and the makeup of the Grand Jury which indicted the strikers, and asked for a court injunction forbidding Maui County from going through with the prosecution.

Lower courts backed the Grand Jury and the constitutionality of the acts. An appeal was then taken to the Federal Courts, a three-man court returning the verdict that the laws violated the constitution, and ordering truer popular representation on the Grand Jury.

The court asserted that if the statutes were put into effect, no citizen of Hawaii would be free. It pointed out that the acts had been used only against workers' and never against anyone else. The maximum penalty under the laws had been raised, in 1929, following the Filipino strike of 1924, from five to twenty years' imprisonment.

While careful not to accuse prosecuting officials of anything dishonourable, the court found that they had reflected the mores of their time and locality against an unpopular movement. The Jury that indicted the strikers was predominantly Caucasian, in spite of the fact that the workers were mostly Filipinos, Japanese or Hawaiians. The Jury, furthermore, represented only the managerial and business groups—which the court found out of line with the high traditions of American jurisprudence.

Far-reaching repercussions from the ruling are expected in future labour relations. At last the workers of Hawaii feel they can take their place as free citizens in an American economy. They give much of the credit for the favourable decision to Harriet Bouslog, one of the few women attorneys in the islands, who has given her talents to the struggle for labour and civil rights.

—*Worldover Press*

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"*I will* be as harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard*".

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the LIBERATOR.

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NOTES

The Hindu Code:—There are suggestions that the draft Hindu Code should be postponed to the time when the Indian Legislature is re-elected on the basis of adult franchise, as the present body is not regarded as competent for passing social legislation. The contention is not seriously intended but the desire to delay the measure is obvious. There is an agitation that has also been started to defeat the Code. On the other hand, the elements which are anxious to have these reforms carried out, are rather dormant. At any rate, they are not saying very much at this stage. The danger in all this is that the Code will be postponed although its ultimate passage is beyond doubt. The law reformers who framed the Code, were rather conservative-minded in their approach to the question of Hindu reform. They were fully conscious of the necessity of keeping social legislation well within public opinion. In fact, it is part of the tradition of the Indian Social Reform Movement that more reliance should be placed on personal example and on the education of the public than on the coercive forces of the law. Hindu society was ready for the reforms of the Hindu Code seven years ago when it was first framed. Today there have been events which have brought home to the community the necessity of going further than the Code, and they cannot be ignored. The Congress which has an overwhelming majority in the Dominion Parliament, has a special responsibility in this respect; and it will do well to discharge it conscientiously and effectively.

Social Legislation and Property:—The point is all the more important because the Hindu Code is so greatly concerned with property rights and the devolution of Hindu property. It was said in criticism of the Code that it paid undue importance to property which affected but a section, and a small section at that of Hindu society, the bulk of whose members had no property to think about. It was the argument of those who wanted more radical reforms. But should the Code for any reason be shelved, the charge would lie with even greater justice that the commercial community has used influence to sabotage the reforms. The Congress will find that such a charge, which must have a bearing on other issues as well, is not exactly an asset to it nor an addition to its prestige. The Hindu Code was one of the casualties of World War II, the British Government having withdrawn it because of fear of the Axis using it for propaganda. It would be even more deplorable if it should become now the casualty of Indian Independence because the Congress Government of India desired to mollify Hindu business interests.

Bombay Housing:—The announcement early this week that the Bombay Government expected to launch on a building campaign which would give 50,000 tenements for a total cost of Rs. 10 crores, evoked less enthusiasm than it would have normally. In the first place, Government estimates of building costs have an unfortunate habit of proving hopelessly out. Secondly, the previous statements of Mr. Nanda, Bombay's Labour and Housing Minister, had warned the public not to expect much building in the city of Bombay itself owing to steel shortage. The Government had been compelled to abandon all plans for building in reinforced concrete and to turn their minds to brick and timber structures which were not very suitable for the vertical building necessary in a big city. Of these, the permanent structures cost about Rs. 3,500 and the semi-permanent Rs. 1,350 per tenement. Obviously, therefore, the 50,000 tenements proposed are to be built largely outside the industrial cities and on a semipermanent basis. One can understand the anxiety and haste of the Bombay Government when it is stated that about 4,00,000 tenements are needed for the four cities of Bombay, Ahmedabad, Sholapur and

Hubli. But much more could be achieved by cool thinking and constructive planning. From past experience, it would seem that the cost of a tenement is somewhere about Rs. 4,150, irrespective of the place it is built in. American prefabricated houses are offered, we believe, at some Rs. 6,000; the Government of India some time back declared its intention to start factories for prefabricated houses at Rs. 2,000 per house. Nothing more, however, has been heard of these items that flash periodically before us and are then forgotten. There is an official complaint that private building is not very enterprising; but this is matched by private grumbling that red-tape and forms are insuperable obstacles in the way of private enterprise. Even the Government offer to co-operative and housing societies of liberal aid has not been availed of to any appreciable extent. Since housing is an acute problem, it is necessary that the whole question be overhauled so that building work might be encouraged.

A Wrong Way To a Right Thing:—The Madras Government has occasioned a lively, if acrimonious, controversy by the introduction of its Hindu Religious Endowments Bill. Its purpose is, to substitute state management and control for private management in the administration of Hindu temples and maths. The official reasons for doing so are two. One is that gross maladministration and even corruption is prevailing in some of the existing institutions; and that, unless the reform is accomplished, Hinduism is in danger from the attacks of Black Shirts and Communists. The objections to the Bill are several. Mainly, that the Bill, if passed, will violate Article 20 of the Draft Constitution which acknowledges the right of religious communities to establish and maintain their own institutions as a fundamental right of citizens of a secular state. It is true that the Constitution has not been finally accepted, but the particular article was discussed and incorporated in the Draft by the whole Constituent Assembly during its last session. The Madras Ministry cannot get over this basic difficulty. Its tendency to make light of it augurs ill for the sanctity of fundamental rights. If the doctrine of sovereignty of Parliament can make a majority so indifferent to one fundamental right, there is no guarantee that other majorities in the future will not treat other rights in as light-hearted a fashion. If the Madras Ministry succeeds in rushing this Bill through, it will be necessary for the Constituent Assembly to reopen the discussion on the article which bears on this fundamental right.

Why not for All?:—It is true, however, that the contemplated reform is necessary. In itself it is beneficial. But, it is difficult to understand why it should apply only to one community. The Madras Ministry should be equally bold in introducing similar reforms into Muslim Wakfs and Christian Missions. Surely the minorities have as great a claim on a secular state to safeguard its people from abuses as the majority has. A secular state cannot discriminate against any one community, even though the discrimination may follow out of 'paternal interests' for minorities. Another objection to this Bill must be noted. It is quite obvious that public opinion has not been sufficiently sounded. Considering its far-reaching importance, this is extremely undesirable. The Bill has not been circulated and an effort to do so was sought to be frustrated by the party whip. The rigidity of party discipline is accepted in a democratic society. Nevertheless on matters relating to individual rights the party must be restrained from interfering with the conscience of individual members. The Madras Ministry cannot be exonerated from the charge of using its parliamentary majority to ride rough-shod over public opinion, as the decision to introduce the Bill was taken when less than seventy members of the Congress Party were present. This when the total strength of the Party in the Assembly is 190.

Government and Labour:—In two speeches, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has expressed last week his growing impatience with Labour. Workers, he says in effect, are far too prone to strike or threaten strike regardless of the production needs of the country. He has called on them to realise that it is their own interests that are affected by all kinds of scarcity. The urgency of his tone suggests that, if appeals fail, the Government will soon tighten up its Labour legislation or resort to action in implementation of their truce programme. If Ministers in the Government desire to impress on the working class the necessity for a period of peaceful development, they must not flinch from the need for strong action to remove the agitator from the trade union. Instead what has taken place is rivalry and more agitation in the Labour sphere, with the temptation for Government supporters in the field to try to outbid the opposition forces. It is time to assume that the worker is perfectly capable of looking after himself in matters that affect his working and living conditions It cannot be that men and women who are regarded as fully competent to exercise political judgment in a system of adult franchise, must be considered unfit for helping themselvesin matters that more nearly concern them.

Women's Education:—Speaking at a recent function connected with the S. N. D. T. Women's University, Mr. B. G. Kher expressed his opinion that it was necessary to separate the curricula for women in the secondary stage, though in primary schools it was unnecessary, uneconomic and undesirable and in advanced higher education it was also a superfluity. He was emphatic, however, in saying that this was not officially decided on but purely his own views. It will not be possible to separate women's education only in the secondary stage and bring it back in the more advanced years. If, as Mr. Kher himself has often insisted, education is to be a continuous process, then either one must separate women's education right up from the secondary classes or keep co-education as the ideal. To us the obvious way seems co-education right through.

THE INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, February 12, 1949

PROBLEMS OF FOOD

On several important issues, it would appear that matters are coming to a head. During a two-day debate in the Dominion Parliament last week, much dissatisfaction was expressed by members at the way in which the food situation was being handled. Mr. Jairamdas Daulatram, Food Minister, ended the discussion with a promise to have the entire policy discussed at Cabinet level when the points raised by the different speakers would be considered. There was nothing new in what the debate brought out and the Food Department might well have acted without waiting for an un-official prod. Speaking at the Indian Central Cotton Committee, Sir Chunilal B. Mehta asked for more attention for cotton cultivation, asserting that acreage under cotton cultivation could be expanded without affecting the acreage under food crops. He further added that, as India was paying in full for the food she imported from other countries, it was no one's business to inquire how much area was devoted to food grains and how much to cotton. This is a purely commercial outlook and betrays a complete misunderstanding of the international food situation. There is shortage not only in India but in several countries, and it requires considerable effort on India's part to obtain the food she wants—a different thing from the food she needs—from foreign countries. In the circumstances, it is fitting that every care should be taken to see that we do all that lies in our power to be self-sufficient in food before we seek outside help. The Foodgrains Policy Committee had in its final report recommended that, as the official policy of concentrating on food grains production had not produced the results that were hoped for, and as the neglect of cash crops had told on the economy of the country, it would be desirable to pay more attention to cash crops. In spite of the reasonable manner in which this case was presented, it has been the feeling of the Government, supported by the general trend of the two-day food debate in the Dominion Parliament, that every effort should be directed on making the "Grow More Food" campaign a success and to eradicate any defects which hold up achievement. Sir Chunilal's assertion that cotton cultivation can be extended without affecting food production, needs more substantiation than the mere statement that other nations should not interfere with the economy of a free country.

There have been more reports on the food situation in India, than on any other subject. The public would like to be told what steps the Government has taken to see that the findings of these numerous committees are implemented. We have in mind particularly the report of Mr. W. Burns, Special Officer, of the Government of India, on the "Technological Possibilities of Agricultural Development" which was published in 1945. Mr. Burns commented on the various kinds of wastage which had to be attended to. He remarked on one point that it was the misfortune of Indian Agriculture that the plough waited for the rain and suggested that, instead of waiting for the rains, lands could be ploughed in anticipation and thus much time could be saved. There were other suggestions which are worth looking into. In any case, the public is entitled to be told what has been done by way of action on Mr. Burns' recommendations. Nothing could be more destructive of public confidence than an impression of dilettantism. And unfortunately it is just this impression that is being created by the conduct of the Food Department. More than one speaker called for a more efficient Minister to head the Department. The emergency justifies the demand. The Food Department has not had at its head a sufficiently forceful personality and it has suffered in consequence. It is natural that there should be a feeling that this has added to its difficulties.

The Food problem rests on two fundamental questions which need to be settled: The relation of the Centre to the Provinces and the Centre's approach to the various village and district officials who are entrusted with the responsibility of carrying out policies. Mr. Jairamdas in the Debate complained pathetically that many persons, including members of the Parliament, were under the illusion that the Centre was responsible for the food policy. There is some justification for this impression. In the last statement on extending the cultivation of food-grains, it was said that all the provincial and state governments had agreed that the Centre should attend to the work of bringing in uncultivated land under food crops. The large irrigation projects that are contemplated, cover several provinces and States, and, require Central direction. The very suggestion that the provinces and States require to be moved by the Centre, places the responsibility on the Union. Moreover, barring a few provinces which can be counted on the fingers of one hand, there are not enough men of imagination in the units to tackle a problem of this magnitude. The other question, the machinery for carrying out policies in the villages and districts, is a much more complicated one. Mr. Burns observed that there was existing a machinery which could be utilised, but it is a regrettable fact that the persons in responsible positions in these areas are not temperamentally equipped to function energetically or sufficiently well-informed to give effect to radical policies. A negative function like the operation of controls is itself difficult but, when it comes to more positive lines of action, the machinery breaks down. It is to these details that the administration must address itself.

THE GANDHI MURDER TRIAL

The judgment of Mr. Atma Charan, Special Judge, who was deputed to try the accused in the Gandhi Murder Case, brings to an end a long-drawn out trial—one almost says, needlessly long-drawn. The assassination of Gandhiji found the Indian Government in two minds: In the first reaction, it was attempted to dismiss the whole thing as the work of a misguided fanatic. Later the whole bent was to make a great conspiracy case out of the murder, and there was no turning back from the attractions of that procedure. It was this which has made the whole business needlessly protracted: Beginning with a virtual round-up of all who had contacted Nathuram Godse, the assassin, the Law ended with twelve accused, of whom three were absconding and one turned approver. Among the eight was the Hindu Mahasabha leader, Savarkar, who has been acquitted on account of want of evidence to substantiate the Approver's story on this point. Mr. Atma Charan himself observes that the prosecution was not able to establish when the conspiracy originated, or where or by whom. Moreover, there is enough in his remarks to show that the conspiracy he has in mind was conspiracy to murder Gandhiji. Beyond this, the Judge has been careful not to go and we may assume that there is no ground for other inferences. Therefore, apart from the murder of Gandhiji—the fact of which is undeniable—there is nothing to tell us what the conspiracy was about. In fact, the acquittal of Mr. Savarkar might be taken as a tentative proof of failure to find any further intention in the minds of the conspirators. It must also be borne in mind that at the time of the outrage, there were numerous persons—not excluding Congressmen—who spoke bitterly about Gandhiji's influence on the Indian Government, particularly in matters relating to relations with Pakistan, but who were genuinely outraged by the actual murder. Therefore, there was not even a smouldering fire as would persist after a political "conspiracy", even after it had achieved its "calculated and culminating objective". The judgment of Mr. Atma Charan has brought the assassins from the political to the personal plane.

The second point which strikes one, is the reference in the judgment to the inadequacy of the Police and their lack of keenness, with a direct reference by name to Mr. Morarji Desai, Bombay's Home Minister. This has caught the public imagination. But, whilst it is true that care should have been exercised in protecting Gandhiji, it must be admitted in fairness that it was no easy matter. In the first place, the statements of Madanlal, perpetrator of the first attempt, and of a Dr. Jain who spoke to Mr. Morarji Desai, are no doubt specific pointers to a renewal of the attempt at no distant date. It is true too that it should not have been difficult to identify Godse as the chosen hand of destruction. But that does not preclude the substitution of any of the other conspirators. Nor must it be overlooked that the conspiracy is even today shrouded in complete mystery as to its origins, its purposes, its persons. This after an approver has spoken—and we can easily understand how difficult it was in the period between January 20 and 30, 1948.

It cannot be denied, however, that there is an impression that Gandhiji's death was caused by official negligence. And Mr. Atma Charan's suggestion that the Government of India look into the whole affair, is one that might well be taken up. Everything is to be gained and nothing lost by a thorough investigation. This is necessary as much in the interests of the Police and the Departments as it is for clearing a mystery that still persists. Mr. Atma Charan, moreover, whilst admitting conspiracy to murder Gandhiji, scrupulously refrained from any remark which might have involved others in addition to the accused before him. In other words, only those whose immediate actions led to the murder on January 30, have been named as "conspirators." Whether there were others involved and to what extent was probably beyond the jurisdiction of the Special Judge. But it cannot be altogether ignored by those who evidently saw in it a political purpose. Presumably the Government of India will in the next few days indicate its mind and clear the confusion which exists in the public mind.

UNION ACCESS TO EMPLOYERS' RECORDS IN U.S.

(By LAZARE TEPER)
(Director of Research—International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union)

As one of the largest and most progressive labour unions in the American Federation of Labour, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union has pioneered in numerous directions. Among the outstanding achievements scored by the ILGWU in the course of its 48 years of existence is the right to open the employers' books and records for examination.

A provision granting this right is embodied today in most of the contracts signed by the ILGWU and its affiliates with employers in the women's wear industry of the United States and Canada.

Many years have passed since this provision first found its way into contracts of the ILGWU. No longer is it subject to debate and controversy. The right of the ILGWU to obtain information from the employers' records and thus facilitate the enforcement of working standards has become firmly established.

The ILGWU began advocating its right to have access to employers' records back in 1910, shortly after it concluded its first major contract with an employers' association.

The struggle over this principle was long-drawn out. The union was then comparatively weak and the problems confronting it were great. Most employers in the ladies' garment industry were small. The common method of compensating workers was the piece-work basis. Standards for piece-work were difficult to set up, not only because of the many and varied styles of garments manufactured in the course of a single

season but also because of the considerable lack of rationalization of production methods. In addition, many workers, either through ignorance or fear, failed to file complaints of wage underpayments, thereby undermining the general wage standards won by the union.

It was not until the 1920's that the ILGWU attained its demand for access to the employers' records. Even then this right was confined to the limits of the union's specific complaint. However, the general principle was established, and it has since been expanded and elaborated.

A typical clause contained in contracts between the ILGWU and an employers' association gives the union the right, during the life of the agreement, to make regular examinations of the employers' books in order to determine whether the contractual provisions have been fully complied with. In addition, the union is given the right to examine an employer's books and records whenever it believes him to be in violation of his obligations. Such examinations are made by a representative of the union. Although the contract provides that such examinations must be attended by a representative of the employers' association, it is stipulated that the latter can in no way restrict the inquiry conducted by the union agent.

A somewhat different system of examining employers' books and records prevails in the New York coat and suit industry. This is the oldest branch of ladies' garment trades and the one with the longest history of collective bargaining relations. In this industry, every employer prepares a weekly report showing how much each worker earned and how much time he put in during the week.

In the case of those workers who are paid on a piece-work basis, the report also shows the piece-rates for each operation and the quantity of work performed by each worker. Copies of these reports are then filed with the industry's impartial chairman, an arbitrator jointly selected by the union and the employers to settle any dispute which they cannot solve themselves. These reports are based on a system of record-keeping which is prescribed by the impartial chairman and which must be maintained by all employers.

The records filed by the employers with the impartial chairman are open at all times for inspection by the union. When the union suspects that a particular employer is in violation of the contract, it may either request the impartial chairman to make a special examination of that employer's books or have such an examination made by its own representatives. In addition to these methods of obtaining compliance, the employers' associations have likewise agreed to conduct periodical check-ups of their member firms.

In order to carry out its inspection programme the ILGWU and its affiliates employ a large number of accountants. These men, in addition to their general professional background, are given special training in the ways and means of ferreting out contract violations. Their work is closely correlated with the activities of other union officials so as to secure the highest possible degree of employers' compliance with the terms of the collective agreements.

When the union decides that it wants to examine the books and records of an employer belonging to an employers' association with which the union is under contract, the association is notified in writing and is requested to assign its representative to accompany the union representative at a designated time. When the two representatives visit an employer, he must give them full access to his books and records.

It must be emphasized that the employer cannot refuse such a request. If he does, he automatically forfeits all his rights under the agreement with the union, and the union can call his workers out on strike. In similar fashion the union is given the right to abrogate the collective contract in so far as it covers a particular employer if it appears that the latter has falsified his records or otherwise tried to mislead the union.

Upon discovery of a violation, the union notifies the employer and his trade association as to the facts. For example, when a wage underpayment has been ascertained, the union demands restitution to all the workers affected and, in addition, demands a specified amount of money as liquidated damages from the employer. The amount of liquidated damage is usually determined by the impartial chairman after a hearing.

Should the employer, for any reason, refuse to make satisfactory restitution, he is brought on charges before the impartial chairman; the latter, on finding the union's claims justified, orders the employer to pay. If the employer then continues in his refusal, the case may be taken to the courts which normally enforce arbitration decisions.

Union access to an employer's books and records is not limited to pay roll and production date. Where employers determine their piece-rates on a time-study basis or use a job evaluation plan, the union demands—and obtains—the right to examine the work materials of the plant engineers in order to make sure that the standards were properly derived. To assure its ability to cope with such problems, the ILGWU maintains a staff of trained engineers, skilled in dealing with all the technical problems that union officials may encounter in the course of their activities on behalf of the workers.

The overwhelming majority of the employers in the ladies' garment industry have acquiesced in giving the union access to their books and records. Actually, they welcome the practice. A fair employer is interested in having "chiselers" exposed, since the latter, by undercutting labour standards, can compete on an unfair basis.

As indicated, the ILGWU has blazed the trail in establishing the right to consult employers' books and records. Taking a leaf from this union, a large number of other unions in the United States have incorporated similar provisions in their agreements.—*USIS*.

PATRIOTS' PRATTLE

(By DEVERE ALLEN)

Pride of country can be a useful force, and often is. But it can't stand continuous advertising, any more than a man's love for a superlatively remarkable wife. After a while the suspicion dawns that there must be something uncertain about such a nation, else why the constant reiteration of its superiority? Of course, it is done in every country, but the effect on world opinion is hardly what the beaters of the big bass drum suppose. For in a world which needs internationalists so desperately, and which cannot escape trying to achieve it for survival, excessive nationalism seems archaic, and faintly comical.

Soviet Russia has learned this lesson no better than the nations whose governmental patterns have been longer fixed, and the Russian press excites only world amusement when it pops up, every so often, with the claim that everything from railroads, wireless, and anaesthesia to atomic fission was, after all, first invented in the land of Peter the Great and Josef the Greater. Nationalism is a world-wide disease, and oddly enough the most international of theories appears to have little to do with it.

Recently in Switzerland a news film was made of the interesting ancient electoral ceremonies at Trogen, in one of the northern cantons. Town meetings for the major decisions on municipal policy are made in the open air, by a simple show of hands — just as they have been for hundreds of years. The commentator brought out the supposed democracy of this procedure, a source of Swiss pride for generations. But a less local-minded observer could not fail to note that women—half the population—were conspicuous by their absence. Instead of pure democracy, as it was hailed, the ceremony was anything but. Curiously, the film that followed depicted an Italian election, with women taking full part, and so eager to vote that many of them were brought to the polls on stretchers from hospitals and nursing homes.

Stories abound of extreme nationalism, though most of them are told in each country about the citizens of others. There's the true one, for example, about the nationalistic Pole who had to argue at Geneva, in the days of the League of Nations, for possession of Vilna. Entering the chamber, he was followed by two lackeys who deposited a heavy box on the floor. The Pole mounted it, explaining that the box contained dirt brought all the way from Poland, because, forsooth, he would never discuss Vilna without having his feet on Polish soil.

Ceaseless plugging of American superiority and supremacy has lately reached such a height that the United States is in danger of becoming a laughing-stock of foreign peoples. And that isn't good. There are great things for America to do in these critical days, and some of them are being done. It would not do any harm if we could tell the world that the rhythmic pounding noise it hears from this direction is creative industrial machinery, and not the echo of our own hands patting our backs.

It reminds one too much of Sandy MacPherson, who allegedly was sitting outside his business establishment one summer evening when a neighbour ran up excitedly and cried, "Have ye no heard o" the turrible accident on the railway line? Twenty people killed—nine Englishmen, six Welshmen, two Frenchmen, two Americans, and a Scot!" Sandy was shocked, then sorrowful. "Och," he said, "the puir mon!"

—*Worldover Press.*

JAPAN'S PROBLEM FOR AMERICA

The very heart of the occupation is the office building of the Dai Ichi Mutual Life Insurance Company in Tokyo. This massive structure, with eight stories above the ground and four below, is the headquarters of the Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers. A large staff of Japanese keeps shining up the floors and marble. At each entrance, one or more members of General Mac Arthur's honour guard stands at attention, representing military spit and polish at its finest.

Opposite the front door, inside, carefully protected by an honour guard quartet, is the Information Desk. Three or four Japanese men and women sit behind it and arrange passes for Japanese visitors. It is at this centre of propriety and prestige that a shocking discovery has been made. For three and a half years, the General's dignity has been embarrassed, all unwittingly, by a language problem. It may have its comic side, but it also involves a really serious difficulty of international relations.

Callers at the building come from the most respected classes of Japanese, and include imperial princes, prime ministers, members of the Cabinet and Diet, presidents of universities, and similar high functionaries. After suffering in silence for the whole period since the end of the war, a few of these well-bred Japanese visitors broke down at last, and disclosed to friends among the Occupation forces that the kind of Japanese language used at the Information Desk was doing anything but promote the standing of the General's headquarters.

One urbane Japanese caller described the situation in these words: "If you entered the marble halls of the Chase National Bank in New York or an important governmental building at Washington, and were greeted by one of the information staff with a 'Hi, Bud, whaddya want?', you would get an idea of what we experience when we come to the Dai Ichi Building."

When the facts became known, there were red faces among Occupation officers. Prompt action was taken to make the Japanese staff raise their conversation to more cultural levels. For in

Japan this was not a trivial or snobbish matter. There are at least five different levels of courtesy in the Japanese language. Obviously, in the headquarters of the Supreme Commander, only a high level of courtesy should be shown!

The question of language is always present in Japan. Officials of the Occupation forces transact virtually all their business through translators. Few of the Americans know what form of language their "mouthpieces" use in speaking for them. Japanese who deal with the Occupation authorities are often distressed when interpreters talk to them in the language of the barnyard when the position of the official should require polite or super-polite Japanese.

Interpreters are usually either Nisei or Japanese who have lived in the United States. Without the Nisei the tasks of the Occupation would be hard to accomplish. Very few Caucasian officials have any knowledge of the Japanese tongue. Japanese government officials and others with whom the Occupation forces must deal, generally know little English or none at all. The Nisei bring the two to a common understanding. But many of the Nisei use forms of speech which, to cultured Japanese, seem brusque and sometimes downright rude. Some of the Nisei realize this, and are working to improve their knowledge of the correct forms. Unfortunately, it takes several years for the average Nisei to learn to speak Japanese so as to use the proper forms at the proper times.

Without a knowledge of Japanese characters, too, it is difficult to use the bus or street car service. Signs over most of the shops and offices are in Japanese characters, and Japanese is used exclusively for telephone directories.

The Correspondence Study Division of the University of Oklahoma, at Norman, offers instruction by mail in written Japanese. The courtesy level taught in these courses is high, and is suited for all governmental and commercial relations. But on the whole, though contacts with the Japanese are just as essential as those with the people of any other country, the language is not available in most American high schools. To get along with postwar Japan will demand a steady and expanded programme of language instruction in the U.S. school system.—*Worldover Press*.

TAX REBELLION

Refusal to pay income taxes on grounds of conscience, when the revenue is to be used for military purposes, but willingness to pay if taxes can be diverted to constructive ends, has been manifested by small, if increasing, numbers of Americans. Now the issue has arisen in two European countries.

In Switzerland, a widening group of women many of them teachers, have taken a similar stand. In Norway, Quakers have declared their intention to refuse payment of the defence tax recently voted by Parliament, notifying the government that they would gladly pay an equal amount for "humanitarian uses."—*Worldover Press*.

TRIESTE AND TITO

The Marshall Plan is now in full swing in Trieste, controversial Free Territory, and all attention is centred on ECA operations. Despite misgivings among a few, who fear that Italy has too much control over the use of lire profits connected with the Plan, the people are solidly behind the programme.

The Italian government has announced a constructive lire policy; lire funds gained from the working of the Plan will be set aside for public works, whichever kind will employ the greatest number of Trieste workers. Industry will get loans permitting plant modernization. And in conjunction with the Military Government, ships are to be built, a fishing fleet and some harbour industries will be developed, and the industrial port be revitalized.

One interesting sidelight on the popular appeal of the Marshall Plan comes from the Communist camp. Even though officially Communists are expected to be opposed, they cannot help acknowledging the benefits. "Il Lavatore", the pro-Cominform Communist daily, comments: "For the third or fourth time in succession, reports appear to be encouraging. Shipbuilding in our yards is to save thousands of our workers who fearfully awaited winter dismissal. The press writes of six ships to be built, thus assuring work for the next four years." A more partisan note then crept into the editorial discussion: "If such orders really exist, why do the authorities wait before getting started? Is it necessary to keep a long-drawn-out propaganda? We don't care where the orders come from, let us start on them. We have seen too many bubbles burst lately." To which "La Voce Libera," non-Communist newspaper, retorted: "We've seen a lot of bubbles burst lately, too—Communist ones."

Fighting still goes on between the two Communist groups in the form of vitriolic newspaper articles, each side slandering the other. The pro-Tito group seems to be having a hard time finding good speakers and organizers; the pro-Cominform faction appears more fortunate. Former leaders of Trieste, pro-Yugoslav elements, who escaped from the British-American Zone last year after AMG ordered their arrests, have been re-introduced as propagandists. As they slip back one by one, they are arrested and charged with their year-old offences. The maximum penalty, however, can be only six months' imprisonment or a fine, and when it is the latter, the pro-Tito faction is willing to pay any cost to see these needed men back in the saddle.

Reports from Yugoslavia indicate that Tito still suffers from a manpower shortage in his ambitious construction projects. A former shipyard director who made his way out to Trieste told the "Worldover" correspondent that although Tito had gained the two former Italian shipyards at Fiume and Pola, only one torpedo boat has thus far been built.

—*Worldover Press*

VENEZUELAN STRUGGLE

Information smuggled out of Venezuela through reliable channels indicates that the military dictatorship which ousted the government of President Romulo Gallegos last November 24 is not completely unopposed, despite stern repression of all political dissent. Posters attacking the military junta are being put up surreptitiously, and leaflets criticizing the regime are circulated from hand to hand, bearing such headings as "Viva democracy," "Viva the Sovereign People," Viva Gallegos," and "Down with the Traitors to the Republic and the Constitution!"

Less definitely confirmed, but bearing the earmarks of authenticity, are clandestine reports from Cuba to the effect that a delegation of officers representing the regime went to Havana while President Gallegos was staying there, and offered to let him assume the presidency if he would consent to cooperate with the junta—which he is said to have flatly refused.

Upon arrival at Miami, Gallegos asserted he was satisfied that officials representing Washington did not, as he at first had charged, have any part in the army coup. But there is partial confirmation of accusations made by Venezuelans that opposition by U.S. oil firms to the Gallegos government helped precipitate the rebellion. An officer of Creole Petroleum, a Standard Oil subsidiary, had been issuing propaganda to the effect that the Gallegos administration was charging royalties on oil production "out of all reason," and accusing Gallegos and his Democratic Action colleagues of "having been at one time Communists."

—*Worldover Press*.

ECUADOR'S INDIANS

President Galo Plaza of Ecuador is modern, educated in the United States, and an experienced diplomat; yet he reveres old traditions among the Indian population and as far as possible likes to give them what will make them happy. But two requests have recently been made by the Indians which pose difficult problems, and in which, it appears, modernism is likely to win out.

When the President was paying a visit to the city of Otavalo, he was met by an Indian deputation which presented native demands. One of these was for permission for military conscripts to wear their traditional long hair, even during army service. More serious, the second demand was for abrogation of the law forbidding the making of the loved native beverage, "chicha."

Alarmed at reports indicating that the Chief Executive might give in to the Indian insistence, especially regarding chicha, newspapers began a campaign of education on the reasons for the prohibitive law. The drinking of chicha, it was pointed out, has been proved to be the cause of degeneration among the Indians. "In 1910," declared one paper, "the Academy of Science at Paris in collaboration with the London Institute of Ethnology, decided to send a mission to America to investigate causes of decadence in the Indian race. A group of scholars, with whom were associated doctors and biologists from the United States, began work in Mexico and ended two years of study in Bolivia.

"The commission examined and card-indexed 20,000 Indians, made an autopsy of 1,000 individuals, took the differential of 400 racial types, and brought to the laboratory 3,000 brief histologies. In five years it published its findings: the deterioration of the Indian's intellectual faculties is caused by chicha." Since 1930, the manufacture and sale of chicha has been illegal: Missionaries, educators, scientists and public authorities have been firm in their condemnation of the ancient drink, and are hopeful that the current efforts of the Indians here and there to lift the prohibition will, for their own sakes, come to naught.

The drinking of chicha, along with the chewing of coca leaves, has long been regarded by students of Latin American history as one reason for the comparatively easy conquest by the Spanish invaders, and the submission of many tribes to the Inca Empire. Alcohol at high altitudes is excessively potent, and the natives often add other alcoholic drinks to a chicha base, producing a virtual poison.

—*Worldover Press*

AUTHENTIC YALTA?

Diplomatic circles in Europe are watching with considerable interest a Soviet film called "Defeat Berlin!" now in production at Moscow. Papers in countries of Eastern Europe allied to the Kremlin have reported that the picture will be a reconstruction of the Yalta Conference, with parts of "the authentic exchange" between Stalin and Churchill.

Speculation is keen over a long disputed question—whether or not secret microphones were installed during the conversations, or whether the film will rely on stenographic notes for on-the-record talks. Many of the Yalta exchanges were supposed to be completely off the record, tentative, and confidential.

—*Worldover Press*.

P. T. I.—REUTER

From February I, Indian newspapers have acquired an interest in Reuters along with Britain, Australia and New Zealand. It is described as a partnership and it includes the right to have one Director and one Trustee. There has been dissatisfaction at the Reuter manner of handling news regarding and relating to India—it has gone from distortion to insufficient coverage. At the moment, this arrangement though not ideal is the best possible. Indian attempts to launch a national agency have hitherto failed because of lack of experience and the absence of stability. And every attempt that fails makes it more difficult to effect any progress in this field.

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"I will be as harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard".

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the LIBERATOR.

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NOTES

The Railways:—Politics does not exhaust the whole range of railway grievances. There is no doubt that the men on the railways are well paid and well looked after, so far as provision of amenities goes. But there are things in the department which vitiate all the benefits and need complete overhaul. Considering that in the number of locomotives, coaches and wagons used, the amount of mileage covered by the system and the number of men involved in its maintenance and administration, the Indian Railway is the largest industry in India, and among the first six in the railways of the world, it is astonishing how much inefficiency and corruption prevails on it. Mr. Ahmed Mukhtar, Labour Officer deputed to report on the condition of non-gazetted railway officers, observed in 1946 that he was astonished at the extent of corruption that existed, corruption not only in the railway employee's dealings with the public but even in his internal relations, like getting leave, transfer or promotion. And it was openly admitted. As for inefficiency, there are certain revelations in an experts' report on labour in the workshops which should be revealing. There are also the recommendations made from time to time on the different railways which tried to get at the evil of inefficiency and low output by setting aside personnel for studying things, eliminating delays and removing the causes of obstructed production. That has been discontinued now but it should be possible to arrive at some conclusion by getting the facts together and finding out how useful these efficiency drives proved. It is a hard thing to say but it must be mentioned, the Railways have been manned by persons, particularly in the higher grade, who were drawn from that section of Indian society which was politically the least conscious, socially segregated from their countrymen, and often morally underdeveloped. The very conditions which have provoked the long-suffering Indian public into protests against railway discourtesy and official neglect, have been a millstone round the neck of the railway low paid worker.

Where is the Man?—All these matters call for early attention but who can cleanse the augean stables? The Railway is a tremendous undertaking, touching on economic problems, social questions and politics of a different kind to that we think of in a Communist versus Democrat world. The Railway Ministers we have hitherto been able to secure are esteemable men but they lack drive. It is particularly regrettable that with Mr. N. Gopalaswami Ayyanger, the Department seems to have reached the zenith of confusion. His Railway Budget speech revealed nothing so much as an anxiety to whitewash the Railway Administration and give the staff and personnel compliments which they not only did not but even could not conceivably deserve as when he credited the railways with having turned, last February, corners which only presented themselves in September—like the Hyderabad action. The entire system is so rotten that it calls for concentrated effort, shrewd sense and tireless energy. And this is the time to effect the reorganisation before the entire fabric falls to pieces. Now that the strike is practically reduced to the level of a straight fight with Communists, it would be a good thing to offer Mr. Jai Prakash Narain, the Socialist leader, the Railway portfolio. Apart from the fact that it is very fitting for this large nationalised industry to have a Socialist head, as President of the Railwaymen's Federation Mr. Jai Prakash has the confidence of the people in the railways. Moreover, he has himself admitted that the Government means well by the workers and this should heal the wound which has kept Socialists out of participation in the adminstration. Mr. Jai Prakash has a reputation for organising capacity

which will be sorely tested in the Railway Ministry but there is no reason why the effort should not be made.

The Hindu Code:—The Bombay Social Reform Association has done well to come forward to championthe Hindu Code which was initiated eight years ago but which is today under a steady fire of attack from reactionary elements in Hindu Society. An organisation called the Anti-Hindu Code Association, has been functioning in a desperate attempt to whip up opposition and only the other day the Secretary of that organisation had to express regret to the Governor-General for using his name to further the agitation. The Secretary observed that a bonafide mistake had been made under the impression that Mr. C. R. Rajagopalachari, a Madras Lawyer, was the Governor-General. On the face of it, it is ridiculous that Rajaji's name should be even associated with Hindu reaction in view of his record of social service but the misrepresentation shows how dangerous the situation is. The Social Reform Association has convened a meeting for supporting the Code and we hope that it will be fully supported. Social reformers are rather in a mood of lethargy at the moment but it is time that they come forward and the coming meeting provides a usefull platform for rallying them.

Towards a Better Bombay:—Two items of civic interest have been recently published in the Bombay newspapers: The first of these is an announcement that pedestrians are to be induced to use the pavements, footpaths and pedestrian crossings more than they do at present. The other is the news that the Bombay Municipality contemplates a drive for a cleaner city. Both these measures will be very welcome to the public but their cooperation is essential for success. There is very little civic sense today and the best that can be said is that it has been at last realised that things cannot go on very long as they have been doing. It is possible that vigorous action is contemplated in support of these campaigns and that to some degree penalties will be enforced. This is very necessary if anything effective is intended. But it would be desirable if care is taken to enforce penalties on the spot as it were. The process of hauling an offender before a magistrate days after his infringement and then punishing him leaves room for a lot of confusion in which the guilt and the punishment are completely divorced. In the Continental countries of Europe, the policeman fines a man on the spot and gives him a receipt. It would be well if that practice is made possible here too. Another point which cannot be too greatly emphasised, is the futility of appeals to cleanliness without providing public receptacles for rubbish. It is true that, in spite of suitably placed buckets and spitoons, many of our walls and landings are well bespattered with pan juice. But obviously the presence of these buckets enables enforcement of order easier. There are other instances which need not be specifically mentioned.

Vagaries of Film Censorship:— Puritanism is a wind that blows where it listeth. Recent visitors to Calcutta have commented favourably on two pictures which were recently banned here but shown freely there—the Loves of Carmen and Lady in Ermine. The music of the first and the artistry of the second were much lauded and surprise was expressed at the decision to ban them in Bombay. Some months ago a furore was caused by the cutting out of a few lines in "Hamlet." Those who saw the film, could make neither head nor tail of the censorship. The downright lewd and coarse discussions between Hamlet and Ophelia were presented in their entirety; what was omitted was a blunt reference to the Queen's marrying her dead husband's brother as incestuous, the Shakesperian attitude to which incidentally is more understandable to a Hindu audience than to a modern western one. There is something which the censors wish to effect by their excisions which we must confess we are unable to understand. For instance, there have been protests against an Indian film which has passed the Board of Censors, "Khidki." According to those who have seen it, it is not only suggestive but crude in every way. Yet it has gone through and is shown to crowded houses in the city. There are rumours that the Board of Censors is being browbeaten into submission to an acceptance of what is right and wrong by the Ministry and that some resignations are to be expected in the near future from those who maintain an independent outlook. But this is an astonishing situation to develop in Bombay of all places.

Security Council:—The Security Council of the United Nations does not seem able to make much headway on the two Good Offices Commission—Kashmir and Indonesia—which it has thrown up. On Kashmir, there is evidently a serious hitch due to the "aide memories" of Dr. Lozano and the different interpretation put by Pakistan on the truce agreement. The Commission has stated that it hopes to achieve agreement after conferences with the two Governments. But that itself suggests the present absence of agreement. For the future, it would be wise to effect the final agreement at a meeting at which both Governments are represented so that there need be no fear of misunderstanding. On the Indonesian issue, the difficulty is somewhat different. In spite of change in the Cabinet, the Dutch policy continues to be one of ignoring the Security Council, and the Security Council continues to pursue a negative attitude. Soviet Russia has entered a strong protest against this and she will have general support. The Asian nations in particular will fully admit the justice of the Soviet stand, and Australia and New-Zealand will in all probability line up with these nations. Meanwhile, the Worldover Press despatch which we publish this week, giving the opposition in the Netherlands to the Dutch attitude, will be read with interest. It is not denied that there are elements in Holland averse to violation of international opinion but the question is, how far are they effective. At the moment, the Dutch Government seems to pay little heed to the leaders of the opposition, and, until the Security Council gets a grip of itself and asserts its lead, there is little chance of the Dutch opposition gaining ground in the home country.

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LABOUR UNREST

During his recent visit to Ahmedabad, Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru confined himself more and more to Labour unrest in his public addresses. This was particularly noticeable as Ahmedabad is the centre of a famine area and so it would have been more natural for the Prime Minister to have spoken on the food problem. Significantly these repeated appeals to Labour to desist from impeding production coincide with the talks that are being conducted at the moment between Government representatives and Union officials of railway workers and postal employees. The inference is legitimate, therefore, that Pundit Nehru's urgent exhortations are aimed directly at these two Unions. Whilst there is general sympathy with the working-classes because the existing inflationary conditions are hitting them hard, there is also a consciousness that these particular groups of workers are better off than others, that they have been given concessions only recently. There is also the matter of the legitimacy of strikes in state services and the question of capacity to pay. The ideal would be to give workers either wage increases or material concessions which would neutralize the increased cost of living at any rate. But it is generally recognized that, when the State is the employer, these ideal conditions cannot be realized immediately. The demands of its workers can only be satisfied by increased taxation, since there are no profits to share. Whether increased direct taxation will intensify industrial activity — and this alone can raise the standard of living— is doubtful in the present mood of Indian capitalists. It is equally doubtful whether immediate nationalization of all services will secure the desired reliefs. It is probable that indiscriminate nationalization will cause a general lowering rather than raising of the living standard of the people. Surely the Communists and the leftist parties who demand these changes, could not honestly guarantee an immediate millenium to the people. Pundit Nehru's charge that behind these threats of strikes lies a political motive is not unfounded. Moreover it is curious that Communists should be sponsoring strikes in state services. The strike as a weapon is eminently justified against the private employer. When the State is the employer, it is illogical except when it is directed against the management of particular officials. If the Government of India resorts to meeting these threats of strikes by declaring strikes illegal, the Government will have the sympathy of the public.

There is nothing wrong in a party in opposition trying to get to power. Indeed that is the justification of its existence. But an opposition party would be well advised to consider its methods of getting into power. Promises, vague and incapable of realization, are likely to recoil on its head when it does succeed. The Socialists who by their recent part in holding back the Railwaymen's Federation may be taken as having repudiated the strike as a political weapon, might well profit from the experience of the Congress. It is significant that the Congress in power has been compelled to withdraw from many of its promises and has compromised with a number of its theories which it made and propagated as a revolutionary party. Indeed the Congress today is hoist on its own petard in many ways— the demand for linguistic provinces being one of them, another being the necessity which compels Congress leaders to stem and thwart the enthusiasm of 'popular representatives' in the States. This in fact has been the prime cause of division between the Congress and the Socialists and we hope it will soon be settled.

How do the Congress leaders propose to deal with the political issues in the Labour Movement which are in a very serious way impeding the development of the industrial peace machinery? So far as the Communists go, the solution is obvious, at any rate there is not much guessing to be done about what the Government is likely to do: The path is being cleared for action against Communists, and the Socialists have helped by standing away from the scene of conflict. But does that in the last analysis settle the labour front? Obviously, there is for the future little chance of a set-back in workers' rights and privileges. There might be conflict as to what is practicable now but that does not mean more than temporary encroachments, if even that, on the rights of Labour. There is no conservative reactionary party as such in the political field though the conservative influence is no doubt a real one. What is needed is to remove the conditions in which outside influence is inevitable and to encourage the growth of trade unions with a sole interest in workers' rights. Mr. Gopalaswami Ayyangar expressed the hope that a healthy Labour Movement would develop. This hope is shared by the public. But something more active is expected from Government, and a Congress Government at that, than appeals and wishes. We have indicated the lines along which change is necessary and also the main obstacle which is the Congress interest in the work and future of the Hindustan Mazdoor Sevak Sangh and its Union manifestation, the I.N.T.U.C. That way there can only be intensification of politics in the Labour field which all deplore and in which the Congress as the Government Party is at an obvious disadvantage. But if the Government addresses itself resolutely to the task, there is every chance that the workers will avail themselves of the opportunity and build up a healthy union spirit which is the first essential of industrial peace.

CO-EDUCATION

When Gandhiji called on Indian women to associate themselves with his political and social uplift work, he made it crystal clear that a harmonious society could exist only where men and women co-operated in all activities. The statements made by two leading Congressmen on the part women are to play in free India are, therefore, more than passing strange. Mr. B. G. Kher some days ago asserted that for the great majority of Indian women the basic craft is and will remain the care of the home and the child, and, therefore, separate education for women seemed more desirable in secondary education. Since then Mr. J. C. Kumarappa, according to press reports, has enjoined women not to compete with men as Western women did. He believes apparently that home-life in the West has disintegrated because women have entered professions and industries. Evidently Mr. Kumarappa attaches no importance to the effects of two World Wars on family-life, nor does he appreciate the psychological need of emotional security in building up permanent homes. However, it is Mr. Kher's observation that is of interest, as it is his preliminary reason for holding that separate secondary schools for the two sexes are required. He admits the impracticability of co-educational primary schools, and even concedes the importance of co-education in Universities. One wonders how Mr. Kher reconciles his desire for maintaining a continuity throughout the three educational stages with his wish for a change in the intermediary and most crucial stage. However, he has stated that his views are personal and that he would welcome a discussion on the problem among educationists. His second argument is that secondary education concerns adolescents and 'this is the period when differentiation of interests between boys and girls becomes most obvious and the sex-instict with all its possibilities and dangers develops into a dominant force which colours all thought.' On a more recent occasion he added further that co-education had been tried and found wanting, supporting his contention by quoting the example of Russia. The first two arguments are important. They reflect public opinion and probably account for there being only a few co-educational secondary schools in the country. Of course that does not make them convincing. Indeed there is an obvious difficulty in accepting Mr. Kher's first argument as valid. The majority of Indian women belong to the lower income groups-workers and peasants. Most of them are not able to indulge in the luxury of confining their activities to the house. Women of this group are active partners in the business of earning a livelihood and for them housekeeping is an additional responsibility. Indeed since the war there has been an increase even in the number of middle class women, who are compelled to contribute to the family budget. Besides it takes two to make or break a home, and psychologists are insistent that the child's emotional and intellectual needs require the attention of both parents. Mr. Kher's second argument consists of two parts. The first maintains that differentiation of interests becomes most marked in adolescence. Interest is a particularly unhappy word to have chosen. An interest in psychology may derive from a natural timidity of temperament which makes one prefer to be a spectator of affairs rather than an actor. But had one not had the benefit of a general and University education, one may not have been interested in psychology. As regards differences in capacities, abilities, and emotional tendencies there is some evidence of such a differentiation between the sexes. Thus boys are said to be less receptive but superior to girls in the control of movement. Again the rate of development is thought to vary. Whilst girls fare better than boys in subjects like literature and languages, the achievement of boys in mathematics and science seems to be higher. But psychologists do not claim that these differences are *inherent*. And both Thorndike and Burt hold that whilst there are minor differences between the sexes, individual differences between persons of one sex enormously out-weigh the differences between the two sexes. Burt indeed asserts: "Whether training offered in secondary schools to girls should differ from that given to boys must be decided; ..... by the ideals to be aimed at in education and the part men and women should play in society." Even if one were to grant that sex-differences are sufficiently pronounced to interfere with effective teaching the case for separate schools would not be established. At best a case would have been made for separate instruction in affected subjects in the same institution. The latter part of Mr. Kher's argument expresses moral fears—the fear that co-education at the adolescent stage would encourage precocity, promiscuousness and would make stable marriages difficult. It is not clear why it should do so particularly at this stage. With the extension of the marriage age to 18 these dangers, if there, would also affect co-education in Universites, more so in fact because of the segregation of the sexes in the intermediary stage and the sudden mixing at the final stage. But this argument can be settled finally only by those who have had experience of co-educational schools either as teachers, or as students. It is significant that they do not justify these fears. On the contrary they claim that the co-operating of adolescents of both sexes in the numerous healthy activities of the school is beneficial. Boys studying in a co-educational school are said to manifest less restlessness and aggressiveness, and girls are less moody or lethargic. Co-educationists have also pointed out that undesirable sex-habits which are occasionally indulged in segregated schools are not noticed in co-educational schools. It is significant that where co-education 'has been tried and found wanting' the reasons for doing so have not included the charge of moral laxity. Soviet edu-

cationists give varied explanations for the changing over to separate schools at the secondary stage. Among them are difference in the rate of development, the demand for a higher standard in academic work and greater discipline; but the moral argument was never quoted. In any case the Soviet example need not be taken as final. No society registers progress in a straight line; certainly not a society in an experimental stage. Besides the Russian decision is by no means final. Soviet educationists have never adopted co-education as a principle. For them "it was a method of organising education rather than a principle."

In the last resort whether co-education is desirable or not must be decided by the concept of the ideal school prevailing in a community. If schools are to be genuine communities reflecting the problems of adult living, and so giving their members an opportunity for acquring an intellectual and emotional background for adjustment in adult life, then co-education is indicated rather than segregation. The sexes are mixed in the home and in occupations in society. To segregate them in schools is obviously unnatural. Besides a continuity should be observed throughout the three educational stages not only in the curriculum; but in the teaching of the art of living as complete individuals and good citizens. It is also illogical to give women votes and then to expect them to decorate the home and the hearth only. Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy did so. But their reasons were the rapidly diminishing birth-rate and a race-complex. In any case it is not their social pattern or values that we are emulating. We are aiming at a democracy and the best democratic school is the one which develops the child's personality as fully as possible. If the democratic secondary school needs co-education, then it is co-education we should aim at. The Committee for Education in Citizenship appointed in Britain having investigated thoroughly into the conditions of British schools expressed the following opinion: "Co-educational schools seem to develop easy, happy, personal relationships more easily than segregated schools. The whole emotional atmosphere is noticeably freer, perhaps because a co-educational school is a more complete social unit. The mixing of men and women in a staff common room also seems to add to the naturalness of a co-educational school community, no doubt for the same reason." Indian educationists who have experimented with co-education, will not disagree with this opinion.

ITALIAN PEACE WORKERS

(By Professor, GIOVANNI PIOLI)

Mussolini leaned across his desk and snapped an answer to the British peace-worker, Daniel Hogg, who had asked permission freely to plead with the Italian people for disarmament and peace. It was shortly before the Ethiopian invasion. Said the Duce: "All right! You may carry on such propaganda as far and wide as you like, but do it, please, in England. In Italy we have no use for it."

Later, with a group of friends, the present writer—who in 1935 was deprived by Fascism of his chair in state schools—presented to the General Secretary of the League of Nations an appeal against recognition of the Abyssinian conquest. The appeal was backed by Romain Rolland, Leonhard Ragaz and Canon C. E. Raven, all distinguished European peace workers, and put through by Daniel Hogg. Our same Italian group publicly demonstrated in Milan, on October 1, 1939, against the Nazi-Fascist alliance.

Several of the protesting group were arrested and sent to prison for terms varying from months to years; afterwards, they were cut off from means of subsistence and suffered ostracism. Later, their houses were in some instances bombed. But their voices in protest against war, if smothered, were never silenced.

When Fascism fell as a regime, these peace-workers seized evey chance to strike while the iron was hot, seeking to forge the hatred of war into a constructive search for ways of peace and goodwill among mankind.

Various movements sprang up in different parts of the country, some of them along old patterns, some more radical in taking a pacifist viewpoint. But all of them found the going difficult. In spite of the hardships, however, there are reasons for a belief that Italy will not always lag in peace activity.

On the first of February, 1943, posters were stuck on the walls of Italian cities, reading: "*Soldiers!* Your protests against the extension of the term of military service are right: they are inspired by a natural *need of liberty*. But they are not enough: protests alone will expose you to the reprisals of your superior officers. Desert your barracks! Throw away your uniforms! Return to your homes! Authority uses the army as a tool—in wartime, to bid you kill in defence of interests which are not and never will be yours; in peacetime, in defence of privileged wealth, by making you shoot at working men in the name of so-called public order. Hierarchy, discipline, obedience are instruments to annihilate your will, to humble and enslave you. Attest your freedom: Go Home!"

These efforts to counteract an order arbitrarily prolonging army service may have had political overtones, but its main inspiration was sheer anti-militarism. The protests arose, not from propaganda by the peace groups, but often as spontaneous expressions of soldiers' grievances. To apportion direct responsibility for them is impossible. The prosecution of some "seditious" soldiers, sick of everything smacking of war, stimulated these and numerous other protests. When 11 graduate soldiers were sentenced by a Verona court, 2,000 young workmen from Milan

factories demonstrated in sympathy with the rebels, asking that extension of service be dropped.

From such extreme manifestations, it is a far cry to the more orthodox peace societies which have arisen like mushrooms in a forest. So many and varied are these that one can only mention a few of the more typical organizations. First and foremost stands the old Italian Association for Peace and International Justice, founded in 1887 by Ernesto Moneta, a Nobel prize winner, and inspired by Felix Mosheles, the friend and painter of Mazzini. Its headquarters are at Via Morgagni 9, Milan. It was suppressed by Fascism in 1937 for "opposing the direction of the regime," and its property confiscated for the benefit of the Fascist Party. It rose to new life in 1945, and in two sessions it proposed "the limitation of the sovereignty of the state, if necessary to render effective the organization and defence of peace." This principle was accepted by the Constituent Assembly and incorporated into the Constitution of the Italian Republic.

The International Association for the Brotherhood of Peoples called "Humanitas," was formed at Rome in 1944, to promote solidarity and spiritual fellowship among peoples; to reconstruct thought and art on new bases; and to spread international intercourse in life and culture. It has an ambitious programme, voiced by its organ, *La Coltura del Monde*, in many languages; by lectures given by foreign celebrities; by concerts and exhibitions. It is in contact with many peace societies at home and abroad. Its editorial activity aims at supplying Italy with a peace literature, and in a way its work resembles that of UNESCO. Its address is Piazza Cavalieri di Malta 2, Rome, but it has sections in many towns.

The purpose of the Italian Unionist Movement, at Via Nizza 158, Rome, is to contribute to the formation of a United States of the World. Its fortnightly organ, *Unione Mondiale*, contains articles and facts about peace and world federation. It counts more than 1,000,000 adherents in Italy.

The United Nations Society of Italy, under the direction of Dr. Roberto Ago, is located in the same building from which Il Duce used to harangue his crowds of followers. It holds lectures and and public meetings, publishes several periodicals, and serves as an information centre on world affairs. Its address is Palazzetta di Venezia, San Marco 3, Rome.

The European Federalist Movement at Via Montenapoleone 27, Milan, was very active in the first months after Italy's liberation, and it apparently has received a new impetus from the increasing antagonism between the Great Powers. In one of its leaflets it declares, "Just as the Italians of the Risorgimento overcame the divisions of regional states to make one Italy... all problems, political, social, economic, will find their most logical solution in a European federation, with all, against no one."

A federalist and peaceful aim is also proposed by the International Progressive Association, with its weekly organ, *Il Progresso*, at Corso Vittorio Emanuele 102, Rome, and by the World Federalist Union, at Viale Monza 191, Milan.

Of the special women's organizations there is space to mention only the Italian Women's Alliance, at Via Bruxelles 59, Rome, which has a section in the United States and has for its motto "To make real our dream of universal brotherhood;" the National Italian Women's Association for Peace, founded by Linda Riggio Cinelli, and publishing a monthly review, *Arte e Vita*, at Piazza Capranica 78, Rome; and the Association of Mothers for Peace, at Via A. Saffi 64, Rome.

No one needs to be a cynic to feel doubtful of the depth and spirit of the members working through these movements. Yet as a thoughtful observer, Professor Marcucci, has written: "Even these ideological efforts on behalf of peace, after such a long period of political slavery, when even to utter the word 'peace' was a crime, must be deemed a reason for hope."

Through several articles by the writer in leading Italian reviews, such as *Critica Sociale*, *Mercurio*, *Minerva*, and such newspaper as *Monde Libero*, with extracts often widely spread, a large public in Italy has been made aware of more uncompromising pacifist movements, among them the War Resisters' International and Fellowship of Reconciliation, and of the heroic resistance to the war method made by devoted individuals in various parts of the world.

Work along such lines in Italy, however, must be carried on against great odds voluntarily in spare time, often by those whose personal budgets cannot provide the basic essentials of human life. Yet from several areas of the country responses to such ideas have come, both from young people and their elders. For those responsible for pacifist work in Italy one thing must be said: rather than trying to build up large numbers, they have asked prospective members to probe their own minds, to inquire into their capacity for the matching of ideas with sacrificial deeds, the ultimate test being, of course, their renunciation of any part in war.

In Italy, the taking of such a position seems certain to involve years and years of trials, loss of positions, broken careers, often exile from family or fatherland, sometimes long years of lonely life performing uncongenial tasks. Young people in particular have been urged to seek first the development, in themselves, of the maturity and strength of character eventually to be required.

CIVIL ADMINISTRATION FOR GERMANY

(By DEVERE ALLEN)

At last it looks as though the military government of Germany will give way to administration by the State Department. The army itself, to its great credit, has recommended the change, and while the State Department must make detailed preparations which will take some time, it is not as if the proposal were new. In fact, until it seemed necessary at Washington to counter Soviet bellicosity some weeks before land traffic into Berlin was blocked last June, the shift was planned to take place then.

When the change comes there may be many reasons for gratification. Military control has been conspicuously less successful in Germany than in Trieste and Austria; admittedly the problems have been vastly more complex. But there are more reasons than this. There are many fine civilian officials at work in Germany, and all too often their recommendations have been nullified by the military government, either by direct veto or by incompetence in carrying them out.

At first the changeover will be more noticeable on paper than in any fundamental developments in practical policy. State Department control will not mean, of course, that the occupation has come to an end or that any early end of it is contemplated. But it does mean that in important areas of administration, people with more resilient and better trained minds for social and political understanding will have a less hampered chance to see what improvements can be made.

General Clay has reportedly been wishing to get out from under his arduous duties for some time, and it can hardly be denied that his retirement from the scene will be welcomed by many Germans of strong democratic leanings, and by many European statesmen. It is far too soon to evaluate properly the General's complete record, but it is not too soon to say that it has clearly been a mixture of constructive understanding and stubborn ultra-conservatism.

In his dealings with the German people, General Clay has many times proved friendly and sympathetic. He has been a pretty good friend to those wishing to carry on relief projects, and has often gone out of his way to co-operate. In much of this, Mrs. Clay has also won the regard of many who have come to know her. The General could have been a stuffed shirt, totally cold in his approach to a conquered nation. Instead, he has often been warm and sensitive to the feelings of Germans, so much so that he has even come under the criticism of extreme German-haters in the Allied countries.

In economic matters, however, the General has sometimes displayed an inflexibility that has been close to disastrous in important German and Allied circles. After all, if Germany is to be a safe country among the democracies, the best bet of the Americans has always been to play ball with the progressive, anti-totalitarian forces among the German people, rather than revive the power of big industrialists and magnates who formerly were willing to go along with almost anybody if it yielded them profit and prestige. It is precisely in this choice that General Clay has frequently been found wanting.

Troop morale in Germany has never been very high, though, since the air lift began, it has stiffened up considerably. Somehow General Clay has not been the man to inspire the occupation forces with any sense of mission, to fill their minds with an understanding of why they were in Germany and what could be accomplished for world security and democracy by good behaviour. The almost inevitable kindness of U. S. soldiers to children—literally, hundreds of thousands of dollars have been given by the troops to German youngsters in one way or another—has not been matched by political intelligence or social understanding. There have been too many American practitioners of the "master race" philosophy, too much irresponsibility.

One great advance which could be made if the State Department really went at it, would be the withdrawal of a large percentage of the present occupation forces, and the substitution for them of a well trained police force, recruited at good pay from men between 25 and 45 or even older, mainly with families. Give such men a six-months' briefing in the United States, covering Fascism and Nazism in theory and history, democracy in the West, German economics against the backdrop of Europe as a whole, and you would send into Germany a group which would do a tremendous lot to help the Germans forward and kill the sense of frustration which makes them sometimes unresponsive.

The big issue after all is whether the American pattern of industry is to be imposed on the Germans, even though their most forward-looking and dependable elements definitely want something different. Time after time, a clear majority of Germans in various communities and industries have voted in favour of socialized controls—not just from loyalty to a theory, but because they feel that Germany can be kept democratic in the future if big industrialists are not allowed to form monopolies. And time after time, General Clay has vetoed the desires of these progressive, anti-totalitarian Germans.

Democratic Germans wanted to control industries by the old tried-and-true licensing system, which, if far from socialization, gave some protection against the revival of reactionary ownership, monopoly, and totalitarianism. But the American authorities labelled the licensing method "medieval," and inaugurated a "free" system whereby anybody who wanted to start any kind of business could do so without adequate checks on its desirability, responsibility, or political implications. And be it noted that of all the occupying powers, the Americans are alone in the kind of negative attitude which strangles democratic forces and gives anti-democratic ones a new chance.

State Department control may not correct this sort of thing at once, but it may incline toward a less rigid and foreign approach to what is, essentially, an internal German issue. In addition, there are strong chances that a civilian administration may find ways of easing, without appeasement, the tensions with Soviet Russia which find the military administrators sometimes too quick to play up in terms of cold war. A struggle there must certainly be, but the less warlike now, the less prolonged the contest may be proved. It is high time, for countless reasons, that the State took over, and the shift should be made as speedily as possible.

DUTCH INDONESIAN POLICY

Any impression in the outside world that the people of the Netherlands are all behind their government's policy in Indonesia would be incorrect. Ever since the Dutch resorted to military force and defied anti-imperialist sentiment in the United Nations, more and more outspoken protests have been made, and renewed efforts are now being put forward to take the issue to a wider public, writes a Worldover Press correspondent from Amsterdam.

Government bulletins and official statements insist that the Dutch people are behind military action. "Both the Netherlands States-General and the Dutch people," declared a recent official press release, "are solidly supporting the government policy in Indonesia." Government reports have made much of the fact that in parliament a Communist resolution urging an immediate cease-fire was defeated by 80 votes to eight, all eight votes being cast by Communists. It would be quite false to conclude, however, that the only opposition comes from Communists or their supporters.

In quoting the Dutch Labour organ, "Het Vrije Volk," with its circulation of about 325,000, the Netherlands Information Bureau, in an effort at fairness, accompanied the newspaper's endorsement of official policy with the following comment by the publication: "This must not be viewed as though the Netherlands people, and especially the Labour Party, look on the military action as the fulfilment of their wishes. The contrary is true, very definitely so as regards the Labour Party. Mere than any other group it has been the Socialists who have supported and activated the efforts toward a peaceful solution."

Despite the equivocal position taken by the Labour Party, however, there are many in the ranks who do not support it, and who have taken part in protest meetings. But perhaps the most outspoken and firm criticisms of the Government have come from religious organizations, along with peace groups, missionary societies, and independent Socialist movements. Few of these opposition elements find their activities reported in the foreign press.

As far back as last September, the General Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church sent a letter to the Government, in which it warned that any solution by violence would precipitate future difficulties for religious work, and open a deep gulf between the Dutch and Indonesian peoples. On December 9th, ten well known mission workers, on the basis of information received from their Indonesion fields, declared that use of force would lead to ineradicable hatred by the Indonesian masses. At the same time, similar protests were made by religious and secular peace groups.

No sooner had the Government launched its policy of force on December 19 than a wave of criticism arose from many quarters. At one crowded meeting in Amsterdam a Committee for Peace in Indonesia was established to organize and coordinate opposition to the Government's programme. At another, under the chairmanship of H. M. van Randwijk, editor of the weekly, "Vrij Nederland", 1,300 persons asked acceptance of the United Nations rulings, freeing of Indonesian leaders, immediate international arbitration, and the fixing of a date when all Dutch troops would be withdrawn

William Drees, Labourite Prime Minister, received strong telegrams urging a different course of action, and keen disappointment was felt by many citizens when he went so far as to say, in late January, that negotiations would get on faster "if international interest in this problem would somewhat subside." Most of those who oppose Mr. Drees's course are advocates of peace through international order, and of justice to colonial peoples.

Though major protest meetings have generally centred in Amsterdam, they are being planned for many other parts of the country. A campaign is being worked out to reach as many sections of the people as can be aroused for constructive action. In addition to outspoken leaders of the Reformed Church, along with such peace organizations as Kerk en Vrede, protest activity has been organized by the democratic Socialist youth movement, De Nieuwe Koers; the Dordrecht Indonesian Peace Committee; the Labour Youth movement at Zwwolle; the old Social Democratic Party; several groups of Indonesian origin; and the Dutch Christian Youth Guild. All are definitely non-Communist,

There is some attempt at the top to swing the Evangelical Church behind the Government's methods, and the Catholics largely give support because of a fear that some day a free Indonesia might go Communist. The Labour Party's Executive Council voted to back the Government by 79 votes to 13, and only six Labour Members of Parliament have openly dissociated themselves from their Party's stand. Yet critical voices are numerous, are growing more articulate, and are confident that world opinion is behind them.

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"I will be as harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard".

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the LIBERATOR.

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NOTES

Wanted A Drive For Education:—In the course of the week Maulana Abul Kalam Azad stressed the importance of going ahead with a planned programme for education. This view has been expressed before but little has been achieved even in making compulsory primary education a reality. Speaking at Ajmer, Mr. C. Rajagoplachari declared that nothing was more difficult at present than the problem of education. No one denies the difficulties of the various administrations. There is the problem of finance; there are not enough teachers; and there is the language difficulty in higher education. But none of these need be insuperable. Basic education may be difficult to put into practice immediately on a wide scale, but surely that is no reason for not going ahead with the existing type of education. Improvements can come later and gradually. Some type of education is better than none. The difficulty of trained teachers is there, but meanwhile there is no reason why some kind of conscription should not be used for adult education at least. Sometime ago Mr. Kher quoted the Soviet example to support his views on co-education. Mr. Kher, one feels, might with greater relevance have impressed on his audiences the two most outstanding features of Soviet education—its purposiveness and its flexibility. Progress in Russian educational standards has been phenomenal and Russia's difficulties after the Revolution were no less grave than ours are. But Soviet leaders and educationists quickly grasped the basic fact that social and economic progress could not become real without a tremendous drive for educating the people. Consequently all possible means were used, including conscription. Indian administrations might well follow this lead. Instead of antagonizing the educated minority by repeated and ridiculous encroachments on civic liberties, provincial Governments would be better advised to win their co-operation in an intensified drive against illiteracy. Incidentally Mr. C. Rajagoplachari observed that the problem of education was 'complicated by language, religion, and by the existence of different classes amongst the people.' The difficulty of language one can concede, but why the existence of religious minorities and classes should present a problem is not clear. Surely education does not have to wait for 'the classless society' our leaders have been promising us? And there are obvious and easy solutions for coping with the problem of different religions in a secular state.

Language and Script:—Maulana Abul Kalam Azad's recent reference to the language and script controversy was both dignified and poignant. In his Convocation address to the Aligarh University he observed:" I hope that the lovers of Urdu literature will not wait to find out the reactions of the advocates of Hindi literature but will themselves do what they regard as conducive to the best interests of the country. In every sphere of life one may wait to see what others do, but in the field of learning we can wait for others only at the risk of detracting from our credit. If the others are content to know only one script, we need not be sorry." In effect Maulana Azad is telling Muslim Indians that the controversy is dead, that the Urdu script will not be granted the same status as the Devnagri script, and that the bias in the All India language will be on the side of Hindi. This is inevitable. For practical reasons alone, it will not be possible to give equal status to both scripts. And seeing the close affinity between the regional languages and Hindi, derived from their Sanskrit heritage, the All India language is bound to approximate more to Hindi than to Urdu. The bitterness of the whole controversy arises from its past political implications. When the present agitation of Hindi advocates dies down, Muslims will find it easy to adjust themselves to linguistic developments. The truth is that the vast majority of

Muslim Indians-in Bengal, West India, and in the South are as unfamiliar with the niceties of the Urdu language as with those of Hindi. For the masses the regional language has greater associations than Urdu. Now that Muslim Indians are free to see this controversy in its true perspective, they will realize that their language problem is linked with that of the region in which they live. The sooner they express this realization in words, the easier will it be for the Hindi advocates to see reason.

Replacing English:—The note of regret implicit in Maulana Azad's observation is understandable. Maulana Azad himself is the foremost Urdu scholar in the country, and a literary personality of eminence in Urdu literature. His wish for equal recognition of the Urdu script originates in his love of that language as a writer. It is grounded in the fear that with the neglect of the Urdu script the language may not survive. But surely these fears are baseless. Urdu classics could be rewritten in the Devnagri script. Moreover, as Maulana Azad points out, there is a close affinity between Urdu and Hindi. Genuine students of either literature will study, therefore, the great works of both languages. The fact that they will be available in the same script will make this possible in the future for an increasing number of people. As regards the vast majority of Indians their future All India language in all likelihood will resemble neither the literary Hindi nor the literary Urdu of the present. When it percolates down to the people its complexion will alter radically from the present written or spoken languages of the elite. The literature of that language will be less of a hot-house culture than present literary efforts are. Its power, and probably even its beauty will be more universal. For the magic of words lies in their capacity to evoke varied associations, in the imagery they arouse in the minds and hearts of men. In this language the people will be linked by a bond that is both direct and subtle. And in this lies the great justification for hastening the process of giving a common Indian language to the people. English has its uses, but English has been one of the main factors that has alienated educated Indians from the masses.

Arming against Strikes:—The Government of India has sought powers to protect itself against strikes and threats of strike in essential services. This should have been the first step in its programme of industrial truce since obviously the State cannot act as arbiter between Labour and Capital so long as it is itself labouring under the fear of strikes. Failure to do this has led to a year of trouble in which not a province has been free from the danger of service discontent manifesting itself in official non-cooperation. It follows from this that the Labour Movement will be freed from the menace of political manipulation so far as the official world goes. The heavy penalties provided against instigators might well result in a wholesale clean-out or it might precipitate a crisis. Presumably the Government is confident that it has a grip on the present situation and can afford to face a challenge. But leaders of other parties might profitably consider that the elimination of political pressure in the service sphere is a benefit which is not confined to one party but extends to the whole community.

Race Relations in South Africa:—Despite the institution of a White Committee on the Durban riots which is now at work, the relations between Indians and Africans at Durban is, at the mob level, deteriorating. The Commission refused a request for "cross-examination" of witnesses which is itself a strange request. Committees and Commissions need not and do not cross-examine but they always examine witnesses. Evidently the request was put forward and turned down in this quaint form because even examination was not regarded as advisable and public attention had to be diverted from that possibility. Nevertheless, the Commission's inquiry is not proving as colourless as it was expected to be and though nothing of value will be allowed to leak out, the proceedings might serve at least to educate the Commissioners themselves. The Government meanwhile is finding full scope for its Fascist-Nazi tendencies in the opportunity provided by "threats and fears of Indian-African riots" breaking out for demonstrating on the streets of Durban with armoured cars and military forces.

The Hindu Code:—Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, opened the debate on the Hindu Code last Thursday. About the most controversial legislation in recent years, every weapon in the procedural armoury has been brought to postpone it. A rumour that Dr. Rajendra Prasad had expressed a preference for putting off discussion on the Bill until popular elections brought on a representative government, has grown into very emphatic statements that Dr. Rajendra Prasad opposed the measure and only Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's insistence has succeeded in having it considered now. The Congress itself obviously is divided on the Code. Dr. Ambedkar referred to the changes made in the Select Committee and said that they only affected two sections of the Code which referred to old Acts; as the Acts would cease to be in force after the Code, it was decided to incorporate the provisions of the relevant sections in the Code itself. The suggestion that the Congress is inclined to hedge on the Code because of a fear that it might otherwise lose Hindu support, is fantastic. Something far more complex must be behind this vacillation. We hope it is not the indirect pressure of the business community which views with displeasure its property provisions. In a sense, it is a hopeful sign that the redoubtable Dr. Ambedkar has the task of piloting this measure. He is less susceptible to the possible pressures on this Code than any other member of the Government could be.

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PROHIBITION IN BOMBAY

The Bombay Government, disregarding the advice to go slow from the Union Government, has decided to move forward with its Prohibition policy and programme. The intention is to effect complete Prohibition by April 1, 1950. A Bill to this effect was presented for its first reading last week in the Legislative Assembly by Mr. L. M. Patil, Minister for Excise, in a speech which was marked by a great degree of diffidence. Mr Patil was not only conscious of the Centre's financial embarrassment; he was also very much aware of the fierce criticism launched against it by a section of the Press. He devoted a good part of his opening address to answering critics and to promising that the drastic penalties embodied in the Bill would be applied with restraint. His moderation and apologetic tone have only provoked further protests which, to say the least, are in thorough bad taste. It was an entirely wrong approach and, though the House was in a tolerant mood, in the province it will encourage the obstructionists. Once the Bombay Government is resolved on Prohibition, it must go about the business firmly and resolutely. There is something to be said for Prohibition; much has been said for no Prohibition; but Prohibition which is half-heartedly pleaded, has no reason to expect either enthusiasm or whole-hearted support. We are constrained to observe that these remarks apply equally to the Bill itself.

The Prohibtion Bill which is to come into effect on a date notified by the Provincial Government in the Official Gazette, contains several clauses of a permissive nature. Foreigners who come temporarily to this country from countries where consuming liquor is usual, representatives of foreign countries on diplomatic staffs and their wives, sovereigns of foreign States visiting this country—these are exempted and allowed to apply for permits. No foreigner lives in any country in isolation or in the company solely of foreigners like himself. From the domestics of the diplomat the liquor-on-permit will emerge in the shape of liquor unlicensed. The clause which makes the holder of a permit responsible for offences committed by men in his employ or acting on his behalf, has been obviously inserted to restrain the mischief of the foreign-and-diplomatic permit. But it will lead to endless trouble. The extension of the permit system to hotels, clubs and shipping companies for their ships is necessary because of the exemption of foreigners. But it is difficult to appreciate the license allowed to cargo-boats, coastal shipping, railway dining-cars and military and naval messes and canteens, on any ground. Of the first three categories, the railway dining-cars present the most ludicrous sight. Even if the concession to foreigners is allowed to stay, are we to pervert our objective for the sake of accommodating them on railway trains? Cannot they be left to carry their liquor on their journey? The railway dining-car will prove a source of much obstruction. The sensible thing is to make a clean sweep and drop the foreigners' exemption altogether. In 1938 the Bombay Government had to make certain concessions to the foreign element. With the advent of freedom at the Centre, this need is completely ended. Similarly, the concession to religious communities which demand liquor for sacramental use, is a mark of weakness rather than of tolerance. If the use of liquor is to be banned with all the force which would be applied to poisons or injurious drugs, then it does not make sense to have it tolerated under the guise of "religion". In the United States of America, the Churches substituted the unfermented grape-juice for wine and there is no reason why they and other faiths which have so far used wine, cannot follow that example. But the Government has once again been moved by an extraordinary and almost pathological feeling for the susceptibilities of minorities. We should like to know more specifically whether the exemption to naval and military messes and canteens means that these areas will be out of the Prohibition law or whether it is intended to supplement the provincial measure with later legislation on an all-India scale.

As for the penalties, several of them are old penalties enhanced. So far as the majority of them go, there can be no serious objection. But what is rather unjustifiable is the fact that in one or two cases the presumption is that the person charged with the offence is guilty and is under the onus of proving himself innocent. There is also some confusion regarding magazines and literature from outside the Province that might carry liquor advertisement being banned and restrictions on matter published in the Province which comes perilously near banning criticism of the working of the policy and agitation for its repeal. If these provisions could be modified suitably, the Bill would help in bringing the Province nearer to Prohibition.

POINTS OF VIEW

A correspondent writes that it is rather curious that the critics of the film censorship generally call for less censoring of foreign films and more censoring of the Indian films. British films as a rule are on the conservative side. It is but rarely that one finds a British picture which offends the accepted rules of censorship. This is both because Britain is essentially conservative in its attitude to those aspects of human relationship which border on the banned, and because Britain is acutely conscious of the effect on foreign audiences that might take the portrayal of the unusual as the presentation of normal British life. The latter springs from the responsibilities of empire which

require that the man never dare put off the prophet. So far as American pictures go, there is already a rigid censorship in that country. These are formidable arguments for relaxing the Indian censorship on Western films. So far as Indian pictures are concerned, the Government, and particularly the Bombay Government, has shown itself well aware of the need for restraint to be exercised before even the production stage and there is a fairly rigid film code, drawn up with the consent or acquiescence of the producers. It is natural that the Board of Film Censors hesitates to effect cuts in an Indian film which has been as it were officially permitted. But there is also another point of view which deserves some consideration. Any censorship, exercised as it is by human minds, is necessarily subject to human frailties. The men and women who constitute the Board of Censors, scrutinise every film that comes before them from their own point of view. And much of the censoring is done by inspectors who are not of the same standard as the members of the Board. It would be as instructive to make a study of the cuts effected as of the films actually shown; certainly it would disclose the limitations of the Board and the machinery of censoring. The fact that Indian crudeness does not disgust the Censors as much as Western crudeness does, need not mean that the Western producer is less subtle. In fact, the released pictures of both categories make such a contention ridiculous. It only suggests that the Indian mind, even the cultured mind, is less susceptible to indigenous crudities than to imported ones. In so far as censorship is essentially a paternal function, the censoring machinery might charitably be interpreted as acting either on behalf of what it feels is the average Indian mind, or in pursuance of what it believes will please the powers-that- be, rather than in a conscientious natural reaction. Whichever of these two reasons is preferred, it does little credit to the Board.

All this implies that the Rule of Law is not as sure in this country as one would be led to think. A Censorship which leaves room for the variations permitted by the film code, naturally is not ideal and it leaves behind it every manner of suspicion. For example, some newspapers have said that a few Indian pictures have passed the censors' vigilance because the producers contributed part of their proceeds to the Gandhi Memorial Fund. The insinuation is childish and absurdly offensive. Had these methods been adopted, there would surely have been much larger totals in the different provinces for the fund collections. When criticism descends to the sub-decent level, it does not call for notice and the Government has passed over these insinuations in silence, as it must. But it is regrettable that the genuine perplexities of the public are not cleared or cleared unsatisfactorily. For example, the explanation issued on the "Hamlet" episode left a very unpleasant impression. Incidentally, Salvador Madariaga, the Spanish thinker, has in his recent monograph on "Hamlet" offered an interpretation which would lead to the complete banning of the play, and it is a fairly convincing case based on observations regarding life and morals in Elizabethan England. The Indian classical tradition paid little heed to the scrupulosities which seem to disturb us so much these days. Since we are being frequently told that the traditions of the country should be respected and revived, it is worth considering how the present authoritarian trend towards censorship is in keeping with that tradition. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel observed in Madras that we are at a low moral level. One of the signs of this is the censorship and its assumption of the necessity for protecting the people from artists. There can be no life in a regulated art and various forms of controlling aesthetics are all so many obstacles to growth. If we have to pass through this phase, it is well that we accept it for what it is actually and desist from frantic endeavours to inspire artists through the bureaucratic machine.

WOMEN IN U. S. A.

We publish this week an article called Women Workers in America on a separate page. The figures given in this article are illuminating. Women constitute 27% of America's labour force. They are distributed in different occupational groups and one fourth of factory workers are women. In the clerical groups women account for 60% of workers and in the service, professional, and sales groups for 40%. The reason why women work was looked into by the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs and their findings are recorded in a book called "Why Women Work", published in New York by the Public Affairs Committee in 1938. This study indicates that only 3.4% of the women workers belonged to the pin money group, that 48% supported others either wholly or in part. The investigation concludes with this observation: "Women in all age groups have dependents but the majority of those with dependents are among the older women." Two inferences may be legitimately drawn from this study, therefore. American women do not work for the fun of it but through economic necessity; thus, women's education in America cannot differ from that of men. Obviously domestic science cannot have priority in a curriculum for all women without regard to individual differences in interests and aptitudes! It would be interesting to know the results of a similar study in India, where most women in the lower income groups are actively associated in the business of earning a livelihood. If such a study were to support the conclusions arrived at in the American publication the question of a different curriculum in secondary schools for girls could not be entertained at all. The All India Women's Organisation might with profit undertake such a study in view of the common delusions expressed in the country about women's sphere being specified and women working chiefly because it is amusing or fashionable to have careers.

PEACE WORKERS IN ITALY-II

(By PROFESSOR GIOVANNI PIOLI)

After the efforts of the post-war years to bring understanding of peace ideals to those who were ready for them, the number of adherents is about 100, many of whom are centres of radiation. Even those who disagree with their point of view, must regard them as pioneers. Ideas grew into organization when, at Milan in June, 1945, an Italian section of the W. R. I. was established. Some encouragement came from the adoption of Article Four of the Constitution—an article which asserts: "The Republic renounces war as an instrument of conquest and offence to the liberty of other peoples, and admits, on condition of reciprocity, of such limitations to its sovereignty as are required for the defence and organization of peace."

Thanks to the courage, tenacity and sacrificial spirit of certain leaders—among them Professor Aldo Capitini and Dr. Ferdinando Tartaglia—a movement arose around which various religious, moral and social thinkers, prompted by a desire to serve humanity above denominational and party limits, were attracted.

The most notable expression of their organized activity was and is a series of congresses to discuss the modern religious problem, held in principal Italian cities and towns. Several of these leaders, like Capitini, Tartaglia, Edmondo Marcucci, Silvano Balboni, Mario Tassoni, and others, have for years been ardent pacifists. In two successive congresses this movement has included among its aims the passage of a resolution through the Assembly which would exempt genuine conscientious objectors from military service, whatever their religious affiliations.

Grateful surprise was felt by this movement when word reached its Congress of April, 1947, that the then Minister for National Defence (a prominent politician who had bravely resisted Fascism and whose son Poldo, a promising youth, had been barbarously murdered by Fascists at Fossoli) had announced that "the plans for the new organization of the armed forces in Italy contemplate the abolition of compulsory military conscription."

On May 20, 1947, there began an impassioned discussion of Article 49 of the proposed Constitution. It is Article declared that "the defence of the fatherland is a sacred duty of the citizen," and that military service must be compulsory. Dramatically, the Hon. Umberto Calosso, a leader of the Socialist Workers' Party (known as the Right, or "Saragat Socialists"), proposed that Italy's military budget should never exceed that for public education. He also advocated the abolition of compulsory military service, along with an official attitude of permanent neutrality. This, he said, would secure for Italy a civil primacy in Europe. Calosso's party presented an amendment to Article 49 legalizing the principles he had urged.

In the face of an intense opposition, virtually a coalition of all parties, including both the Christian Democrats and the Communists, a more moderate amendment was introduced by Hon. Luigi Gasparotto, a Liberal Democrat. This substituted the words "armed forces" for "army," leaving for a future law the limits and terms of military service. His amendment was eventually carried. But a moral victory for an advanced attitude toward pacifists was won when Ernesto Caporali of the Socialist Workers' Party made an impassioned appeal for the rights of conscientious objectors, "the advance patrol of a new humanity, who stubbornly believe in the majesty of life, in spite of all forces working for its destruction." Into the cold atmosphere of Montecitorio, the meeting place of the Assembly, so often deaf and dumb to utterances of high ideals, Caporali brought these words of a concrete resolution: "The state should reserve for conscientious objectors, in case of war, purely auxiliary tasks."

The striking thing was not that Signor Caporali's motion was rejected, by about 300 opposition votes, but that it secured 100 in its favour. Another astonishing thing was the diversity of those who gave support to the Caporali effort; besides the Socialist Workers' Party, about 70 members of the Assembly, scattered over all party sections, gave it their votes. The only solid opposition came from the Communists and their allies, the Nenni Socialists.

By no means did the 100 favourable votes come from members who were conscientious objectors themselves. Rather, they felt that Italy should be brought into line with the other nations of the world which recognize the rights of conscience as a democratic principle.

"I am convinced," said the Hon. Ernesto Caporali in a letter to the writer, "that the problem of C.O.'s is bound up with the general one of the integral fight against war—all kinds of war; of the revaluation of the principles of human solidarity, without which Socialism fails to possess a 'raison d'etre'... I found that my proposal lacked reality, because of the hypocrisy at the base of our political and moral customs today, as always in the past."

The Hon. Luigi Gasparotto, an eminent lawyer who started his life work as a school teacher, declared in an interview with this correspondent, "I am well acquainted with the currents and movements against fighting and against compulsory military service, inspired by moral ideals. I emphasized the development of voluntary service as a means of overcoming the difficulties of legal recognition for such ideals in a land quite unprepared to appreciate them. I was called 'an enemy of the fatherland,' 'a traitor to the people.' I replied that voluntary service had long been in practice in Italy, where 100 per cent of the Carabinieri and Guardie di Finanza, 61 per cent of the air service are supplied by volunteers. Why could not the armed defence forces be supplied

in the same way? Voluntary service must, in my view, gradually and finally supplant compulsory service in peace-time, in our country with its limited army. War being, in modern times, mainly one of machines, it can be waged only by technicians, whose services must be of a permanent, and therefore voluntary, character."

With all its different characteristics, with all its uphill struggle, with all its weakness, the Italian peace movement is moving ahead, and hopes to take, one day, an important part in the world-wide movement to do away with war.

SOVIET AMERICAN RELATIONS

(By DEVERE ALLEN)

Domestic and world questions are not easy to separate, and all over the globe people have been watching the lowering of American prices and plant lay-offs with varying emotions. There are signs, not only of a readjustment, but of stock remedies for unemployment. And the greatest of these is the use of big arms programme as a cure for joblessness.

Not only Hitler, but Franklin Roosevelt was saved by the bell when it came to serious unemployment, for though no one would wish to link the two names offensively, it is a sober historic fact that even President Roosevelt's lively imagination turned up no real solution for joblessness, and found it only when rearmament began on a large scale. Are we once more at that stage of a cycle?

Through ten states this writer has recently been following the press and noting how frequently reports are creeping into news columns of businessmen who have said, "These lay-offs will probably come to an end when the arms expansion programme really gets going." There is a growing feeling that nothing can prevent a minor set-back, which still might have significant repercussions, except heavy expenditures for arms. From the viewpoint of future generations, it may make interesting reading to note the incapacity of present-day statesmen to solve a major economic question and keep workers on the job in any other way than to set them making weapons with which to destroy each other.

Let us hope that no one at Washington will be tempted to keep up the cold war, or make it hotter, for no better purpose than this. In the recent Stalin peace talk, and in the new Communist line around the world, there is much to provoke honest minds. A decisive series of actions by Moscow would, it is true, go a lot further than mere words. But how long are we going to measure our statesmanship by the alacrity with which we slam the door instead of calling bluffs if they are bluffs, or following through on possibilities for peace if they are genuine?

One may ask how the world is ever to extricate itself from the present impasse, if America not only demands a satisfactory agreement but insists that Russia gets converted and hits the sawdust trail? Anyone who has studied the philosophy of Communism knows that basic ideas of world revolution do not fundamentally change at Moscow, but that temporary tactics can be reversed with lightninglike speed. The State Department, Congress and President Truman combined are not going to evangelize Stalin or the Politburo into an American point of view, or make Russian policy parallel to ours. Since when has that been the programme of the United States? Somehow, some day, a working agreement will have to be made, and with Russia substantially as it is.

So far the best that American policy has been able to evolve is the automatic responsiveness of a photo electric cell like those which open garage doors when the right headlights shine. Washington has apparently decided, not without justification to be sure, that Moscow has halitosis, so whether Stalin says Boo or Hi, Pal, the response is the same. It's an understandable reaction, but not particularly adult. Would it not be more intelligent to lay down explicitly what we require for a peace settlement, and the steps which we will agree to take if Russia will make specific moves? It must either be that, or private negotiation by the conference method. That is, unless war is desired.

It does little good to get noble and say that we shall only deal through the United Nations. In the first place, there is that not forgotten effort of Mr. Truman, less than four months ago, to send Justice Vinson to Moscow. That appeared noble to him then, but the United Nations was just as alive at that time, and perhaps more so. Nor is it very realistic to suppose that every issue taken up by the U.N. is brought to open debate on the floor. As a matter of fact—and not improperly either—big issues in the U.N. are often tackled off the floor, in private conferences, if not by the caucus method. When it is thought at Washington that Stalin is out to make propaganda, there is scant value in letting him make the most of it.

The watchfulness abroad at American policy, economic health and strength might suggest that there are millions of people still making up their minds about us. As countless bits of evidence show, that is the actual case. There are literally millions who are not Communist, but who are far from sold on American policy. They don't vote their choices in elections as often as in the shops and field. America needs them, not only in a negative turning away from Russia, but in a positive attraction to democracy and peace. Negation will never win them.

They can be won to an eager, warm trustworthy confidence in the programme of the West only if they see in our leadership an ability to solve our own problems, such as unemployment, creatively. If they see in our foreign policy a constructive purpose. If they see us meet Soviet proposals with counter-proposals that are more forward-looking and liberal. Washington may get that way, but it is far from it yet. A little pushing can do no harm.

—*Worldover Press*

WOMEN WORKERS IN AMERICA

The Women's Bureau of the U.S. Department of Labour released recently what it believes will be a best seller among Government publications.

The new report is a "Handbook of Facts on Women Workers." In some 76 pages it tells how many women are employed; where they are working; the standards for their employment; the wages or salaries they make; the percentage they form of all workers; the number who are married, single, widowed or divorced; and the economic responsibilities they carry in relation to family and other dependents. Discussed also in detail are labour laws for women and laws that govern their political and civil status. The new publication also devotes separate chapters to a bibliography on American women, a list of women's national organizations, and a summary of women's participation in education and vocational training available under Federally aided trade and vocational programmes.

The purpose of the handbook is to fulfil the needs of specific groups for data on subjects relating to women's economic, political, and civil status in the United States. Such groups include women's organizations, trade unions, employer groups, state labour law administrators, and women leaders in other countries.

Highlights from the hundreds of facts given in the handbook follow:

Employment.—Women workers in 1947, exceeding the 16,000,000 mark, accounted for more than 27 percent of all workers and almost 30 percent of all women in the population, 14 years of age and over. Prior to the war, women in the labour force numbered about 14,000,000 and formed slightly over a fourth of all workers and of all women of working age.

Chief Occupation Groups.—Though all but three of the major occupation groups registered increases in the number of women from 1940 to 1947, largest gains were scored by the "clerical and kindred" workers, who added nearly 1,500,000 women, and by the operatives, whose ranks increased by 1,250,000. Another spectacular gain was chalked up by the group designated as "proprietors, managers, and officials (except farm)". Showing a 73.3 percent increase since 1940, this relatively small group included 780,000 women in 1947 as against the 450,000 so classed before the war.

Other occupations with sizable gains were those of sales and service workers (other than domestic, each of which added just under 500,000)

The three occupations which lost in numbers of women employed, were domestic service, whose decline of almost 503,000 was the greatest of all; the professional and semi-professional group, which suffered a loss of 30,000 women; and the labourer group (except farm labourers), which had a 20,000 decline.

Occupational Distribution.—In 1947, nearly half the women workers were in the clerical and operative groups, over a fifth in service groups, and a tenth in the semi-professional category. All other groups were smaller.

The proportions women constituted of all workers (men and women), were highest in domestic service, where women were over 90 percent of all workers; in clerical work, where they accounted for almost 60 percent of the total; in the service (other than domestic), professional, and sales groups, where they formed some 40 percent: and in the operative group, where they accounted for close to 30 percent of the total so employed.

Women In Factory Production.—Women were slightly over a fourth of all factory production workers both before and after the war. In the latter period, a fourth of the women in manufacturing were in durable goods industries; earlier, non durable goods, always the largest employer of women in factories, had employed 85 percent of all these workers.

Wages And Salaries Of Women.—(in urban and ruralnon-farm areas).—The median of the earnings of women workers engaged in full-time employment in 1946 was $1,661. Four in 10 received less than $1,500, seven in 10 less than $2,000, and about one in 10 as much as $2,500.

Based on both full and part-time workers, the highest earning capacity was evidenced by women in the small group of proprietors, managers, and officials, whose median for the year was $1,671. In only three other groups were earnings as high as $1,500: craftsmen and foremen, semi-professional, and professional workers. Medians were below $800 in the sales and service (except domestic) groups, often featured by much part-time work, and still lower for the domestic service workers. In every major occupation group, the median earnings of men were considerably above those of women.

Women over 35 but under 45 years of age had the highest earnings, declines beginning in the groups after the age of 45 years.

Ages Of Women Workers.-Women of all ages, except those between 20 to 34 years, were participating in the labour force to a greater extent in 1947 than in 1940, with the greatest increases occurring in the 35 to 54 group and among girls under 20. Compared to that of 1940, the 1947 labour force included almost 2,500,000 more women 35 to 64 years old, over 333,000 more girls under 20, and about 333,000 fewer women between 20 to 34 years.

Of the total women workers in 1947, 39 percent were in the 20-to34 years group; 47 percent in the 35-to-64 years group; 11 percent under 20; and three per cent 65 or over.

Marital Status — In 1947, married women were 65 percent of the adult female population, and 46 percent of the women in the labour force. Widowed and divorced women were 13 percent of the woman population and 16 percent of the female labour force. Single women, 22 percent of the woman population, constituted but 38 percent of the women in the labour force in 1947.

State Labour Laws for Women.—As of June 1948, many states had set a floor to the wages of women, established maximum hour regulations, provided for suitable meal periods, and otherwise sought to protect women's health, safety, and general welfare. For example:

1. Minimum Wage—Twenty-six states and the District of Columbia have laws enabling them to set minimum rates for women in all or most industries and occupations. Exceptions generally are domestic service and agricultural work;
2. Hours of Work—Forty-three states and the District of Columbia have laws limiting daily and weekly hours of employment in one or more industries; 23 states and the District of Columbia have set 8 hours a day and/or 48 hours per week or less as the maximum time a woman can be employed in manufacturing establishments;
3. 'Seating'—Forty-six states and the District of Columbia have seating laws for women employees.

Education and vocational training—For the school year ending June 30, 1957, more than 30,000 women were enrolled in Federally aided all-day trade and industrial programmes.

—*USIS.*

"WHITHER EDUCATION?"

"The Government of Bombay has decided that physical education should be an examination subject, in the primary and secondary schools, of the province. Failure to pass in the subject, however, should not entail detention in the lower standard".

The above statemement which appeared in the Bombay Press is, to say the least, one of the most ridiculous that it is possible to imagine, and shows to what lengths the modern craze for examinations can go. Examinations at best are a poor test of the progress of a child's education. At worst, they are merely a test of his ability to memorise parrot-fashion. Today, apparently, the only aim of education is to enable students to pass examinations and there is neither time nor desire to encourage them to think for themselves, to find out things for themselves, to widen their interests. On all sides, we hear the cry, "the syllabus is so heavy; we have no time to deal with anything beyond the set work." The result is, in 99 cases out of a hundred, that the students concentrate on learning as much as possible of their set work by heart in order to pass the examination at the end of the year, then, forget it as soon as possible, in order to begin the next year's work. This is not education—this is cramming, pure and simple, and is of no value whatsoever. One wonders whether people who have endured this education are capable of a single original idea—and now the examination mania is turned to the field of physical training! None is more acutely aware of the supreme importance of physical training than I am. Through physical training and sports, we build up that discipline and self-control which are, unfortunately, so lacking among young people today, throughout the whole world. Through physical training and sports, we improve the physique and health of the youth of the nation—which is particularly important in a country like India where the death-rate is so high—through sport, particularly, we may hope to remove a great deal of that communal feeling which by putting the emphasis on community rather than on "Homeland", as a whole, prevents the rise of India as a great power in the world. I agree whole-heartedly that an important place should be given to physical training and sports in our country. Every school should be forced to devote a certain amount of time daily to physical training. Instructors should be trained at the earliest possible moment to take up this work, but the aim of this training should be physical health, discipline, sportsmanship and *enjoyment* — all questions of examinations should be left out, as we hope they will soon be left out in all branches of education.

D. R.

LABOUR "DICTATORSHIP" IN BRITAIN

When the Control of Engagement Order was introduced in Britain in October, 1947, it was charged by foreign critics of the Labour Party, and feared by many of its internal friends, that the measure, permitting the direction of workers into specific industries when they failed to make a choice of productive work, might fasten a dictatorial device on the nation. Figures lately compiled, however, show that only 28 persons were so directed during the first year of the law. In one recent month, out of 398,000 workers placed in employment by the labour exchanges, only four were directed.

Another frequent charge against the Labour government is that of its encouragement to bureaucracy by the continuous multiplication of officials. Among the industries against which this charge was made was the Food Ministry, under John Strachey. However, figures reveal that instead of adding new bureaucrats, the Ministry has actually reduced their number. Shortly after Labour took office in 1945, the number of staff workers, which had been 40,030 when strict controls were thought unessential, rose to a peak of 46,654 on August 1, 1946. But by October 1, 1948, the number had been lowered to 39,491. During 1948, staffs in local food offices were cut by 1,003.

—*Worldover Press.*

ARMS FOR ANTI-DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTIONS

Latin American liberals are pointing to what they imply is an almost automatic relationship between the purchase of arms in the United States by democratic governments south of the border, and prompt overturns of those regimes by army force. Peru, it is pointed out, bought $ 6,000,000 worth of U. S. arms and airplanes, and in a few weeks its government was overthrown. Venezuela imported $ 1,000,000 worth of bombs, equipment and rifles, and its democratic Gallegos government was tossed out shortly thereafter. The Latin Americans are noting that arms shipments have been made recently from the United States to Cuba, Guatemala, Mexico and El Salvador—where another army coup recently took place.

—*Worldover Press*

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"I will be as harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard"*.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the LIBERATOR.

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NOTES

"Classless Society":—The phrase, classless society, which is a Communist's stock in trade, has been taken over by the Congress since Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru first gave tongue to it. Mr. Kher has referred to it as the Gandhian ideal and has promised to strain every nerve to bring it about. If it is purely intended as a means of outbidding the Communists, then we have nothing more to say. The language of idealism has always yielded high dividends to politicians and nowhere more so than in India. The trouble here is that our politicians being sincere and essentially unsophisticated very often are the first converts to their own mellifluous phrases. Whatever may be said about the possibilities of a classless society, it can be said that so far as our Congress leaders and Governments are concerned it is completely unattainable. A private motion to eradicate official recognition of caste distinctions amongst Hindus was, by agreement at a Bombay Congress Assembly party meeting, virtually killed by dilatory tactics just a week before Premier Kher expounded the virtues of the classless society and the intentions of his party to bring it about. Mr. Kher has been known for his idealism and, we say it in no mood of disparagement, his blind eye on unpleasant realities. It is a cultivated and disciplined optimism which in personal affairs is a great quality and altogether admirable; and has its advantages, though less, in public controversies. What is surprising is that the hard-headed Home Minister, Mr. Morarji Desai, should also have been carried away by the concept of " the classless society". Actually, no one is very much interested in the classless society". The problems of eking out an existence are growing so acute that few people have the necessary leisure to meditate on the Marxist beatitude. The reason why Congress leaders insist on arguing on this plane is that, consciously or unconsciously, they feel that they have nothing to fear from the Right except the possibility of their being identified by the people with the Right; and they are now anxious to deal with the Left through the same process of assimilation of its phraseology.

Tax On Advertisements:—When last year the Bombay Sales Tax was put on newspapers, the business side of journalism woke up to the importance of the press as a medium of education and pressed hard for its withdrawal. The Government surprisingly obliged—possibly because of the difficulty of collecting the tax from a commodity like newspapers—and there was no more said about it. As a matter of fact, this is the one tax which would yield more than its legitimate amount because of the general tendency among newspaper managements to inflate circulation figures beyond realities. This year the Finance Minister has returned to the charge from another vantage ground. He has applied the Sales Tax to Advertisements in the Press. This is really a direct tax on industry and an indirect tax on newspapers; the tax will be paid as a charge just like the Sales and Entertainment Taxes which are charged on the total bill, and it will lead to a cutting down of advertisement space, by the advertisers, since the other alternative, raising prices, will reduce the market and is unthinkable. The newspaper business which will have now to pay more—in the first instance, because the advertisements carry more revenue than sales and subscriptions; secondly, because the advertiser once he decides on cutting down will not restrict himself solely to the necessary but will pass easily to the economical—than it would have, had it accepted the Sales Tax, has learnt a lesson which it will never forget. The manner in which tears were shed at the "tax on knowledge", the professions of the most cynical press magnates and adventurers that "a newspaper is a university", was nauseating in the extreme. It would be surprising

if the new tax does not lead to more aesthetic advertising with a view to allowing quality to make up for what is lost in quantity. There are few taxes which could be better justified. The time to consider the newspaper as a university will be when the men in control treat the newspaper with the sanctity of a text-book and insist on accuracy in facts and correctness in presentation. Till then those who talk about it so loudly, can be regarded as no less than racketeers. The generation that looked on journalism as a mission, has given way to one which exploits that sentiment. Peculiarly apt is Lowell's warning in this context: "Where today the Martyr stands, on the morrow crouches Judas with the silver in his hands." There are doubtless exceptions but the tax-gatherer pays small heed to the exceptional. We are afraid that the other items of the Budget proposals are less easily justifiable as they hit the consumer who is already under a heavy burden. But they have been forced on the Government by its Prohibition policy and it cannot be questioned that the game is worth the candle. Only could it not be possible for the Government to finance this reform and cover its losses by a system which falls evenly on the different classes?

Communists in India:—The menacing railway strike and anarchic conditions in Bengal have drawn sharp attention to the presence and activities of Communists iu this country. A weak administration torn by internal dissension among Congress leaders there, has virtually given way to the forces of disorders. The attack on the Telephone Exchange some weeks back, the burning of tram-cars in broad daylight, the popular demonstration even in rural areas against the police, and finally the Dum-Dum terrorist demonstrations of last week have gone to impress on the public if not on the Government of India the necessity for drastic action. The question whether it is all done by one political organisation or by several, acting independently or in collaboration, does not interest men and women. Nor are they greatly concerned with the nice distinctions between Stalinist and Trotskyite and the other Red splinter groups that have sprung up in Bengal. Whoever the mischief-makers are, the first necessity is that order should be restored in Bengal and the civil authority established securely. The difference between a Communist effort and other lawlessness is that in the first case the Bengal trouble is a much greater problem which cannot be managed by an Indian Province. Everything points to this conclusion. There seems to be some surprise in national circles that Communists should be disposed to settle political differences by resorting to extra-constitutional methods and to violence. There is no cause for surprise since it is a widely practised technique. It is necessary that the situation as it manifests itself be dealt with resolutely. Immediately the Centre should come forward to rescue Bengal. For the future, there must be sufficient overall control at Delhi to resist a world movement which will naturally strike at the weak spots.

The Indian Scene:-So much for Bengal. As for the all India problem which is at its acutest in the railway sphere, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru revealed how great was the threat of strikes instigated for political ends. He had no hesitation in naming the Communists as the people at the bottom of it all and adduced impressive evidence to support this. He was, however, emphatic that the Government was not so much interested in dealing with organisations as with people. Even theoretically the attitude is open to question. Individuals can do little until they get together with a common purpose in an organisation. The best way to enable the administration to get at persons, as has been established in the case of the R. S. S., is to strike at the organisation effectively: The policy of the Government has led to misunderstanding. The recent round-up of Communists has been represented in some quarters as a move to penalise those railway men who had voted in tho strike ballot for a strike. There is, we are told, enough evidence to implicate the Communists in a wide effort to paralyse the administration. The Government has no excuse for hesitating to prove its case and to ban the Communist Party. Such an attitude will have the additional advantage of bringing the Socialists who are at present torn between two negative attitudes, into the main current of national life. In this connection, the Socialist Leader, Mr. Jai Prakash Narain, has, it must be stated, pursued a dubious and unhelpful policy. To lead the railway workers to the brink of a strike and hold them there is no service to the conntry. It is characteristic of the entire Socialist line that, whilst asserting a neutral mood, it has helped the Communists by adding to the national confusion, creating an atmosphere of uncertainty which can at any moment be developed into anarchy.

Prison Reform:—In view of the current interest in prison reform, we print this week an article written by Mr. K. G. Mashruwala in 1932 and sent to this office for publication. In a brief covering letter, Mr. Mashruwala wrote that his essay was ready soon after the general amnesty (preceding the Second Round Table Conference) but that it could not be released earlier. He also said that he had read the report of the Bombay Social Reform League on the subject but regretted he had not known of its inquiry earlier so that he could have presented his thesis to that body. In the light of the practical steps taken by Congress Administrations, Mr. Mashruwala's enunciation of the theory of crime and punishment which he strongly held, will be read with considerable interest. Special importance attaches to the views of the writer as one of the leaders of the constructive side of the Gandhian movement and as a man who played and still plays, as the Editor of the "Harijan", an outstanding part in giving expression to Gandhian ideology.

THE INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER
BOMBAY, March 5, 1949.

SAROJINI NAIDU

The passing away of Sarojini Naidu came as a shock to the country and more so to her wide circle of friends. It was not unexpected for she had been in indifferent health for some years. Yet it was still unbelievable when death took her away from our midst. In all the tributes paid toher, full justice has been done to her many-sided personality. But the cardinal feature of her character has not been touched upon except by Pandit Jawaharlal—perhaps because we are today passing through a phase of puritanism when ideals and examples are more sought after than realities. It was central to Sarojini Naidu that she enjoyed living and gave a zest to every moment of her life. Of her it could be said in the words of Browning, that the world to her was meat and drink, she lived intensely and lived well. Idealist to the core, as at heart all Indians of distinction essentially are, she realised, as few Indians do the necessity of compromise. And the grace with which she practised this, almost made it seem like tolerance. In fact, it would be more correct to say she made others tolerant. As one heard her biting wit which spared no one, it was hard to believe that with her views she could still work with the men and women she so roundly pilloried and even caricatured; still harder to think that they could work with her. But she had achieved a curious detachment and, when she wanted, she could offer comparisons between herself and the object of her criticism which took the edge of her most biting comments. There was no human mood that she did not display at one time or the other, and there was no human being whom she would have liked to leave in distress of mind or spirit. Her deep understanding of men and women was a valuable asset which set off her puckish humour. She was no respecter of persons but she was at the same time an essential diplomat. Reputations might turn brittle in her hands but they were never stained by personal attacks.

Born in the family of the savant Aghorenath Chattopadhyaya, Sarojini herself has written of the debt she owed to the catholicity of her home and wide interests of her illustrious father. Aghorenath kept open house and the men who met at the Chattopadhyaya home in Hyderabad looked on him as something more than a philosopher and friend. The early years in the Nizam's Dominions gave Sarojini an understanding of the Muslim mind which is uncommon with non-Muslims. This and her love for Hyderabad which never failed, gave rise to several misunderstandings on the part of others and miscalculations on her own side. Up to the time of partition, for example, she held firmly that Mohamed Ali Jinnah would give up his communalism and revert to the nationalism of his early days. She played a prominent part in bringing about the negotiations between Gandhiji and Jinnah in 1944, creating an atmosphere favourable to the talks and, even according to some quarters, influencing Gandhiji himself. So far as Hyderabad itself was concerned, it would not be in the least surprising if she had a hand in steadying the Indian Government, both before and after the action of September 1948. Hindu-Muslim unity was a tenet of her faith and she was acutely distressed when the parting came. But she was far too resilient a nature to suffer long under disillusionment.

Looking back on the long years of struggle in the Gandhian Congress, it is outstanding that Sarojini was among the very few, at times the only one, who did not allow their party loyalties to separate them from men and women in other camps. Nor did she take sides in the dissensions which rent the party from time to time, although on every crucial issue she was publicly for all practical purposes with Gandhiji. At times, she hovered as it were on the brink of isolation because of her very amiability. It required a great deal of grit to tide over the trouble. Sarojini was not easily daunted. Far from pugnacious by nature—she never provoked a quarrel any more than she evaded one when it was forced on her—Sarojini was a fighter, in personal and in public affairs; and by refusing to accept defeat often surmounted situations which might have overcome more combative natures. Few of her associates, or even casual acquaintances, regarded her as thick-skinned but yet the contradiction was there that she passed over discourtesies and sometimes offences without even so much as noticing them. The suspicion of a shadow would flit across her face. She had an almost phenomenal memory for personal details not only of persons she shared common interests with, but even of their families. It was amazing the time she had for people no matter what work she had on hand or how ill she was. And whether it was a child or a grown-up, she listened with great patience and great interest, entering as it were into all the aspects, understanding the point of view presented, and raising many new angles. To many a home in India her death comes not so much as the removal of a great national figure as a deep personal loss.

APPEAL TO CAPITAL

Dr. Matthai's budget is essentially a final appeal to industrialists to increase production, to be enterprising and to invest capital. A number of concessions has been granted. The Capital Gains Tax has been abolished; Super-Tax has been reduced—incomes of over a lakh will be taxed at 14 annas in the Rupee, Income and Super-tax being taken together. And the rate of tax on unearned income has been reduced by half an anna. There has been a reduction in import duty and certain raw materials to stimulate production

and cotton yarn is to be imported free. A stimulus to civil aviation is given by a rebate of half the duty on civil aviation. These are the most significant reliefs afforded to the business community. Dr. Matthai and his colleagues are thus admitting that they accept the principle of free enterprise. The references to the classless society which Cabinet Ministers have been making are not to be taken seriously, therefore. But enterprise, whilst free, is to be controlled. Dividends of public companies are to be limited and the refund of Excess Profits Tax has been postponed again, except for approved purposes. The reactions of industrialists have been guarded. Outright enthusiasm has not been evinced. The idea of controlled enterprise to Indian businessmen is new. The Labour Movement is but of recent growth and a colonial administration does not encourage a social conscience. The diffident tone in the reaction of industrialists must be attributed to these factors. Whether they rise to the occasion is to be seen. Leftist circles and the general public have not welcomed the budget for obvious reasons. The reliefs granted to one set, and a small set at that, are to be paid for by the consumer of course. For no economies have been made in the administration and defence expenditure remains as high as before owing to the uncertainties of Kashmir. It is true that the middle and lower income groups have been afforded some concessions as income tax on incomes up to Rs. 10,000 will be reduced by a ½ anna. But the circle of the grateful is not appreciably widened thereby in a country where the majority does not come within the Income Tax paying groups. And the burden of taxation on the consumer is increasing rapidly as provincial ministries vie with the Centre in the race for increasing indirect taxation. Thus whilst the Centre's proposals raise the cost of sugar, petrol, and postal rates, the provinces have extended the range of the sales-tax. The Bombay budget, for instance, has included text-books and stationery among the articles for which Sales Tax is payable and it proposes an additional charge on electricity. There is something incongruous in protesting the urgency of spreading education whilst taxing the very instruments which would make the objective possible. And there is little point in talking about bringing electricity within the reach of the remotest village when duties on it are being increased. However, there is one unassailable argument which should make these proposals acceptable to all save those who want an immediate break with the past: The cost of living, it can be said, may certainly rise immediately. But, with increased production and an improved trade balance, the immediate increases will be more than cancelled out in course of time. But there are as many reasons for fear as for hope in the Budget proposals for capitalists and industrial leaders have not reacted favourably to them. It is too early yet to say that production will be stepped up and that Capital will cease to be shy.

In his speech at the annual meeting of the Indian Federation of Chambers of Commerce and Industry, Mr. Lalji Merhotra made a very significant admission. The fears that held back Capital were not of Nationalization. As Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel observed recently, the Government have not the necessary men to undertake this work and, even if there was Nationalization, it would be only in name. Business which is fairly shrewd in matters affecting its own interests, has been all along well aware of it. Mr. Merhotra makes this very clear. What Business fears is that the present bias toward Labour, the decision to follow an anti-strike policy whilst afraid of strong action in support of that policy, the excessive tenderness shown to a truculent Labour instigated by political malcontents and the continuous wooing of the worker by large promises, the loud professions about checking inflation accompanied by rising taxes which send cost-of-living indices up—these make conditions in industrial life very difficult for the men at the top. The concessions given to Business do not in any way compensate for the growing uncertainties of the Labour market. Mr. Merhotra was extremely cautious in his references to the Communists who are the most disturbing factor in the workers' world. Is it due to lack of confidence in the ability of the nation to withstand Communist inroads? Or does it spring from a doubt as to the position of Business vis-a-vis Government and the Communists? At any rate, it is here that the real problem of Industrialists is to be tackled, not in concessions, rebates and reduced taxation. If the Government can arrive at some stabilising-point in its relations to Capital and Labour, if there is reasonable assurance that concessions to Labour will not become a permanent feature of industrial life, then Indian Business will come forward without hesitation and it would even be possible to raise the taxation higher. But, as things are now, caught as it were between the nether millstone of Labour and the upper millstone of Government, Industrialists see little light. Mr. Merhotra's concession to profit-sharing was a pathetic gesture: It would perhaps help to create in workers a greater responsibility towards their work if their remuneration were linked with profits; but nothing should be done to give them a proprietory interest. Mr. Merhotra does not know what he is saying. Profit-sharing is itself a proprietory interest. A share in profits without a right to scrutinise accounts would be meaningless nonsense. And the right to scrutinise is nothing without the right to correct, to suggest economies, to check extravagance. Unless Business understands correctly the implications of profit-sharing, it will find this another confusing factor in the field of industry. And the first requirement now is the greatest possible clarity. It is for the Government to define its objectives with greater precision.

THE PRISON INSTITUTION

(By K. G. MASHRUWALA)

A large majority of prisoners, I am persuaded to believe, commence a criminal career on account of abject poverty. The society which punishes them does absolutely nothing to remove the initial cause. On the contrary, it creates for them a vicious circle from which they cannot escape. The result is that at the end of their life, they develop into hardened habitual offenders, and have, not infrequently, transmitted the same instincts to their progeny. Consequently a tribe of criminals comes into existence, about whom it may be said that crime with them is as much a hereditary disease as tuberculosis or asthma are popularly held to be.

Then there are prisoners, who have been sent to jail because of some quarrel over property, women or religion, when they lost their head and injured or killed their fellow-beings.—Very often before being led to commit the crime, they had been ill-treated by both their fellow-beings as well as society, and—they had despaired of having their grievances redressed. Society does not care to treat them fairly regarding the primary grievance, and still less to soothe their feelings in the matter. It sends them off to the prison, as if, unless they were locked up in a cell for some time, (or for life), they would injure or kill each and every person, who passed by them: They, too, are thereafter, labelled convicts, are considered too dishonourable to be cited as witnesses or confessed to be friends or relatives, while, I repeat, men, often worse than they, but in better and more influential position, freely move in society without any one daring to speak out the truth about them. If these convicts feel no respect for society, society itself is to blame.

As a matter of fact, my experience, and I hope there will be several who agree with me thereon, has shown that the so-called 'ordinary' convicts are not less honourable or more dishonourable than the average man in society. Of some of the convicts, I came across, a few had a life-long jail career, with repeated convictions. While some of them were incapable of feeling even a sense of remorse for the particular acts which brought them to prison, and seemed to regard them as professions, which society ought to recognise as legitimate rather than as punishable crimes, still in other respects every one of them showed considerable relieving traits of human character and convinced me, at least, that there was not less of the divine in them than what I feel to be in myself. I found none, who was not under suitable circumstances, loving, respectful, self-denying, anxious to render service, moved by feelings of kindness and pity, and, though living under surroundings which kill all sense of shame, still possessed of a sense of honour and a code of morals, which, though it might differ from ours, or may not be even understood by us, is well understood by him and scrupulously followed. As I was being kindly nursed by that jovial and industrious, but cynical, robber along with two others equally kind and attentive, I could not but often feel that it is a thousand pities that society instead of punishing its own stupidity in not knowing how to make still better men of these men puts them under a machine designed on a thoroughly inhuman philosophy.

If, in the administration of prisons, there is any one feature which appears to me to stand in greater prominence than the rest, it is the deliberate effort to humiliate the prisoner. The two-footed animal called the prisoner is, in various systematised ways, made to feel, as frequently as possible, that the two-footed animal called the officer is not prepared to regard him as a member of his own kind. This view pervades throughout the rules of discipline, punishment and work. Even in the supply of bare wants of life, he is not recognised as anything more than a slave or a serf, or a superior kind of monkey. He must discard all notions of decency, or self-respect that he may have imbibed while he lived in society.

Another thing which I could not help feeling was that the whole institution is foreign to India, and did not appear to me as having been designed by one, who had knowledge or respect for Indian conditions and society. The notions, which, perhaps, prevailed in Europe, in the days of the East India Company of dealing with crime and criminals, and of the method of running jails, seemed to have been bodily transplanted in India, without taking any notice of the civilization and character of the Indian people. Not only that; perhaps, the founder of English prisons in India had a thorough contempt for everything Indian, and was, therefore, even more persistent than his colleagues in Europe in making them as foreign in character as possible,(—diet excepted, for no country in Europe could show the model of a cheaper diet than the Indian.) Add to this, the civilian's 'thoroughness', and we might get the picture of an Indian prison.

In every society, there are certain matters, on which the people of that society have very delicate feelings, which foreigners are unable to understand and appreciate. This sensitiveness is shared even by the worst of criminals and men of the lowest grade in that society. It may be that, *per se*, or to a dispassionate thinker, these matters may have nothing to do with good or bad morals. Still they have got so firmly established for, perhaps, centuries in the minds of men, that when a man is first compelled to act in contravention of them, he receives a rude shock and is greatly unnerved. If the process is repeated, the shocks cease to be felt; but, at the same time, the man loses all sense of shame. The violence to his sensitivity stuns his moral sensibilities.

I give a few instances: There may be nothing —immoral, and, to the English eye, there may be no motive to humiliate in asking a man to become naked in the presence of others. But the Indian,

both Hindu as well as Mussalman, sentiment is so strongly against it that this compulsory performance is highly resented by any but the most shameless profligate criminal or by the modernized man. In the unfortunate position in which he is placed in the prison, he feels helpless and yields to the rule; but thereafter, he carries the notion that he is not only a thief or a man of violent temper, but has also become one, whose 'modesty'—if I may use the term for a man—has been outraged. He feels that he is no longer unsoiled and slowly begins to think that he need not have, any longer, much keenness for 'pure' life.

I have also seen that a similar psychological effect is produced by compulsion to accept food from a non-caste man. That, a man, who has no conscientious scruples in even violently traspassing on other people's person or property, should be highly sensitive in matters of food and water, may be a travesty of religion, but ideas of religion do not follow rules of the "good citizen's" logic. In all countries, there are always to be found a good many persons, who distinguish keenly between the practice of religion and the practice of good citizenship.

Of the several convicts who were appointed to sweep our yard, there was one, who was a Thakur or kshatriya by caste, and a sweetmeat seller by occupation. He had been tempted to receive some stolen property, and had been sentenced to about four months rigorous imprisonment. Having been made a sweeper in the prison, one of our colleagues, one day, thoughtlessly flung at him a piece of bread, which had remained after he had finished his breakfast. Now, in jail, there is always a keen competition amongst prisoners to receive additional food. Even 'B' class political prisoners were not without their quarrels about equal distribution, and I understood that, amongst ordinary convicts, it is only the convict-warders and those patronized by them who receive more than a full share of their diet; others are generally robbed of them. In addition to this, the B diet being of a superior quality, the desire to share it was natural in these attendants. Consequently, the Halvai had not the courage to refuse the bread flung at him, but at the same time he could not but feel that he had to behave like a sweeper. Tears flew down his eyes, and he told me, as I happened to be at the spot, that Fate had made a *'bhangi'* of him. He was released before our amnesty, and there was a touching scene when he bade us good-bye the previous evening. He could not get over the pain he felt for the polution of his caste, and the part of a *'bhangi'* which he had to play in the jail, even to the extent of accepting the remnants of another's dish, flung in a disrespectful manner. This incident by the way, has a moral for the political prisoners who act as kind patrons of 'ordinary' convicts, and for the general public of the 'superior' classes, who think that they are doing a very charitable act, when they hand over to the poor sweeper what they themselves cannot and would not eat, nor allow their children to touch.

But to return to the prison institution; I am no upholder of the superior-class-vanity; but the prison is not the right place in which it should be attacked; that is the work of the social reformer to be carried on by propaganda in society. If in prison attempts are made to break caste by compulsion, the effect on a prisoner is, morally and psychologically, very degrading.

But as I do not plead for merely the reform of the prison, but for its entire abolition, I do not propose to enter into a detailed examination of prison rules and methods. It will be sufficient to enumerate merely the means which are adopted for the correction of the convict. They are:—confinement, solitary confinement, lock-up, various painful modes of handcuffing and chaining, specially penalised food, clothes and work, whipping, degradation, humiliation: these are some of the recognised ways which may be recorded on the history-ticket; then there are the unrecognised showers of abuses and blows, of which no record can be seen; here and there, there are rewards too, so devised as to show the hand of Satan in its most cunning form; for they more often are awarded for acts which, in outside society would be regarded as mean and dishonourable rather than for meritorious deeds; extra hard-work and docile conduct are also rewarded, but generally it is the bully who secures greater rewards. All these must go: and, then, if anything needs be done for the improvement of criminals or the protection of society, it must be done on some other plan than that of the modern prison.

But, I am told, that before asking for the abolition of the present system, a better method should be proposed. I do not agree. I contend that even if there were no satisfactory solution for dealing with criminals, the present system must be abolished. It is much better that the criminal should move free without fear of punishment, or that the aggrieved party should take the law into his own hand, than that criminals should be dealt with in the present manner.

A condition precedent for finding a solution for a very difficult problem is that the present method should be abolished in the first instance. We must deny to ourselves the right to punish the criminal in any of the present ways, and then sit down to think of finding a new method. It must be so planned as to promote whatever good there is in the offender; and, I am convinced, there is generally a good deal of it in most of them. It is a work for teachers and psychologists, and, I believe, if there is the will, the way could be found.

The Congress has declared that under the Swaraj Government certain rights would be regarded sacred; which means that the Government will deny to itself the right to adopt certain measures and methods. May I hope that it will

undertake also to abolish, not only capital punishment, but also the various brutal methods of the present prison?

THE YANK IN AUSTRIA

(By DEVERE ALLEN)

Watching four-power representatives talk over the long-delayed Austrian peace treaty at London, Austrians themselves had only one thought in their minds. "When, oh when," every last one of them was asking, "will the outside forces get out and let us govern our own country?"

It is fashionable in the United States, and not without some justice, to point to Russia as the villain in Austria as elsewhere. The Russians have appeared determined to play the role. They have often been brutal, domineering, predatory. After stripping the railways of rolling stock to the point where recovery would be impossible without the loan of equipment by the Western allies, they presented new demands, a few weeks ago, for 540 locomotives and 5,575 freight cars. They take so much oil from Austrian refineries that highway transport cannot make up for railway shortages.

Austrians want Americans to remain until there is a certainty that the Russians will withdraw and stay withdrawn, but this does not mean that they would not be happier if all the American troops could leave. Though you hear little about it, there is sometimes a fury against clumsy, selfish methods used by the American occupation forces. At times, they find it hard to see much difference between oppressors from the East and those from the West. This is tragic, because fundamentally the Austrians like America and are grateful for U. S. aid. If you find it hard to see why the United States should come in for such resentment, look as fairly as you can at what has just been happening in the Upper Austrian city of Linz.

A fine town from the viewpoint of its recuperative vigour, its anti-Hitlerism, its friendliness toward Western democracy, Linz came out of the war with one vexing and insoluble problem. Of the 43,926 tenements Linz had available before the war, 14,329 were destroyed or damaged during the conflict. Other European cities suffered worse, but in Linz there is a praiseworthy fever to get ahead with the job of recovery, and the lack of living quarters is the big thing that stands in the way. People have to work hard, under many handicaps such as lack of food and clothing, when they cannot rest because of cramped "homes."

Lacking living quarters for its own citizens, Linz gave up several hundred apartments, mostly newer ones, to displaced families brought in for safety. Russian officers in the part across the Danube commandeered several hundred more. American officers requisitioned about 1,000. Bad as it was, the city authorities derived some comfort from repeated U. S. Army pledges that no more apartments would be taken. Now that promise has been broken, and there is anger not only at the necessity of having to reduce living space for the people of Linz, but especially at the manner in which the Americans go about securing homes for another 20 U.S. families moved up from Vienna—and who may be only the forerunners of a new American "invasion."

Factory workers have threatened to go out on strike, householders have refused to give up their homes, and the populace has worked itself up to a frenzy that puts on the spot the Austrian officials who have to carry out the obnoxious orders and maintain discipline. As this writer has observed with his own eyes, the Americans invariably take the best houses, usually better than they could hope to have back home. And now they are doing it in a particularly offensive way. Linz has not forgotten that its one really large, modern school-building was taken, quite unnecessarily, as a recreation centre.

Here's how the army goes about it. They ask the city fathers to provide them with a "list of available houses," knowing perfectly well that no such houses exist. Then they take a car and go house-hunting. Behind the car comes a bus filled with U.S. officers and their wives. An Austrian official has to enter a prospective house and tell the owner that he need not be afraid, this is just a control measure. In back of the official, with no warning to the occupants, swarm the Yanks, going all over the dwelling, opening doors, peering into cupboards and closets as if the owner did not exist. If they don't find the house good enough, they leave.

When a good house is found, a guard is posted at the door, and the owners are forbidden to remove anything except strictly personal belongings such as socks and shirts. Furniture, decorations, linen, all must be left for American use. In some cases, doctors have even been forbidden to remove their medical books. The Austrian official finds his job revolting; somehow he must carry out the orders, and keep his people from showing too bitterly their hostile feelings. In many cases, officials are taunted and called traitors. The Americans do anything but make their official lackeys successful in keeping down revolt. Yet these are men who have been trying to "sell" the United States to the Austrian people.

Said one leading Austrian, "We know that you have some fine men over here, and we know that the worst ones do not truly represent the American people. But I went through enough with Nazis and Fascists to know the breed, and some of your officers run them a close second. I shudder to think what some of these arrogant men will be like when they get back to the States. We want to keep our people friendly to America, which has done so much to help us. But how can we? Washington is far away, and an American lieutenant can act like God Almighty."

All this is true, and it doesn't make a pretty picture. It is all a part of the tragedy the world

is still going through, but that tragedy could be relieved by more humane and sensitive planning, more decent human behaviour. Communism, of course, is making hay out of such happenings. But they will continue until more far-sighted men are put in places of leadership abroad, and that will not be done until there is better leadership at Washington. This sort of thing is not deserved by Austrians, and it is certainly not deserved by the American people. How long must we wait for a change?

—Worldover Press.

SPLIT POLITBURO?

When President Truman made his offhand statement that there were certain elements in the Soviet Government known to favour friendship with the West, a hundred guesses were put forward about the sources of Mr. Truman's comment. Had U.S. intelligence reports disclosed the shift in the Communist "line" now so evident? Was there an actual conflict among important Soviet leaders?

No one but the President and his immediate advisers can know the background for his statement. But there is an interesting parallel in reports from Moscow which have reached foreign offices of several West European countries. In view of the supreme importance attached by the Moscow Politburo to relations among the East European states, these reports bear much plausibility. They indicate that while Stalin and a Politburo majority have taken a stern view of Marshall Tito's defection and its significant repercussions throughout European Communism, one key figure in the Politburo, sometimes spoken of as Stalin's possible successor, has never wavered in a warm friendship with Tito extending over 30 years. He is Lavrenti Beria, Chief of the Secret Police. Tito once saved his life. Beria has been known for some time to favour more conciliatory approaches, both to Tito, and, along Tito's own recent line, to the Western powers.

—Worldover Press

WILL SUDETEN GERMANS RETURN?

Whether Andrei Vishinsky has really been ill in Czechoslovakia or not, as reported, or whether his trip, as rumoured, was not really for reasons of health but to do some trouble-shooting with Czechoslovakia Communists who have grown increasingly restive towards Russia, Worldover Press has not been able to learn. But from observers usually dependable, it has found that some trouble-shooting has at least become necessary.

Whereas the Czechoslovakians of all political faiths are strongly nationalistic and still bitter against the expelled Sudeten Germans, the Kremlin inclines toward less patience with nationalism and has a keener interest in industrial revival. The Sudetens were notoriously skilled, both in farming and technical industrial processes. Hence it seemed to Moscow that, if the Communist regime at Prague invited some selected Sudetens to return, they would stimulate production and fill important gaps in East European economic output. This suggestion, when offered to the Czechoslovakia government, brought anguished and highly charged emotional responses. Some form of diplomatic fixing had to be undertaken.

—Worldover Press.

COMMUNIST TYCOON

The city of Zlin, according to brief announcements appearing in the press, has been renamed Gottwaldvo, after the Czechoslovak Prime Minister and Communist leader, Klementi Gottwald. Behind this simple statement lies an interesting story which reveals the degree to which a transfer of industry from capitalist to state control can fail to eradicate huge powers in the hands of one individual.

Zlin, which is near Berno, Moravia, has long been a centre of the shoe-making industry. It became, before the war, also the centre of the great shoe empire built up by the Bata brothers, Thomas and Jan, who were finally banished and who started great plants in Canada and Argentina. The Bata works were taken over as a state enterprise; the modernistic factories and homes, constructed paternalistically by the Batas, made the transfer easy.

The Director-General of the huge enterprise is a Dr. Holy, whose Communist allegiance has not prevented him from achieving a tremendous personal power, fully as great as that of a capitalist boss. He also became head of Exico, a mammoth concern in charge of the nation's exports, often called the "unofficial export ministry."

Dr. Holy's vast powers became more and more a source of concern to Czechoslovak Communists, who perceived the dangers in them, and who began to criticize such a set-up as contrary to Communist ideas of industrial control. Protests finally reached the point where Dr. Holy had to take some action to protect his status with the Communist authorities. He conceived the idea of re-naming the city after the Premier, gambling on vanity and Gottwald's personal prestige to do the trick. The Prime Minister acquiesced; after all, the same sort of thing had been done repeatedly in Russia, where the masses had rallied hard laborious efforts at production behind a popular name. Zlin now has something under 50,000 inhabitants, but when the ambitious new plans for its expansion are realized, it will have 120,000. Dr. Holy is more entrenched than ever, and bids fair to dominate one of the "island industrial empires" of post-war Europe.

—Worldover Press

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"I will be as harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard"*.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the LIBERATOR.

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NOTES

Secular State and Religion:—The Congress Ministry in Bombay has a record of social legislation which it can be well proud of. A secular State means not non-interference by the state in religious matters but non-intrusion of religious consideration in its administration. It is a significant fact that most of the reforms taken up by provincial administrations relate to Hindu Society only. This is not the best way to follow but there are reasons which make it inevitable. Hindu society has been more open both to attack from outside and reform from within. In the process of meeting these criticisms, the community itself has undergone radical change and there is a preliminary basis on which to build. Other communities have been resentful of comment and intolerant of internal revolt. They have suffered as a consequence. It is inevitable that reforms should first begin in Hindu Society and equally inevitable that they should spread later to others. As a secular State, India cannot distinguish between community and community. It has to consider what is best for the development of the individual, regardless of the community to which he belongs. But in actual practice, it is necessary to proceed with the more prepared societies lest reactionaries in all communities join hands to defeat reform. The Congress does well to proceed cautiously but it would be fatal if the party members slowed down in Hindu reform for which the country has been waiting for over a decade.

The Pakistan State:—The Objectives Resolution moved in the Pakistan Constituent Assembly is a careful piece of tight-rope walking between the ideal of an Islamic State and that of a secular State. The emphasis is laid on the development of Muslims according to the laws laid down in the Quran and the Sunna but at the same time freedom is promised to the minorities. Much depends on the practical working of the Constitution and it will certainly be interesting to observe what shape the Constitution takes in conformity with the Objectives Resolution. So far as the minorities go, it cannot be an existence entirely free from apprehension; and in the absence of this freedom their contribution to the Pakistan State will necessarily be limited to what is absolutely necessary—in other words, to what is exacted from them. Such a state of affairs is unsatisfactory for any State and there is reason to think that the Pakistan Government must perforce be better than its constitution if it is to function effectively. There are many provisions in Islamic Law, as in all other ancient codes, which would be difficult to enforce literally in a modern nation. But whilst other communities have adapted themselves with the changing times, Islamic societies have resisted criticism so strongly that Muslim countries have been forced to chose between Islamic Law and modern legal systems. In Pakistan, the choice is being evaded because of the backwardness of the Pakistani Muslim. Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, the Pakistan Premier, said that "we Pakistanis are not ashamed of our people being largely Muslim". This is very much beside the point. What is far more important is how will the non-Muslim in Pakistan live and work in the kind of State that is being created? To say that those who raise this question are mischief-makers, does not solve it. Mr. Liaquat Ali spoke of Islam as democratic. This is an inaccuracy which might be excusable in a politician but cannot be endured in a constitution-builder. Islam is equalitarian which is different from being democratic.

The Bombay Budget:—Sacrificing some Rs. 5 lakhs by giving up the Sales Tax on certain essential commodities, Mr. V. L. Mehta, Bombay's Finance Minister, reduced the surplus by almost half and managed to mollify all serious critics. The tax on advertisements was freely objected to but the Finance Minister was adamant. Among the many arguments adduced against the levy, the

most serious was that it would affect independent journalism. This it is bound to do because, faced with the necessity of cutting down publicity, large business-houses will naturally prune their small paper advertisements. On the other hand, it cannot be denied that big advertising does in itself affect the independence of the press. Then again a newspaper, even a weekly journal is an enterprise calling for fairly large finances. Several members of the Press call themselves the poor man's paper but it is an assumption which cannot be seriously sustained. So far as an independent press goes, much more requires to be done all round than the mere protection of the industry from the tax-collector. And it will have to be done soon.

Prohibition's Problems:—It was revealed in the Indian Parliament that the Home Ministry propose in five years to introduce Prohibition in the centrally administered areas. This is not promising very much since action in the various provinces has forced the Centre to this announcement, particularly the lead given by Bombay and Madras. The Centre has much more to do than administer the centrally administered areas. It has the armed forces and the communications to handle. The responsibility of the Centre in these matters has been largely responsible for the leniency shown to naval and military messes and canteens and to the dining cars of railway trains. There is also a feeling that the Centre is somewhat reluctant to press forward with Prohibition because of the interest in tourist traffic, particularly from the U. S. A. It is unfortunate that this consideration should have been influential, if it has been, in providing for exemption to foreigners. At any rate all these matters should have been raised after several provincial administrations had committed themselves. It could surely have been possible to discuss them on the ministerial level in advance of policy framing in the provinces.

A Curious Lead:—It was a shock to read that Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, the Congress President, appeared at the Anti-Hindu Code Conference and expressed himself against the Hindu Code on the ground that it was interference in religious matters. That a veteran Congressman occupying the responsible position of the Congress President should raise this cry is most surprising. Dr. Pattabhi took the rather dubious stand that he stood for the reform of Hindu Society but opposed any attempt to effect it by legislation. On the Hindu Code which deals largely with succession, inheritance and property rights, this objection is wholly untenable and we can only ascribe Dr. Pattabhi's curious lead to ignorance of the details of the Hindu Code. On the larger issue, the Gandhian Congress has always favoured social legislation and it has used it to effect in the more vitally religious issue of Temple Entry. In fact, it has even gone so far as to disturb the Law of Trusts in seeking to alter the terms of temple trusts for the benefit of the Harijans. Practical social reformers have testified to the necessity of social legislation to consolidate their reforms and it is accepted by the general body of enlightened Hindu opinion that today the legal position lags hopelessly behind the felt needs of Hindu society. Social legislation is an accepted part of Indian national life and it has been noted that every instalment of political reform has been accompanied by social change. Dr. Pattabhi, we hope, speaks only for himself and not for his party but there is considerable public uncertainty regarding the Congress attitude. It is necessary that this should be made clear at an early date. Dr.Ambedkar, who as Law Minister is in charge of the Hindu Code, is undoubtedly fighting a brave battle and the fact that he is not a Congressman adds to his difficulties. Progressive forces in the country must rally to his side in this crucial issue.

India and the Commonwealth:—Interest in the future relations of India in the Commonwealth has once again been roused by the arrival in these parts of Mr. Patrick Gordon-Walker, the British Under-Secretary for Commonwealth Relations. Mr. Gordon-Walker is on an "important mission" to India, Pakistan and Ceylon and it is more than likely that his work is connected with finalising the rather vague attitude of both Britain and India on this subject. The most important feature of the present state is that neither side is eager to assume responsibility for a break, and neither is willing to make the first conciliatory move. India has, according to her Prime Minister, stated that she will be an independent, sovereign republic, and that she is anxious not only to maintain existing relations with other nations but even to extend and intensify them. In his latest pronouncement in the Indian Parliament, Pandit Jawaharlal declared that the Asian consultations were all directed towards greater unity within the framework of the U. N. Charter and that the most that could be achieved was a machinery of close consultation. This is also the position with regard to the Commonwealth countries with this difference that there is in existence now a closer bond. Whether Britain will be content with this kind of relation with countries that were recently more bound to her policies, is the final deciding question. On that an answer is yet awaited. So far as India is concerned, it does not seem her turn to speak though Indian leaders are finding it difficult to keep silent. There are no doubt many anomalies which go against India's membership in the Commonwealth but none of them need be so essential a part of Commonwealth principle or policy as to shut India out completley. South Africa's racialism is an extreme case. But how far is the South African attitude "British" too?

THE INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER
BOMBAY, March 12, 1949.

UNIVERSITY EDUCATION

Speaking at a university function in Bombay Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, Chairman of the University Commission, observed with dry humour that he was not one of those who believed Indian universities to be 'unmitigated failures' since 'we are ourselves products of our universities and have made our contribution, both cultural and political, towards the emancipation of our country.' Dr. Radhakrishnan's remark was happy—in one sense—it inspires self-confidence and hope for building anew. The future would hold all the fears of the unknown if vital links with the present and the immediate past were to be broken. In other ways his pithy observation was unfortunate. The exceptionally gifted rise to their full stature with but little stimulus. They can face with ease obstacles which to the more average seem, and more often are, insurmountable. Also Dr. Radhakrishnan was referring to a generation who considered it a matter of pride to speak English well and to delight in knowing intimately its literature and thought. English provided the key to self-advancement and that ensured its prestige. But this is no longer so. The difficulty of studying abstruse subjects in a language, which to the majority was foreign, was always the prime cause for the defects of Indian university education. This difficulty has become more pronounced today, with the increasing prominence given to regional languages in primary and secondary education. The deteriorating standard in Indian universities proves amply that this is so. The main problem of university education, therefore, still is that of language. There is an unseemly glibness in the current view that English can continue in universities for another few years, even whilst its importance is being reduced in the lower stages of education. Dr. Radhakrishnan and his colleagues are faced with no easy task in solving this language problem. It will be interesting to see how they do so. How will they define the relation between the regional languages and the common Indian language? One wonders whether they will have the boldness, in the face of regional patriotism, to declare that the common Indian language and no other must be be medium of instruction in universities. And if they do, will their report be treated with greater courtesy than has been accorded to the recommendations of the Dar Commission, which deliberated on the advisability of dividing provinces on a linguistic basis? That there will be an opposition to giving prime importance to a common language in universities is certain. That this importance is equally necessary is obvious-in the interest of efficiency in administration as well as of impressing a sense of nationhood on all Indians. A plausible objection will be raised—that it is ludicrous to give higher education in one language and to teach in another in the adolescent and pre-adolescent stages. But much of the force of this objection is lost with the division of the young into separate schools catering for the different abilities and talents. With the creation of varied educational opportunities the universities will be open only to the genuinely academic-minded. This in itself will raise the standard of university education; it will inspire a reliance on original thinking rather than on book-learning, which has been the main bane to date. A great deal has been said about directing the education of the young along lines best suited to particular talents. This must necessarily mean a certain cutting down of the present general flow to the secondary schools and thence to the universities. There are certain obvious difficulties in effecting this in a complete manner but the very attempt to do this must naturally have its influence on the products of our new education. This can be useful in directing the language adjustment in the best possible manner. Provision for admitting in secondary schools proper only those who are likely to go on to universities, will enable educational authorities to begin laying emphasis on the common language at the adolescent stage. A demand for a high standard of proficiency in this language in the university entrance examinations will guarantee in addition that students will have no language difficulty in their higher studies. In any case whatever the language that may be used in future much spade-work has to be done, since English must be dropped. The sooner this work is started the better. Even the translation of only the standard works on all academic subjects is a formidable task, involving a uniformly accepted vocabulary of scientific terms. Practical considerations alone should determine the initial work to be done in one common language rather than in all the existing provincial languages.

Dr. Radhakrishnan's remarks indicate that he is supremely conscious of the difficulties facing him and his colleagues. His admonition that thanks to the Commission might be reserved till their findings are made public is a gentle warning that he will not be carried away by popular enthusiasms. His own stature and the quality of detachment he possesses in abundance inspire confidence in those who are greatly perplexed by the present trend in Indian university life. His insistence on honesty and originality being essential both in teachers and students is a happy augury. And so is his promise to raise the teaching profession. This is a necessity if we are to attract the best talent to the teaching side. It has been frequently commented on that the lack of anything like reasonable remuneration and a fairly valued status has driven away not only men of talent and learning but it has even worked to kill the spirit of service which is essential to the teaching profession: Instead of bemoaning the badness of our times, it is this condition that we must rectify

BRITISH WOMEN WORKERS

A pamphlet called "Women In Employment" published by the British Political and Economic Board furnishes interesting material about women at work in Great Britain. It appears that one of Britain's major labour problems is to maintain and increase the number of women now occupied in industries, commerce and profession. "In several vital industries and professions.....it is essential to increase the number of women employed. Over industry, commerce and the public services as a whole, present numbers must be maintained. Upon the achievement of the first object depends the success in reaching export targets, improving education and staffing the health services," observe the authors. They note with anxiety that the number of women of working age has fallen substantially since 1944. The total strength of the labour force among women between the ages of 15 and 60, one learns, was 6,620,000 on the 31st of December 1947. In 1954 this number is expected to fall by between 114,000 and 183,000 and by between 214,000 and 330,000 in 1959. British planners are, therefore, eager to attract an increasing number of women to occupations. Anticipating a further reduction because of the possibility of raising the school-leaving age to 16 and the introduction of compulsory part-time education until the age of 18 they think it probable that "if the female labour force is to be maintained at anything like the present size, the average age of women workers will have to be appreciably increased, so that steps may also have to be taken to offset a possible fall in productivity." And so several measures are being considered to make employment more attractive and more easy to fit in with domestic duties. All appear to have been framed in the light of results arrived at by a Social Survey sample enquiry on the attitude of women to employment. The report of this enquiry indicates that few of the women interviewed were completely in favour of employment, and—even fewer married or single women were completely against it. Married women rather than single women saw its disadvantages and these were mainly domestic. Employment's main attraction seemed to be money and money weighed more with single than with married women. Also married women with children found it a greater incentive than married women without children.

Among the measures suggested, priority is given to the creation of opportunities for part-time work; establishment of nurseries is recommended so also is the five-day week. The effects of the principle of equal pay are also considered. The observations the authors of "Women in Employment" offer on these measures are interesting. For though they are of immediate importance to Great Britain and are derived from a study of its internal conditions their application may be found useful in India for at least two reasons. One is that Free India like post-war Britain needs to have all its men and women engaged in its various industrial, social and educational programmes. The other is that with increasing industrialization the pattern of Indian society will resemble more and more western industrial societies.

A. Part-time work: Its importance is occasioned by the domestic duties that absorb married women. Employers are reluctant to offer part-time work on the grounds that it disturbs the full-time worker and also because they have to pay the full rate of insurance for part-time workers. The authors point out that the hourly output of part-time workers seems to be at least as high as that of the full-time worker; in some cases even higher. On absenteeism and labour turn-over of part-time workers, they observe, that there is a difference of opinion. But they find no evidence to suggest that married women who work part-time are any worse than those who work full-time. In conclusion they recommend the creation of opportunities of part-time work, noting that it is a desirable solution from the woman's point of view, because it would offer some money, and wider interests without the physical strain of a full-time job.

B. Nurseries: For married women with children, particularly when they have not reached a school-going age, employment obviously presents difficulties and accounts probably for absenteeism. Nurseries, therefore, are considered essential to enable them to accept employment. In some cases, say the authors, factory nurseries would be more useful than those run by local authorities. Women could see their children during the lunch-hour and would not have to go out of their way to leave and collect them. A system of government inspection would ensure a uniform standard and efficient running.

C. The five-day week: Introduction of the five-day week would help women with their shopping, a formidable problem in post-war Britain with rationing and standing in queues. Provision of stores in factories is advisable. The problem of buying perishable goods, it is suggested, could be solved by a suitable planning of working hours.

On the whole, the authors observe that all round improvement of working conditions both for women and men will provide a greater attraction to employment for married women. Minor recommendations include the establishment of canteens and provision of baths on the premises of factories.

D. Financial incentive: On the financial incentive the authors quote the findings of the Royal Commission of Equal Pay. The Commission felt that the principle of equal pay would increase the proportion of women in civil services and the teaching professions. In industry the Commission's opinion was divided. The majority thought that employers would take the first opportunity to replace their women workers with men. The minority believed that the introduction of equal pay would in the long run 'widen the sphere of women's employment' and set up a scarcity of-

labour in occupations filled exclusively by women. 'The final result,' observe the authors pithily, 'might well be that industry would lose women to the public services and to commerce.'

Interesting comments are also contained on the distribution of Britain's women labour force in the various occupations and professions. 'Occupational distribution of women is still partly governed by tradition,' it observes, 'there are relatively few opportunities for women to train for a skilled job or to reach an executive position. Barriers of custom and prejudice still bar women from entering a number of occupations'. The administrative and professional branches of local government, the managerial grades of industry and commerce, and the professions of law and accountancy are quoted as important examples. It is a matter of considerable satisfaction that India is more advanced in this one respect, at any rate, than Britain. The exact statistical distribution in all fields of employment is not available, evidently. But from the tables given it is clear that manufacturing industries and distributive trades employ the largest number of women and the smallest number are engaged in agriculture, building, contracting and electrical wiring concerns, in services and commerce respectively.

CHINESE NEGOTIATIONS

(By FRANKLIN WALLICK)

Will the Moscow Politburo exercise direct control over the peace talks in China, or will it keep hands off? The final answer must await developments, but already the personalities representing Chinese Communism give force to this question.

The presence of Li Li-san among the Communist peace delegates indicates a more pro-Soviet orientation than has existed since V-J Day. Li Li-san is officially known as the political adviser to General Lin Piao, Commander of Communist military forces in Manchuria. But he is, in fact, Russia's most trusted Chinese Communist.

In 1931, when the Communist Party's prestige declined in China as a result of over-zealous attempts to sovietize villages in the central part of the country, Li was removed from an important post in the Chinese Communist Politburo and sent to Russia for "ideological correction." He remained in the Soviet Union until 1945, when he returned with the Russian Army to take up his post as the Communist brain trust in Manchuria—the key target for Communist control.

Today in the wake of a crashing military triumph in Manchuria, Li—once discredited by the Communist Party and accused of 'being a "Trotskyist"—is an influential member of a three-men peace team with power to negotiate the terms of peace with the Nationalist peace advocates from Central China.

Observers here are afraid that Li's demands for peace will mean complete American economic withdrawal from China. Li, in his Manchurian capital at Harbin, refused to permit the American Consul General, O. Edmund Clubb, to resume his consular duties there.

Li is also considered responsible for the only instance in China when Communists spurned UNRRA aid. In April, 1947, a ten-truck convoy of medical supplies was turned back on the banks of the Sangari River, on the ground that no Communist could accept blackmail in the form of American aid. The supplies, of course, had been given by the many UNRRA nations.

Li's Marxist orthodoxy is likely to lend itself perfectly to the new problems of administration faced by the Communists in operating large industrial cities like Tientsin and Mukden in North China.

One of the other Communist negotiators, Chou En-lai, was active in the Marshall peace mission as the chief Communist representative at that time. He is known to be conciliatory, and was one of the men singled out in General Marshall's parting statement, "who put the interest of the Chinese people above ruthless measures to establish a Communist ideology in the immediate future."

It is noteworthy that negotiations for the surrender of Peiping between Communist forces and those under Nationalist General Fu Tso-yi were conducted by a quiet, unassuming Yenching University philosophy professor, Chang Tung-sun, who was General Secretary of the Democratic League of China until it was outlawed in 1947 by the Nationalists.

Professor Chang has cultivated political aloofness since the rupture of relations after General Marshall's mission failed. He is now trying to resurrect the Democratic Socialist Party which fell into virtual oblivion when the peace talks collapsed.

—*Worldover Press.*

COOPERATION TAKES NEW FORMS

Three new co-ops which appear to be genuine novelties have been started in different parts of the world. In France, a Readers' Co-op has been established to bring together readers and authors who want to publish their own works. Each member must take at least one share, of about a dollar. A co-op committee of experts will read manuscripts; summaries and criticisms are published in a monthly journal, and members decide which works they want to see in print. In Surinam, where hunting adds materially to food supplies, a Hunter's Co-op has been set up on producers lines, shareholders splitting profits from a central warehouse according to game secured. In Milpa Alta, Mexico, a co-op formed exclusively of women poultry raisers and gardeners will undertake collective work for their common advancement, but along democratic lines

—*Worldover Press.*

PUBLIC OPINION

(By DEVERE ALLEN)

This article makes interesting reading. It is in fact an indictment of the American press—and the world press in general. The reader may well pause and reflect on the extent to which the modern press is a responsible press, to consider how existing conditions can be remedied. A free press that is irresponsible is no asset to democracy.

—*EDITOR*—

Public opinion can be overestimated as a force affecting governments, but all the same it is often potent. There have been profound inquiries into the nature of public opinion and how it is formed. But in the last analysis it is created by words. And words can be twisted either intentionally or carelessly so as to tear down good international relations.

Drew Pearson can always be credited with good motives, but he recently broadcast the well-known fact that Britain sold jet airplane engines to the Russians. What he didn't know, apparently, was that there were just 55 of them, that the Soviet Union has built more than 1,000 jet planes on its own, and that these particular engines were sold because they were outmoded.

Henry Hazlitt, who writes a conservative economic department for Newsweek, is not only able but conscientious and above deceit. Yet he recently wrote: "The Marshall Plan was put forward as a plan to combat Communism by helping the world to return to free enterprise." It was nothing of the sort, as an examination of it at any stage will show. By any such standard the plan is of course doomed to failure, for it must be flexible enough, as its administrators have known from the first, to suit varied systems in different European countries. Some of these systems are capitalist, some socialist, some a mixture of each. Take away socialization and detailed governmental planning in certain countries, and Europe would plummet down again like the stick of an exploded skyrocket.

Do you recall the great to do made by Howard Bruce, E. C. A, administrator in an interim post at Washington, who charged that Great Britain, the Netherlands and Belgium were improperly reselling aluminium gained from the Marshall Plan back to U. S. business firms at a high profit? When the whole thing was found to be exaggerated and largely a misunderstanding, official apologies were made. Some of these were carried prominently by the American press, but most papers buried them inconspicuously in back pages. The European press, however, raved over what it felt and knew to be a very unfair charge, and incalculable harm was done to arouse anti-American feeling. Many editorial writers in the United States, who had expressed themselves in no uncertain terms about these dreadful overseas profiteers, just forgot the whole affair when their words were proved to be without foundation.

Not long ago the American Legion's periodical printed a simple little joke. It dealt with a Chinese student living in a New York rooming house, who found himself confronted one day with a sign in the hall which read, "Please wipe your feet." To which the student added in pencil: "On going out." The genesis of that gag is well-known to folks who were living 25 years ago in the vicinity of Columbia University, when it was told about a Japanese student. The Japanese at the time were reputed to be noteworthy for cleanliness. Now we have had a war, and the Japanese has become Chinese. But suppose the Chinese Communists take over their whole country? Ten to one the next time the joke bobs up, it will once more concern a Japanese.

One news agency put out a recent analysis of national income by the United Nations. The figures were heralded all over the U.S.A. as proof that America has become the "rich uncle" among the major powers. Uncle Sam's income was six times that of the nearest rival, Great Britain, about whom there were disparaging implications. The report said nothing about British damages in the war, nor even mentioned the somewhat important fact that the U. S. population is about three and a half times that of Great Britain.

This writer does not wish to get into a position of serving as attorney for the people of Britain, or of being unwilling to find criticisms of the British. That, too, would be distortion. But it appears as if Britain is a special target in many a newspaper office and many a radio studio. Merrill Muller, for example, couldn't even broadcast a description of Christmas festivities in England without prefacing it by the words, "Despite the trials of Socialism," Whether Americans like it or not, that is the system in Britain, and common courtesy compels tolerance if not agreement.

On a recent Sunday in New York, Dr. William Ward Ayer, pastor of the Calvary Baptist Church, remarked in a sermon: "We do not believe that the socialist regime which is attacking the church at so many points in the British Isles will be able to destroy this intuitive religious attitude." British clergymen were indignant, for they knew that, far from attacking religion, many leaders of the Labour Party are church members, and that no attack of any kind has been made. There have been some criticisms, and much wonderment at the fact that only five per cent of the British people attend church.

These matters are brought up not to defend any foreign country, to imply that Americans are more warped than others, or to suggest that the present writer is any better than the rest. It is worth asking, nevertheless, how friendly international relations can be developed unless all who speak, write or publish continually keep one thing before their eyes—the importance of public opinion and the preciousness of truth in its creation.

—*Worldover Press*

THE SENSATIONAL PRESS

(By J. M. GANGULI)

It is not quite clear whether there is a real growing alarm against the spread of the sensational press or whether the *established* press is creating this alarm in order to preserve itself against competition and to uphold the prestige and reputation of people and parties giving it their support and patronage. It is no doubt true that the objectional press displays low taste and by indulging in mean personal vituperations, lowers journalistic standards. It is a fact also that mass psychology being what it is, all our personal attacks, particularly when they are mixed with private personal stories, are generally relished by the common readers. Due to faulty standardized education, hectic environmental influences and also due to a habit of keeping themselves involved in endless engagements, the more educated people too have little patience and concentration for reading thoughtful and reasoned writings which even the other daily press, which is showing alarmed concern at the increasing spread of the other, seldom provides. The daily press of this or that variety is indeed the great curse of modern civilisation, not only because it prevents the development of individuality and independent thought by plugging in uniform ideas mixed with exciting and useless news and prejudiced reports but also because tempting influences are regularly and attractively administered through its advertisement columns. It is amusing, therefore, to find one section of the press which is preaching morals to the other, to keep its advertisement columns open to all who pay.

My point in this article is, however, not to show and discuss the general trends in the daily press today, but rather to say something about the causes which are helping and encouraging what has been called the sensational press. Whether it will be admitted or not, there is no scope for independent journalism and for outspoken, bona-fide expression of views in the Indian daily press, which though not bearing openly a party label is following and upholding for good or bad one or the other party policy. The powerful so-called nationalist press has assumed the responsibility of supporting the Congress and the government, and any one who has some comments or criticisms to make, with all good intentions, can have no opening there. The actions and opinions of Congress personalities cannot be judged and found fault with. Gandhism has become a cult under the sheltering protection of which some Congress personalities shut off many things which do not fit in with that cult. And, if anybody with more personal regard for Gandhiji than those who have been exploiting Gandhism, would have to say anything in criticism of some of the ideas and doings of Gandhiji, he would be a real untouchable to the above press, for its own calculated reasons. And such criticism often becomes necessary when commenting on Government doings, because Government members always take Gandhiji's name in pursuing their policy, whatever that may be. Open-minded people have thus often to turn to the other press for getting or for giving a picture of the other side; and so that press gets a stimulus.

Another cause which is helping that press is the impatience of some people to force some reforms inspired by western ideas and western propaganda without giving time for evolutionary reaction to western contact influences in the country. Any argument, any consideration raised against them would be taboo to that press which is keen to show its *modern forwardness*, which often turns out to mean an impulsive plunge into the passing drift and current. If this press would keep its columns open to outspoken expression of views of all shades and against whatever parties there are much cold water would be in due time poured on the energy and enthusiasm with which the sensational press is spreading in the country. This point is worth considering and worth remembering.

UNITED NATIONS RADIO

(By WILLIAM BROSE LLOYD)

Plans for a United Nations world-wide broadcasting system, hurdling nationalistic iron curtains and enjoying direct access to radio listeners throughout the globe, are now being perfected by the Secretariat under the direction of Secretary-General Trygve Lie.

Approved in principle by the General Assembly on November 18, 1948, the project is reported on excellent authority to be delayed only by the meagreness of the U. N. budget, which is said not to be able to stand the estimated cost of $8,000,000. An interesting footnote to this figure is the fact that Congressman Karl E. Mundt on December 29 suggested that the State Department be authorized to lay out $50,000,000 *every year* on the "Voice of America" programme of international broadcasting.

Specialists desirous of maintaining and strengthening the United Nations are remembering the declaration of the U. N. Advisory Committee of Information Experts on this project, as reported in the United Nations Bulletin for June 15, 1948: "The United Nations must have facilities under its own control for adequate telecommunications. Without such facilities there can be no assurance that existing United Nations radio operations can be continued. Further, in times of emergency the only channels in which the U. N. can address itself directly to the peoples of the world may be its own telecommunications system....."

A detailed engineering plan for the U.N. world broadcasting system was included in the report of the Advisory Committee on U. N. Telecommunications in the Second Assembly in 1947. The programme, worked out by a sub-committee

headed by Brigadier General Frank E. Stoner, formerly of the U. S. Army, called for a headquarters station; a European station, originating and relay; and a Pacific area relay station. A Latin American originating and relay station would be added as the organization expands and requirements are more precisely known.

These short-wave broadcasting centres will be at locations chosen on a geographical and technical basis in territories of Member Nations. Each centre is to have transmitters, receivers, directional antennae for transmission and reception, and terminal broadcasting equipment. Each U. N. radio centre will be connected by wire lines, low-powered radio or micro-wave channels to permit rebroadcasting on standard existing networks, thereby obtaining the maximum listening audience by use of governmental or private chains in the areas served.

Though friends of civil liberties may boggle at any official radio control or official news service, it is important to note that in nearly all the rest of the world outside America the radio is already under official *national* control, and therefore cannot escape the influence of the various—and often conflicting—national foreign policies. There is no suggestion that the U. N. will exercise any sort of control or restraint over national or private radio operations. The U.N. broadcasts, therefore, however undemocratic the control of their policies might be, would nevertheless represent a broadening rather than a narrowing of listeners' choices throughout the world.

In an imperfect world where absolute truth is indefinable, U. N. officials feel it is important at least to make the United Nations version of world affairs available to those who care to listen. The plan provides a chance for liberals and internationalists, fond of cursing the darkness of nationalistic propaganda, to help light a candle.

—*Worldover Press*

GARRY DAVIS

Weeks have passed since Garry Davis, the young American veteran who renounced his nationality in favour of world citizenship, dramatized his cause before the United Nations Assembly and won the support of famous world figures, along with the passionate allegiance of great French crowds. Judging by what one hears and reads from America, interest in Davis has long since waned in that country. But in Europe, what happened at Paris last December has only started ever-widening ripples which continue to spread.

The people of Berlin, engrossed as they are in the struggle for food and fuel, caught up in the ideological battle between East and West, would hardly be thought receptive to the Davis ideas of world citizenship. But nothing that has happened in the name of peace since the end of the war has aroused much greater interest — interest that in many quarters speedily develops into enthusiasm. Along the Kurfurstendamm, most fashionable street of western Berlin, goes a defile of Davis backers, carrying posters. The people have a cause.

But although no strong anti-war movement has yet been able to get a licence from the four occupying powers to organize, and thus any permanent emphasis on world citizenship efforts is out of the question for the time being, some 1,000 persons came out to a meeting held in the British Sector, and feverishly demonstrated their hope in the movement. It was notable that the gathering gave a chance for many to express their growing discontent with all the great powers for their inability to make a peace. The more a speaker thundered against those in seats of importance, and supposedly ruling the world, the more he won the plaudits of the crowd. A resolution criticizing the present governmental systems under national sovereignty, and asking for a unified world, was passed with only three dissenting votes.

It appears that many American periodicals have laughed at young Davis, and found fault with his movement as vague and impractical. All this in spite of the support vouchsafed to it by such world figures as Albert Einstein, Harold Urey, Sir John Boyd-Orr, and countless others. Europeans are not unaware of limitations in the movement, but they see that Davis is busily at work in expanding his adherents into many thousands of new backers in countries so far untouched. What is the source of his appeal?

In part, the Davis cause has won European support because the people are tired of frustration in the United Nations, and in general tend to be strongly anti-government everywhere. But among the more intelligent, there has been a deepening concern about the U.N. ever since Herbert Evatt, answering Garry Davis in a formal letter, made it clear that it is not the function of the U.N. to make a peace, but to watch over the peace treaties actually put through by the big powers, and then, as Dr. Evatt put it, preserve the peace thus made. This has only confirmed a previous scepticism of the masses about the role of the United Nations as at present organized.

But there is a deeper reason for the way in which the Davis movement continues to gain momentum. It is widely believed by Europeans that the ordinary man, the little fellow, has a slim chance in U.N. councils, and that the most important decisions are made without him. In a popular movement for world citizenship, he can at least express himself, and if victorious in winning the right to become a world citizen, achieve a genuine change of status. He thus can affect the organization of the state, while himself undergoes a profound alteration of personal contacts with his society.

Thoughtful observers realize that Garry Davis and many of his backers do not have, or profess, a very solid economic understanding. But as a symbol of spiritual revolt against ineptitude, the movement grows.—*Worldover Press.*

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"*I will* be as harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard*".

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the LIBERATOR.

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NOTES

Communal Weightage:—The Madras Government has reiterated its decision to continue communal weightage in Government services and in regulating admissions to academic institutions. The announcement is apparently called forth by the appointment last January of the Diwakar Committee which will consider the feasability of dispensing with the practice of maintaining in official records particulars of a person's religion, caste and sub-caste. The Madras Government's decision is of course a logical corollary to the Constituent Assembly's resolution to retain for some time communal weightage for some communities—Anglo-Indians, Christians and Muslims. Nevertheless it is unfortunate, since it perpetuates rather than eliminates caste and caste consciousness within the majority community itself. The motive behind it is not far to seek. It derives from the belief that the best way of eliminating caste differences is to remove the existing inequalities in employment between caste and sub-caste. In view of the origin of the caste system, this belief had a certain force when the experiment of ensuring equality in employment was first made. But the experiment has been in force long enough for the Madras Ministry to be aware of its undesirable results. Caste-consciousness has not decreased one whit and the strained feelings between Brahmins and non-Brahmins are unpleasant. Surely there is little satisfaction in seeing an erstwhile dominant caste becoming almost a persecuted group. And there is every reason to deplore the lowering of the standard of efficiency in administrative services—a necessary consequence of appointments being made not on merit primarily but in the light of communal consideration.

Discrimination in Education:—Equally to be regretted is the fact that a number of deserving youth is deprived of educational opportunities which they could use to the advantage of their province. The application of communal considerations in the matter of admissions to academic institutions is a thoroughly invidious practice arising from the preservation of 'the communal G. O.' The Madras Ministry would have been more courageous had it decided boldly to drop its present practice, even though it would have become unpopular with the electorate. Caste privileges and caste discriminations must go, but vigorous social legislation can achieve this objective without the assistance of undesirable conventional practices. In the last analysis equality of educational opportunity, and a determined policy of penalizing those who show discrimination in any form can alone ensure equality of social status to all castes and communities. How impracticable the principle of communal weightage in services is has been shown by Mr. Gopala Reddi's reply in the Assembly to a question on the Government's recruitment policy to the police-force. Mr. Reddi observed, "The police department is a security service and whatever might happen in other departments in this department we should see that no particular community has any undesirable weightage." Mr. Reddi's reply also indicated that despite the principle of weightage, no qualified Harijan candidate was available for a Sub-Inspector's appointment in the Western Range. If the Madras Ministry were to consider the whole problem dispassionately they would soon realize that communal weightage is never desirable.

The Risks of Democracy:—At the annual meeting of the Y. M. C. A. in Allahabad, Dr. Amarnath Jha, Chairman of the U. P. Public Service Commission, made a curiously pessimistic speech. Dr. Jha told his audience that there were three dangers that menaced the modern world and India in particular. The first was the desire for adult franchise, the second was the worship of the state and the third was the menace of science. It is

difficult to see how science is a danger to civilization. Neither scientists nor science are responsible for the misuse that governments make of technical inventions. Dr. Jha mentioned specifically the atom-bomb. But surely atomic research can't be stopped because its one destructive invention may be used extensively in another world-war? Equally irrelevant is Dr. Jha's attack on adult franchise, "How can you put power into the hands of people who are unlettered, ill-educated, who are certain to misuse that power given prematurely into their hands," asks Dr. Jha. Unfortunately the possession of knowledge by itself neither ensures wisdom, nor does it guarantee goodness. Power has been misused by men of education; and Dr. Jha should know this well. In any case he might as well have attacked democracy, because without adult franchise democracy is but a mockery. Yet it is in the democratic state that the worship of the state is least practised. Dr. Jha's fear of adult franchise, somehow, does not square with his abhorrence of the all-powerful state. No one denies that adult franchise with a politically unconscious electorate can and does introduce corruption into elections. But literacy by itself is no guarantee of the vote being used wisely. The American elections are there to prove this. If other countries had waited for the necessary development in education before introducing adult franchise, there would have been no democratic state in existence to date. One can only learn to swim by getting into water; and there is no reason to suppose that the Indian experiment with adult franchise will have any worse results than other similar experiments have had. Besides there is one thing every man knows better than the wisest of his contemporaries: the exact spot where the shoe pinches. A corrupt legislator may get elected once. But he will not get reelected again, if he does not deliver the goods. A government run by philosopher-kings is a good ideal. Unfortunately for society a philosopher-king lives only once in a way. The world will have to travel a long way still before this ideal is achieved; meanwhile there is little sense in denying people the right to choose their own representatives because conditions for the time being are imperfect.

Persecution Mania?—A "Times of India" special representative reports that the Government of India have asked their High Commissioner in Karachi to protest against the official statement issued by the Government of the North-West Frontier Province suggesting that the Indian Union is involved with the 'Red Shirts' in a conspiracy either to kill the Frontier Premier or to create disorder in Pakistan. The charge is ludicrous and we hope that the High Commissioner's protest will be couched in emphatic language. Its very vagueness makes it suspect. The N. W. F. Government may need to find a scapegoat to justify the dissatisfaction of its people, or of a section of them. But elementary diplomatic good sense and courtesy should have stopped it from implicating a neighbouring dominion with which Pakistan professes to want to live in amity. The repeated attempts of Pakistan Government spokesmen to charge the Indian Union with imaginary grievances are ceasing to be funny, one feels. Only recently it was announced that the two dominions had agreed to ask their communication agencies to further good-will between their peoples. It seems futile to approach non-officials to advance a cause which the high dignitaries of the Government don't respect themselves. As regards the specific charge of the Indian Union conspiring with 'Red Shirts' against Pakistan, the Frontier Government is evidently relying on the old association of the Indian National Congress with the Red Shirts to get the sympathy of its nationals. It forgets that the leaders of this organisation, the Khan brothers, at the time of partition announced that they would serve the state of Pakistan loyally. The integrity of the Khan brothers, their transparent honesty are sufficient guarantees of the sincerity of their profession. The manner in which they have been persecuted can not fail to evoke, of course, sympathy for them in India. But to twist this sympathy into a conspiracy is both grotesque and wicked. The Frontier Government has every right to expect non-interference in its internal affairs, but it cannot in addition demand that personal feelings of friendship and affection should alter at its dictates. The Indian Union by the restraint with which it proceeded both in Kashmir and Hyderabad has proved amply that it has no wish to obstruct Pakistan's development. It is high time for Pakistan now to give some concrete indication of its reciprocal good-will.

The Atlantic Pact:—The finalising of the pact between seven nations, which is to be signed at Washington on April 4, is a step forward in establishing stable conditions in the world. It is a defensive alliance and the United States having become a party to such a specific commitment is guarantee of its sounder foundations. The earlier agreements were not very successful because at a crisis their sponsors sought loopholes to escape through. Now the dangers against which the pact is devised are very real. At the moment, the U. S. A., Britain, France, Belgium, Canada, Luxemburg and Holland are in the pact but it is expected that Norway, Denmark, Iceland, Portugal and Italy which have been asked to join, will also respond. The only common bond between many of these countries is dependence on the U. S. A. and opposition to Soviet Russia. Whether this is strong enough to hold the nations together and yet separate from other countries which share that bond but are not included in the Atlantic circle, is to be seen. The agreement clearly states that it is within the orbit and obligations of the United Nations. This sets a precedent which will be certainly followed by other groups. At any rate international politics is settling down to some recognizable pattern and that is a positive advance on the present uncertainties.

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BOMBAY, March 19, 1949.

PROBLEMS OF ADMINISTRATION.

Since the Congress Governments took over office at the Centre and in the Provinces, there has been a noticeable conflict between the ministries and the administrations. It is generally felt that government officials are not contributing as much as they should to the smooth running of the state machinery. Mr Deshbandhu Gupta remarked the other day in the Indian Parliament that Indian services lacked the spirit with which the services in Pakistan were working to strengthen the Dominion. On the other hand, there is dissatisfaction among the government servants at the new conditions that have come. Partly this feeling is due to the increase in volume of administrative work and, as Mr V. L. Mehta, Bombay's Finance Minister, remarked in the Bombay Assembly, the increased responsibilities of government following on extension of activities have created conditions which are more strenuous than those prevailing earlier. It is natural in the circumstances that the official should attribute his troubles to too much ministerial interference and that the Minister should suffer under a sense of official inadequacy and even non-cooperation. In his defence of the Home Department, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel spoke of some men in the services being worth their weight in gold and strongly condemned the tendency to judge men by the khadi test. There are other complications which add to the difficulties of administration: Sardar Patel referred to the shortage of men consequent on the partition of the country. Out of about 1,000 officers from the Indian Civil Service, more than 600 had retired or been transferred to Pakistan. Sardar Patel expected the shortage to be met in another two or three years. Another point which should not be forgotten, is that the transfer of power was something more drastic than an ordinary change of government would have been. The Congress movement had driven a wedge between the political and official classes and naturally office acceptance by the Congress created an atmosphere of suspicion which was not exactly improved by the fact that the war years had seen an enormous growth in temporary staff. It is a tremendous strain on any administration that the Government should be required to build up confidence in the machinery of administration itself, and some idea of the conditions might be gained by a glance at the problems which faced the British Labour Party when it first took over power—a relatively milder change. To the strained relations between ministers and officials was added in India the estrangement between the public and bureaucracy. There was some feeling in the general public that their Ministers would openly denounce the civil servants and there was a corresponding fear in the official mind. It is to the credit of the Ministers that, even at the risk of incurring unpopularity, they stood firm and protected the official. Despite differences in outlook—particularly marked on questions like Prohibition—there has been a good deal of understanding which has grown in the past year and a half.

The crucial period has been tided over. There is no room now for the misunderstandings that threatened in the first year. But there is still much that remains to be done in the way of adjusting the routine of administration. Mr. V. L. Mehta remarked that bureaucracy was not necessarily undesirable. The realisation among Congressmen that red-tape has its uses, is a welcome development and it is proof of considerable adaptability. But there is a danger that the new converts will find themselves enmeshed in red-tape in reacting from their original over-anxiety to short-cut administrative processes: There are many matters, however, in which delays are unnecessary and can usefully be avoided; there are things which call for quick disposal and for a certain degree of delegation of authority. Between the inadvisability of leaving everything to the Secretariat officials and the exhaustion of looking closely into every detail, there is a golden mean which has yet to be found in India. We have had Dr. John Matthai telling us that the cost to Government of printing postcards came to 8, 2 pies per card and then correcting himself a few days later to 9. 3 pies as the cost of printing and of postal service; and the Food Minister placing Bombay's procurement at 6.8 per cent whilst the Bombay Government gives an estimate three times that figure and supports it with facts—evidence that much is left to the departments. At the same time, there is evidence of considerable attention to detail which brings about innumerable errors of judgment and even bottle-necks. A good deal is undoubtedly due to administrative inexperience and Sardar Patel has candidly admitted this, though it is perhaps less in his case than in others. To crown all this, there is the distinction between Congress and non-Congress Ministers which exists at the Centre. There have been charges that the Congress legislators are inclined to direct their criticisms more vehemently against non-Congress Ministers and the departments under their control. This is an anomaly which has to be cleared up. In fact, the Provinces are much better placed because there we have pure and unadulterated Congress Ministries in office and there is no dualism. In the Centre too the Government is functioning very much as a Congress Ministry although it has on its Cabinet non-Congressmen.

The review of the activities of the Home Ministry conveys the impression that the greater difficulties have been overcome and that things are settling down to normalcy. To some extent this has been possible because of the necessity of running the government smoothly and because of the diffidence of the new administrators. But

while they gained confidence, the officials have also had time to adjust themselves. The problems that might arise in the near future, are likely to be very different from those that have been experienced in the past year.

DRESS AND LAW

Indians are definitely becoming clothes conscious. Some time back there was a vigorous advocacy of the bush suit as informal national wear. There is reason in this preference because this modern dress has a close resemblance to the two-piece South Indian mundu and kudtha and is a natural adaptation of the transitional shirt-that-sticks-out-of-the-trousers fashion which was popular in Bomday and Western India. However, that was a suggestion and it was a supplementary one to the growing practice of adopting the achkan and churidar pyjama as formal national wear. Now in the Madras Assembly much discussion has been roused over what is the proper dress for a legislator. The Speaker of the Madras Assembly sought guidance from the Speaker of the House of Commons and there was no useful advice coming from that quarter except that differences in climate were important influences on clothes. This clothes business has been a perplexity for generations. Polonius told the frisky Laertes how to dress, "Costly thy habit as thy purse can buy, but not expressed in fancy; rich, not gaudy; for the apparel oft proclaims the man; and they in France of the best rank and station are most select and generous in that." And the sage Bacon has commended that dress which would give leave to one's face to speak. All this is beside the point in India where climate, inclination and cloth control dictate other fashions. Nor should we forget that what is suitable for a young man of fashion would be woefully out of place in a legislator who is expected to be sedate, sober and informed. It is not enough that one should be a legislator, it is necessary that one should look it too. And so, without consulting Indian or foreign experts, but following my own commonsense and observation, I seriously think that the first necessity of a legislator's dress equipment should be a pair of spectacles—not, let me hasten to add, the rimless insipid type nor the gem-studded new-fangled nose piece nor the pince-nez nor the monocle; but the honest steel-frame glasses that added dignity and repose to the countenances of our grandfathers. The troubles of our modern world, I may assert without hesitation, all spring from our efforts to embellish the implement of reading into an aid to fashion. The heavy horn-rimmed spectacles might be reserved for the specially learned among our legislators—ministers, speakers and the like. And the dark glasses? Obviously they are the high mark of superior learning, of wisdom that has gone deep and lies imprisoned behind the facade of eyes, nose and glasses; and they can only accompany the highest office in the land. This symbol has an advantage—it can be used by both sexes. There is one difficulty: Not only legislators need glasses and there might be others who genuinely needing optical aids find themselves innocent impostors. But it can be easily solved since steel-frameds are now no more in fashion. As I would like to complete the top before descending, I think that a white cap would be a suitable crown to the legislator, man or woman. By this means, we could easily distinguish our law-makers standing or seated at a quick glance.

I am aware of the fact that this only deals with the smallest part of the problem. It is when we come to the rest of the costume that difficulties come up and frivolous objections are likely to be advanced. Dr. Rajendra Prasad has drawn pointed attention to the labours involved in completing lists for adult suffrage. It should be borne in mind that tailors are an undependable tribe and have always claimed to be overworked. Therefore, the dress designed for legislators should have as little stitching in them as possible. Ideal would be the dhoti and the towel round one's shoulders for men and the sari for women. But our legislators are not all unsophisticated and there might be shortages in candidates for the next elections if this style is too rigidly insisted on. Therefore, it would be wise for us to accept a coat, buttoned to the neck and extending to the calves, and the dhoti as the legislator's dress. Since the dhobi is also a greatly overworked, largely undependable man, and as he is seeking to put up his rates, it would be well to have a black coat. Nor should the feet be neglected. Many a fashion fiend has spoilt the effect of his rig out by donning unaesthetic footwear. We do not want our M. L. A.'s to come 'cross-gartered' like Malvolio. It is desirable that the legislator should, to indicate his respect for Law and Order, don pathan chappals, not the fancy variations that are all too common but the good heavy type that has been adopted by the police. It will seem to many that this is a very haphazard way of devising a legislative dress but there is method in it. The heavy footwear will ensure that the member is stable and firmly planted on legislative ground. The loose flowing dhoti will enable him to have the necessary freedom of movement in getting up and sitting down. And the closely buttoned coat will instil some restraint into his speaking. What about women, it will be asked. What mere male dare advise on women's clothes? This must be done by the fashion experts, who have mastered the mysteries of the New Look without getting too far away from the old traditional sari. I can visualize the result but I dare not discuss it. It was surprising that one of the Madras legislators pleaded his inability to spin to get the necessary extra cloth to wrap reund his shoulders. This is an entirely wrong attitude. It should be possible to say of our legislators as of the Lilies of the Field, They toil not, neither do they spin but Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed as one of these. If my suggestions are adopted, I am sure this would follow.

—*VIPRA.*

PARTY POLITICS IN BRITAIN.

This round-up report on the British political situation combines two dispatches to Worldover Press from able correspondents in Britain, One is British, with a record for accurate appraisal; the other is an American journalist long resident in the British capital.

The Conservative Party is worried, confused, and split. With the 1950 general elections just around the corner, the party under the leadership of Winston Churchill is still bankrupt for a constructive policy which will stand up to the Labour Party's.

The Conservatives had banked heavily on the recent by-election at Hammersmith to turn the tide in their favour. This mixed middle class and worker suburb in West London had been pre-war Tory stronghold; it was carried by Labour in the 1945 landside by a narrow squeak.

Though the main outlines of that contest last February 24 have been reported to the world, detailed aspects of it have been over-looked, and are still being digested as political analysts look ahead.

The Tories were confident that this time they would win. They had a "progressive", candidate, Anthony Fell, a young manufacturer. They threw their big artillery and plenty of money into the campaign. The day before the election, Churchill drew large crowds in a tour of the constituency in an open car with Fell beside him. He spoke at street corners and bombed sites, and never failed to get a cheer when he gave his famous "V" sign. But evidently the crowds were cheering Churchill the War Leader rather than the Peace Leader. because the next day Fell was defeated by Labourite Tom Williams, the son of a Welsh coal-miner, who worked his way up to a university professorship, by 15,223 to 13, 610 votes.

Thus the Labour Party scored its thirty-first by-election victory since 1945. Its batting was perfect, an unprecedented record. There was reason for gloom at Conservative central head-quarters. Political dopsters went to work. Their findings apply not only to this contest, but to tactics used by both parties in recent campaigning. These are the reasons they give for the Tory defeat:

1. The Tories were hurt by Churchill's inept handling of a House of Commons debate on government expenditures. He blustered forth with a wild attack on the Attlee Government's outlay for the new nationalized health service, which had considerably exceeded estimates on cost. He threatened a vote of censure. Several days later, after Minister of Health Aneurin Bevan had pointed out that the need for extra money was due to unexpected popularity of the service and accused the Tories of desiring to gamble with peoples' lives by withholding the requested funds, the Conservatives sat in sullen silence while the Labour majority gave the request a rousing passage. Churchill did not even show up the day the vote was taken.

2. Another Churchill bungle. In the Hammersmith campaign, Fell tried to drive home the claim that the Labour Party and Communism worked hand in hand, and that only the Conservatives fight Communism. Labour pretty well scotched that by repudiating Communist support for Williams, but Churchill, during his election-eve tour, did even better when he declared, with a white-lipped Fell beside him: "I recognize that our opponents are also opposed to the Communists. We are both opposed to both Communism and Fascism." It was fine ammunition, and the Labourite 'Daily Herald' bannered on election day: 'Churchill Kills Tory's Red Scare."

3. Slick timing by Minister of Food John Strachey in announcing the de-rationing of all chocolates and sweets. This was announced three days before the balloting, and undoubtedly had its effect on the housewife vote.

4. The Conservative major spokesmen concentrated on heaping abuse on the Labourites, but gave the voters little inkling of what they would do if they came into power beyond vague generalities about 'businesslike government.'

The election debacle caused reverberations inside the Conservative Party that were audible to most outsiders, despite the fact that the Tories believe in sticking to the old-school-tie tradition of hiding their domestic quarrels from the public. The party is said to be split between Churchill, who believes that his personal magnetism plus concentrated attacks on Labourite 'mis-government' are enough to win the 1950 election, and the R. A. Butler wing which wants a 'liberalized' programme to show the voters.

Meanwhile, the Labour Party is trying not to be cocky. It looked to another by-election set for March 10 in North St. Pancras, London; but this was not expected to be dramatic. Labour denied a Tory-inspired rumour that it was planning to call a 'snap' election to capitalize on its present popularity. The Labour Party national executive decided at a secret two-day meeting at Shanklin, Isle of Wight, that it would go to the country early next year with a second five-year plan of moderate Socialist expansion, consolidation and development of industries already nationalized—and a great scheme for reducing the cost of living by a radical reorganization of the distributive trades.

The more revolutionary members of the Labour Party, and notably Aneurin Bevan, want to go ahead with more nationalization. The moderate group, and especially Herbert Morrison, is more anxious to make concessions to Conservative opinion. But in spite of their differences, it is likely that the Labour leaders will agree to nationalize one or more industries if they are returned to power.

The first is likely to be the chemical industry, It is already a virtual monopoly, and there are strong economic reasons, quite apart from Socialist principle, for nationalizing any monopoly. Imperial Chemical Industries is believed to be aware that it stands at the head of the list, and is already

preparing schemes for its own decentralization. These efforts are thought by many to be too late to save it.

After chemicals, it is likely that the shipbuilding industry will be considered for nationalization. In this case there is not a monopoly as yet, but the record of shipbuilding between the wars, the history of unemployment at Jarrow and on the Clyde has not been forgotten at Labour's Transport House, and there can be a strong case for nationalizing an industry which has failed to maintain itself successfully under conditions of free enterprise.

—*Worldover Press.*

COMMUNISM VERSUS RELIGION

(By DEVERE ALLEN)

Religious persecution in East Europe strikes, just as hard at the unimportant or little known priests and pastors as at the more famous figures. And it is not as new, in this respect, as one might think. But when it condemns major personalities, it tips its hand, and justifies the comment of a "Worldover Press" correspondent in that area. "What is happening in Eastern Europe," he reports, "is a profound spiritual and intellectual conflict and not merely a new version of the friction between Church and State."

Dependable testimony on the charges levelled at the Protestant church leaders in Bulgaria, their confessions notwithstanding, comes from another 'Worldover Press' correspondent. Robert Root, now in the United States, was in charge of public relations for the department of reconstruction, World Council of Churches, for two years. In his post at Geneva he became well acquainted with the work and leadership of the World Council. From personal knowledge also, the writer of this column can support Mr. Root's observations.

Three of the twelve Westerners named as 'spy links,' says Mr. Root in a special message to this column, were close colleagues of his. And they were desperately interested, not in causing revolutions, but in trying to bring aid to people throughout Europe, including Bulgaria. The Right Reverend J. Hutchison Cockburn, Mr. Root asserts, "former moderator of the Church of Scotland, was my 'boss.' A burly, genial Scotsman, more than six feet tall, he is hardly the spy type. So outstanding is Dr. Cockburn's appearance, even among the British, it is a safe bet he never said an unobserved word to a Bulgarian churchman."

The fact is that Dr. Cockburn, in his seventies, has been replaced at Geneva by a younger man—so that the belated charges involving him are about like those of the Un-American Activities Committee against the Epworth League, which had long been out of existence.

The Reverend Robert Tobias is a young Kansas farm boy who became a Disciples minister after studying at Union Theological Seminary in New York. In the light of the current charges it is amusing that Bob was first invited to Bulgaria in 1946 after he became acquainted with left-wing youth leaders in Paris. I have seen photos of his warm welcome by government enthusiasts in Sofia. He could not have been in touch with church people except under the eyes of these contacts, and, obviously, this was no set-up for spying.

First World Council staffer to visit this corner of the Balkans was Tobias. Even then it was known that such contacts were dangerous for all involved—but this world Christian organization wanted to determine what, if any, assistance could be sent to church people behind this segment of the iron curtain. Later, a Swedish pastor associated with the Council visited the same Bulgarians, for the same reason of fellowship—but he is apparently not mentioned in the charges because he doesn't fit the 'Western pattern' being created.

Bishop Paul Garber was the Methodist 'ambassador' at Geneva head-quarters. He travelled in many other European countries besides Bulgaria and in fact was feted by officials of the Communist-led government at Warsaw. A little overwhelmed by the relative freedom of Protestantism in post-war Poland, Bishop Garber even made some statements which, from an objective point of view, might have been considered too complimentary to the Warsaw regime. For example, 'The Protestant,' Communist-line American 'church' magazine, quoted him at length in praise of the freedoms in Poland. In short, Bishop Garber is certainly no Red-baiter; yet the Bulgarians list him as an anti-Red 'spy.'

Finnish Lutherans, according to Mr. Root, have had considerable freedom, while Bulgaria has been at the other extreme ever since the war. Two years ago, he says, one Bulgarian asked that mailings be stopped by a Western religious body, and there have been other signs that Western contacts might prove dangerous.

Still another correspondent of 'Worldover Press,' who managed to get out a report from his present location in East Europe, points out the inconsistency in the Soviet attitude. On the one hand, it declares all the time that religion is a medieval superstition, and a tool of reactionary middle-class elements. But on the other hand, it goes on using the Orthodox Church to beat down Catholicism; the Orthodox Church plays this game because it never expected much from the State anyway, and hopes to gain prestige from government help.

Says this reporter, "In the former Polish territories acquired by the Ukraine after the war, there were about 4,500,000 Greek Catholics. Persecution of them began after the annexation, and anyone who refused to join the Orthodox Church was sent to Siberia. Last year the same treatment was given the large Greek Catholic population of Romanian Transylvania. The fact that it is an attack on religion rather than merely on political acts or social reaction, is proved by the current pressure against the Czechoslovak Protestants.

who have been making a sincere effort to find a modus vivendi with the new order."

Some people still concentrate their comments on the property-owning nature of churches, and their sometimes conservative attitudes. Yet last Christmas, Moscow got a bright idea, and encouraged people in a number of satellite states to label it 'Frostmas,' eliminating any religious significance. Christmas carolers in Romania and Bulgaria had to submit their carols to government censorship before they could give their customary street songfests. The choice is now narrowing; it is clearly Communism versus religion. An occasional last-ditcher, of course, like the Red Dean of Canterbury, will doubtless continue to earn the remark Lloyd George once made about Lord Simon—'he will continue to sit on the fence until the iron enters his soul.'

* * * * * *

Human decency has often had to rise above political considerations. It can do so again if Americans will insist on relaxing the ban on shipment of medicines to Eastern Europe, as requested by the World Health Organization. Opposition to the Communist point of view, resentment over the policies of the Kremlin, need not require the American people to pass by on the other side when disease threatens the people of nations whose governments are politically hostile.

It may be argued that the more illness there is behind the Iron Curtain, the less fight the Russian dominated countries could put up in case of war. It may be argued that Russia does not share its medical discoveries nowadays with the Western world. It may even be argued that Russia has sought to withdraw from the very organization that sponsors the appeal. Wrap all these arguments up together, and you are still carrying a pretty odourous package.

The Quakers of America, through the American Friends Service Committee, recently sent a large shipment of streptomycin to the Soviet Union. Was this a soft-headed act? There was nothing political about the donation, but even the hardest-headed skeptics ought to realize that stories about the wicked Americans are going to be tough to swallow by folk who have had their lives saved through such generosity.

The W. H. O. says that penicillin, streptomycin, and various other drugs and supplies are sorely needed in East European countries. It also points out that orders for them, from the U.S.A., cannot be filled because of a governmental prohibition. It is a curious thing that this ban has scarcely been hinted at in the American press, while the present writer saw stories about it, months ago in foreign countries. If available, the medicines should be shipped wherever they are needed. It would be pleasant to look in a mirror and see a civilized person who doesn't have to share responsibility for waging a cold war against babies and the sick, of whatever land or political allegiance.

Foreign leaders are in a ticklish position when they try to show progress under the help of the Marshall Plan. If they so much as point to progress in recovery, some eager-beaver Congressman is sure to swing an ever-ready snickersnee and seek to lop off the very aid that has been so largely responsible for the come-back. If, on the contrary, the spokesmen for overseas governments go around with long faces, hushing up the gains, they are accused of exaggeration to curry U. S. favour. Not only Great Britain, which recently had an experience of this sort, but a great many other European countries, will get jittery if this continues. The truth is that recovery is proceeding remarkably well, just as long as American support remains as wise and generous as hitherto. Let a wounded steed start showing signs of recuperation, and there is always some smart aleck around to suggest feeding him sawdust.—*Worldover Press.*

DANES AND THE SCHLESWIG QUESTION

(By REGINALD SPINK)

Discussion of minority rights in Schleswig will start soon between the 'Social Democratic administration of Denmark and the British Zone authorities, in a conference at Kiel. It is hoped that some definite disposal may be made of one of the most perplexing problems in Western Europe.

Lord Palmerston is reputed to have said of the Schleswig problem, which is no new one, that only three persons had ever understood it, that one of them was dead, one had ended up in an asylum, and the third (Palmerston himself) had fortunately forgotten it.

A plebiscite in 1920, which returned North Schleswig to Denmark, seemed to have settled this vexing question, but it has again flared up after the war. A strong pro-Danish movement in South Schleswig, supported by many Danes, looks for reunion with Denmark. A major issue in Danish politics since 1945, it has caused the downfall of two party leaders and has strained relations with Britain, to whose Zone Schleswig belongs.

Until the second Schleswig-Holstein war in 1864, when they were annexed by Prussia, the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein belonged to the Danish crown. The Holsteiners were Germans; the people of Schleswig, except in the extreme south, were of Danish origin. The loss of Holstein was accepted as time went on, but the pro-Danish Schleswigers worked for a return to Danish rule.

The frontier of 1920, though disappointing to Danes, was fairly drawn. Yet where peoples had intermingled, it left a minority on both sides. In North Schleswig, renamed South Jutland, 25,000 voted for Germany. In Central Schleswig, which stayed with Germany, there were 13,000 pro-Danes. The plebiscite for southern Schleswig was abandoned. In Flensburg, chief town of central and south Schleswig, German is the only language heard on the streets. Yet the membership of the South Schleswig Association, pro-Danish has swollen from 8,000 in 1923 (2,700 at the capitulation) to 75,000, or about half the population.

There has been a vast increase in attendance at Danish schools. In May, 1945, there were nine of these, with 430 pupils; now there are 63 with 15,000, and a waiting list of 7,500. In Flensburg, 70 per cent of the permanently resident children are already in Danish schools. Many ascribe this desire to "return home" to material motives—a wish to escape the hardships of life in present-day Germany. Food parcels from Denmark, children's holidays there, have stimulated ideas of the attractiveness of life for the Danes.

But Schleswigers and pro-Schleswig Danes urge other reasons. They say that Hitlerism awakened a national awareness. Social Democrats in Flensburg have broken with German Social Democrats, stating that in 1920 they voted for Germany because of socialism and internationalism, and their feeling that frontier disputes were trivial; they also wanted the "freest constitution." It is true, however, that South Schleswig remained faithful to German nationalism for a long time. In 1930, when only 1,600 voted for Danish candidates, 145,000 voted German, and 41,000 of these votes went for Hitler. At the last free election, in 1932, when Hitler got only 40 per cent in all Germany, he won 62 per cent in South Schleswig.

Today there are nearly 280,000 refugees in South Schleswig, out of a native population of only 380,000. Most are from east of the Oder-Neisse line and from East Prussia. They are billeted on the local inhabitants, causing distress; but the British feel that many must remain.

—*Worldover Press.*

LIFE GETS TOUGHER IN BERLIN

(By HENRY HOLM)

Life in this former capital city grows more difficult all the time, partly because the air lift can not be really adequate and partly because conditions steadily deteriorate in the Soviet sector.

The Russians appear to be spy-mad, and it is a mood which affects their own nationals as well as others. A young Soviet soldier, for example, had become accustomed to paying visits to a German family. One day he stayed beyond the time when he was supposed to be back in his barracks, and when he left he said, "If questioned, remember you don't know me." He was never seen again, but one day later, another Russian soldier came and left a note scribbled on a scrap of paper, explaining that the first soldier had been sentenced to eight years of hard labour for "espionage."

One reason for the continuous spy scare in the Russian sector is the serious breakdown in morale and loyalty among Soviet troops in the whole Russian Zone of Germany. Desertions have become more and more frequent.

In its everyday life, Berlin is steadily more split up. Recently the well known organization, Victims of Fascism, also became divided. Members living in the Western sectors were notified that they would lose their few remaining privileges unless they cut themselves off from the main movement, which happened to have its headquarters in the Russian sector. In the concentration camps, these anti-Fascists and anti-Nazis were all together in opposition to their foes; now they are ordered to become enemies among themselves.

Even the prison system has been split. Most of the prisons lie in the British sector; in the French sector there is only one, and one for women in the Russian sector. Last Christmas, when the Russians offered to send a little special food to prisoners held in the British sector when these had been sentenced in the Russian sector, the British refused to accept it. Later, the British asked the Russians to supply all the food for these prisoners, but of course the Russians then turned down the request.

Now the British will not feed these prisoners, and are returning them to the Russian Zone. Some are delighted at this, because in the Soviet Zone they are credited with two days' work for each one done. But many others are desperate, because they fear ill treatment by the Russians, or hate to lose their chance to see relatives.

Berliners are warm in their praise of the air lift, but some of them hesitate to say too much in its favour lest the impression be gained abroad that it can truly be sufficient. At heart, the Germans want the air bridge extended much less than they want it ended—by an end to the blockade, by a four-power agreement that will solve the present impasse.

Residents of Berlin's Western sectors are allotted four hours of electric current every day. Even when it becomes a householder's turn to have current from six to eight in the morning and the same time in the evening, he cannot use it as he would like, the allowance is so small. He could buy bulbs of smaller capacity—if he could only find them!

This correspondent has a special privilege, for Worldover Press sent him 24 thick white candles! Not those brown, meagre ones you can buy for exorbitant prices on the black-market, and which soon melt away and spread all over the table. No, real white candles, the kind our ancestors used to have in the days to which modern civilization is leading us back, when Edison was a small boy.

The administration of Western Berlin is of course doing what it can. So, some months ago, we got one pretty good candle—apparently our allowance for the winter season. We could use it to read the papers that told about the remarkable achievements of the air bridge and the possibility of tripling its deliveries, which then would mean three candles for the winter.

Goethe, our greatest poet and thinker, was born 200 years ago. His famous dying words were, "More light!" Berliners would follow his precept by appealing to generous Americans, to whom they have come to look for so much. More candles!—*Worldover Press.*

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"I will be as harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard"*.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the LIBERATOR.

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NOTES

The North Atlantic Pact:—The North Atlantic Pact, the background of which is dealt with by Mr. Devere Allen in an article published this week, would not have evoked much interest in India but for two things: The inclusion among the signatories of the Netherlands which is pursuing an imperialist policy in Indonesia and openly flouting the United Nations, and the part played by two units of the Commonwealth in the framing of the Pact. If the other signatory powers are able to persuade Holland to respect the United Nations, then the Atlantic Pact might be hailed as a force strengthening the United Nations. Otherwise, it will mean that although ostensibly formed to meet the challenge of Communism and of Soviet Russia, the Pact is in fact a bolstering up of Western imperialism. If the Asian grouping which came about as a reaction to Dutch aggression, had been as unmindful of obligations under the United Nations Charter as the Pact countries might easily be, then there is bound to be a conflict between the Asian nations and the nations of the Atlantic Pact. The chances are that such a conflict might still develop and it might well be that instead of rallying all nations that stand for democracy against communism, the pact drives a wedge between them and weakens the democratic front. Obviously, the Soviet Union can gain much by watching events. But it is equally obvious that Russia is unlikely to play a passive role. The signing of the Pact which is expected in April, will in all probability encourage Russia to seek new fields in territories not covered by the Pact. Such an attitude will create difficulties for Asian nations. The Pact, therefore, may be regarded as inevitably forcing a "third party" in the United Nations which can hope for results only in so far as it outstrips the existing blocs in loyalty to the international organisation. So far as Russia and her group are concerned, the United Nations has been merely an instrument to be utilised for advancing Soviet interests. The Atlantic Pact nations will be equally self-centred, despite their protestations, if they fail to restrain the ambitions of the Dutch. As for the Commonwealth, Britain and Canada by joining the Pact have cast their lot with Western Europe. Whether this means a new orientation remains to be seen. Certainly it cannot be a source of strength to the Commonwealth as a whole. The U. S. A. has assumed responsibilities in Europe and in the Western Hemisphere. It is of interest to know whether Britain is similarly able to take a lead both in Europe and in the territories that constitute her Commonwealth. Nor should it be ignored that Britain cannot, without weakening her position, relax the traditional ties that hold her Commonwealth together. The Atlantic Pact has created a peculiarly difficult problem for Britain.

Getting rid of Caste:—Pandit Thakurdas Bhargava's ardour in wishing the caste system and provincialism two 'dangers to the state'—eliminated is laudable. Not so his suggestion for achieving the object. He evidently believes that a new Ministry for Social Reform has to be established for dealing with contemporary social evils and for ushering in a 'classless society,' a vague ideal first enunciated by Pandit Nehru and since espoused with vigur by several Congressmen in their public utterances. Why Pandit Bhargava should want a new and special Ministry for the purpose is not clear. There are two main ways of eliminating social evils, education and legislation. Pundit Bhargava and other legislators of his persuasion can initiate reform inside the legislatures by persuading the educational ministries to include them in their educational policies with single-minded purpose, as well as by initiating the necessary legislations. The social education scheme of which Maulana Azad spoke first almost a year ago can when initiated do all the spade-work. The trouble is that whilst much has been heard of this and other similar

schemes in press conferences and on public platforms no real headway has been made with them. Legislators in the Central Provinces Assembly complained bitterly only last week that the social education scheme of their Province has so far not materialized in any concrete fashion. Another more immediately practical way of eliminating the caste-system is by ignoring it in the matter of appointments in Government services and in admissions to educational institutions, as was pointed out in the "Reformer" last week. The Central Government has taken the initiative in this with laudable firmness. The Ministry of Home Affairs in the course of a review of its activities announces that communal representation will cease totally in all recruitment made by the Federal Public Service Commission. Appointments will be made strictly on the basis of merit except for a reservation of 12% for Scheduled Caste candidates. Some communal representation for minorities has been retained in regard to non-competetive appointments, recruitment to which is made in the open market. One could wish that even this communal reservation had been done away with. Nevertheless it is pleasing to see that the Centre has quite firmly decided to ignore all caste-distinctions within the majority community, irrespective of whether or not such distinctions are recognized by a Provincial Government in the area where the appointments are made. The lead thus given is uncompromising and should do a lot to make Provincial Governments such as the Madras Government, see sense.

Nira:—It was not a very happy thought which inspired Congress workers for Prohibition under Gandhiji's leadership, to seek alternatives to liquor in borderline drinks like nira. It is reported in the press that in the Central Assembly a question elicited the official answer that nira contains 9 per cent alcohol. It has not hitherto been contradicted by the Central Government. If this were so, then nira enthusiasts might well consider the fact that it has a higher alcohol content than beer, ale, porter and stout, and since it is consumed in larger quantities than the usual wines it would be alcoholically damaging to the system. We have never understood the psychology behind a search for substitutes for liquor. In fact, to our knowledge many otherwise sober teetotal men have been led astray by all the nonsense that was uttered on the highest authority about nira, whilst it is extremely doubtful whether any genuine imbiber of liquor has been saved by its substitution. The highest authorities in Bombay have contradicted the Delhi admission. So far as what is called "nira" in Bombay is concerned, it has no alcohol content.

East Pakistan Film Censors:—According to a United Press Agency report East Pakistan film censors have decreed that it is in the interest of filn producers and distributors to ban Indian films showing the Indian national flag and containing national slogans. Surely the censors don't expect loyal Pakistanis to be so agitated by the sight of the Indian national flag on the screen as to destroy wantonly theatres or to attack the representatives of the producers and distributors responsible for showing such films. Or is the East Pakistan Government fearing that the artificial division of Bengal is not providing a sufficiently strong force to excite the loyatly of the people to their new state? Pakistan has already faced one serious agitation when it tried to impose Urdu as the main language in its Eastern territories. The people of Bengal—Hindu or Muslim—are passionately attached to their language and until communal politics became the order of the day the Bengali language and literature knit the people so closely together that regional loyalties rated higher almost than national loyalties. It is more than probable, therefore, that the present ban is a prelude to banning Bengali films altogether. This extreme step will not be taken, however, until there has arisen in East Bengal a film industry that can take the place of the old. Whether this situation will materialize eventually depends on a number of factors—available talent—artistic and histrionic—as well as available capital for the industry. Meanwhile it seems certain that the Bengali's attachment to his language will provide for the Pakistan Government a problem that will be hard to ignore.

Ahmednagar Firing:—The report that the police opened fire in the village of Erangaon in Ahmednagar district when a mob tried to prevent the removal of foodgrains from a godown, has been received with some anxiety. The Government pressnote was very restrained but it indicated that the demonstration was politically instigated and was part of the resistance to procurement tactics of Communist-inspired agitators. However that be, police firing always draws public attention and very often public sympathy to the victims of the use of force. It is common knowledge that the police are expected to show more restraint in the discharge of their duties than private individuals and even the right of self-defence has limited application when it applies to one armed with weapons and cloaked in the majesty of the law. The Bombay Legislative Congress Party has set up a four-man committee to visit the village and investigate into the incident but this is not quite enough. Whether the Communists are involved or not, it is a fact that police firing indicates that both the demonstrators and the authorities have reacted in a manner entirely satisfying to the instigators of trouble. It is the barest necessity now to have a thorough judicial inquiry into the firing and the events leading up to the firing. And for the future, it would be an act of wisdom for the Government to instruct its police officers to work with the greatest possible restraint. It is not even a question of right and wrong. It is primarily a matter of avoiding even the appearance of executive excess.

THE INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, March 26, 1949.

THE FUTURE OF INDIAN STATES.

In conformity with general practice, the time for budget presentation is also the time for stock-taking in the various departments of the Government of India. Most of the ministries have issued substantial booklets. This is a laudable move and we should like to see it extended to all ministries. As records for reference they are invaluable and it would help in forming public opinion if they were made available to the general public at a reasonable price. Interest centres naturally on the report on the working of the Ministry of States, a booklet of some 60 pages. From the report, it appears that the plan for the political structure of India is roughly that of a Union with nine provinces, seven States Unions, three States and three Chief Commissioner's provinces. The probability is that Travancore and Cochin will be brought together to make a seventh States Union, and that Mysore will be allowed for the present to share with Kashmir and Hyderabad the privilege of forming integral units of the Indian Union. It is also clear that at no distant date, provincial redistribution will have to be taken up but that the States Ministry prefers to secure a final settlement on the States front whilst ardent linguistic champions would push on with provincial re-formation. One point has been stressed by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel in the debate in Parliament, nothing will be done to place a provincial or centrally administered area that has been out of personal rule under the jurisdiction and administration of an Indian State. He has also emphasised in this report that whatever concessions have been made beyond certain maximum standards relating to rulers' privy purses are of a purely personal nature and will cease with the lives of the present beneficiaries. These two are clear indications that the Indian State has no future except as part of the Union, integrated, merged and completely assimilated. There are still about eight States which have to be merged: The nonviable Benares, Rampur, Tehri-Garhwal, Cooch-Behar, Manipur, the Khasi States and Tripura; and Bhopal.

It is interesting to compare the different areas and population figures for these units. It is not given in the Report but it can be easily calculated. We give the figures below:

UNIT	AREA (in Square miles)	POPULATION (in thousands)
Provinces:		
1. Bombay	116,155	29,369
2. Madras	127,610	49,825
3. Bihar	69,745	36,340
4. The United Provinces	112,523	56,345
5. The Central Provinces	130,173	19,633
6. Orissa	36,458	12,982
7. West Bengal	46,057	23,074
8. East Punjab	12,685	12,507
9. Assam	54,951	7,404
States Unions:		
10. Rajasthan	120,888	112,47
11. Madhya Bharat	46,353	7,150
12. Vindhya Pradesh	24,610	3,569
13. Saurashtra	17,725	2,885
14. Patiala and East Punjab	10,099	34,24
15. Travancore-Cochin	9,155	7,493
16. Matsya	7,536	1,838
States:		
17. Jammu and Kashmir	84,471	4,022
18. Hyderabad	82,313	16,338
19. Mysore	29,458	7,329
20. Bhopal	6,921	785
Chief Commissioner's Provinces		
21. Himachal Pradesh	10,600	936
22. Kutch	8,461	500
23. Bilaspur	453	110
24. Delhi	574	917

In broad outline, that is the picture of the Union. There are hints that Travancore and Cochin and Malabar will be joined to form Kerala; that Mysore will be assimilated in Kanara; and that Hyderabad will be broken into its component linguistic parts. But these are not of immediate interest. More important is the question of bringing about uniformity throughout the Union to which Sardar Patel referred in the Assembly. There are not only differences between the States and provinces, there are also variations between State and State. In the South, there has been for some time a high degree of ordered government and consequently greater political consciousness. Hyderabad is an exception and the report of the States Ministry has made pointed reference to the failure of Hyderabad political organisations to help the Military Administration in the restoration or maintenance of law and order. For the rest, apart from Baroda which has had a succession of strong Dewans, there is little sign of constitutional rule. Nor has the coming to power of popular ministers helped in improving the administration. Popular government is not necessarily efficient administration and Sardar Patel has had to admit that in several cases he was forced to seek the advice and guidance of the ruler in his attempt to give effect to the popular will. As a matter of fact, the rulers still hold the trump card in most States. Their troubles lie in their failure to realise this in time. Having acceded to the Union and accepted a revised Instrument of Accession which surrenders to the Centre considerably more than the original three subjects of Defence, Foreign Affairs and Communications, they are naturally more ready to accept administrative advice from Delhi than popular ministers who are jealous of their new powers. The first reform that has been effected, is the separation of the Ruler's personal

property from the assets of the States. After this, the rest presents no difficulty except those which are the outcome of the Union Government's lack of trained men. With mounting responsibilities on all-hands, the Government faces an acute shortage of administrative staff and, as the Report on the working of the Home Ministry shows it will take another two years to set up an adequate staff. However quick the training given might be, there is a world of difference between experience and book learning or second-hand knowledge.

The weakness of the old Indian States vis-a-vis the Indian Government lay in the Princes who were a privileged group. It has in a way proved to the advantage of the Union after independence. Had the rulers maintained closer touch with their people, it would have been difficult to have liquidated them as it were so rapidly. The very rapidity with which the changes have been effected give cause for caution. A great deal depends on the Provinces which form as it were the nucleus of the Union and which now find themselves beyond their original size by mergers and accessions. Bombay is the most affected by this change and it would be idle to assume that the complexion of the province will be unaffected by the addition of an area and population which is somewhere between a fourth and a third of the old province. The argument that the units now emerging are unwieldly, is not tenable. But there should be some general principle governing the minimum area and population which sustain a legislature and a cabinet. The present basis for accepting a State's viability had no justification when one considers that Bhopal was regarded as viable. At any rate, in actual practice the Government of India itself rejected the standard it had theoretically adopted and set about forming unions of States which were "viable". It will also be necessary to set a limit to size and numbers in order that units may not develop into large enough territories to challenge the Union itself, or to overawe other units of smaller size. It is a notable feature of the report of the States Ministry that while political developments are fully set forth, there is no effort made to inform the public of the economic condition of the various States on the eve of democratisation. This is an imporant point and it would be desirable if the fullest information is made available to the public.

MEXICO'S GREAT LAND CO-OP.

In a dramatic 25 minues, 147 agrarian co-operative societies of the great Laguna district were recently handed checks totalling just under 11,000,000 pesos, or at the present low rate of exchange, 1,650,000 United States dollars. This was the year's return on the labour of the co-op members after paying back advances from the national Bank of Co-operative Credit for tools, fertilizers, seeds, etc. Crops produced are mainly cotton and grain.

The banner showing has been widely acknowledged in Mexico as a final answer to critics of the agrarian reform, who have insisted ever since the vast acreage was taken from some 20 large landholders, chiefly foreign, under President Cardenas in 1936, that the old hacienda and peon system would prove best. But even from the viewpoint of land development, it is now shown that 374,000 acres are under cultivation as against only 242,000 when the old system was in vogue.

—*Worldover Press.*

WOMEN IN NATIONAL LIFE

Pundit Nehru's observations on women's education contrast refreshingly with those expressed of late by other eminent Congressmen. Delivering the Convocation Address to the students of the Lady Irwin College of Delhi he observed emphatically that women had duties to the community which extended beyond the confines of the home. "It is not quite clear to me why the person who gets married should forget or ignore her duty to the community..... our girls should realize that marriage should not in any sense end their career of service to the community." In other words marriage and a career of community service are not incompatible. There are two points worth noticing in Pundit Nehru's address. One is his insistence on the possibility of combining domestic duties with activities outside the home and the other is his choice of a phrase which deliberately leaves the question of employment vague. Both can be explained by the fact that he was addressing middle and upper class students who are brought up to consider their education as an additional embellishment for their main vocation in life—marriage and the conduct of a home. Some of them, it is true will leave the College and become domestic science teachers. But the large majority will not make any use of their education except possibly to conduct their homes with greater efficiency than others of their class who have not had a similar advantage. They may in addition join a women's organization and do some social work with some degree of seriousness depending on the amount of self-discipline they have acquired through their home and school contacts. Whilst it is true, therefore, that a career of community service may be pursued in honorary social work as well as in regular employment, it is equally true that the mere fact of earning a living imposes greater self-discipline on most people. When regularity of attendance and attention to routine work is a condition of retaining employment and of receiving promotions the temptation to give in to moods of being off colour is resisted as a matter of course. So is controlled the tendency of giving priority to casual engagements promising more amusement than an afternoon spent in routine work. Pundit Nehru must have had these facts in mind during his address. But whilst his exhortation to these students might make a temporary impression on them such isolated pleas will do little permanent good. If Indian women are to take their full share in the building up of the New India, the full signifi-

cance of Pundit Nehru's observations must be elicited and applied to the problem of women's education.

According to the Census of 1931 the proportion of women in the liberal arts and professions is 13% of the total. This figure compares strangely with the percentage of wage-earning women engaged in manual work of one kind or another. It has been estimated that women form 33% of agricultural labour and constitute 82% in domestic service. In field labour their number is as high as 46% of the total male labour employed and the proportion of women engaged in plantation labour is as high. The startling discrepancy, between the number of women engaged in liberal professions and the number employed in manual labour is accounted for by two obvious features of Indian life. The first is of course the fact that in 1941 female literacy was estimated to be not much higher than 2%, although between 1931 and 1941 male literacy rose from 14% to 22%. Lakshmi Menon, from whose admirable pamphlet THE POSITON OF WOMEN these figures are taken, observes significantly: "The history of girls' education in India is one of tragic neglect." The second reason for the insignificance of the number of women engaged in proffessions in India is the one implied by Pundit Nehru: women going in for higher studies belong entirely to the middle and upper classes, amongst whom in the words of Mrs. Menon "earning a living by entering a profession is looked upon with disfavour.....it is regarded as an attempt on the part of the woman to escape parental control by asserting economic freedom." If women, therefore, are to play their part in the professions, the first great need is to wean the higher income groups from their prejudices by a process of social education. The expenditure incurred in the higher education of women must not be wasted by confining them to the home exclusively. Domestic science must necessarily form part of the curriculum for women in secondary schools. The importance attached to it must vary, however, with individuals. Careers and marriage not being incompatible a basic knowledge of home-crafts should be given to all girls. This necessity becomes the greater with the break-up of the joint family system. Again a number of women give up temporarily their careers, simply because they do not find it possible to continue full-time jobs along with their duties of attending to children and homes. Whilst the idea of facilities for creches has been popularised for working class women, it has not been considered yet for helping middle class women continue with their employment, no doubt because there has been no urgent need. The question of making part-time jobs available on a larger and more organised scale should be considered at least for women teachers, seeing the great national demand for them.

The problem of employment of women, of serious community service is obviously linked with the problem of improving educational facilities for them, and that of improving the working conditions of women in employment. The remuneration of teachers, nurses, health visitors is absurdly low, and there are no special advantages attached to these professions to serve the peculiar needs of women. Social services such as labour welfare work are still undeveloped. The Tata School of Sociology has done yeoman's service in this direction but obviously there is a great need for more institutions of its kind. The establishment of the right type of institutions, a provision for satisfying the needs of women in jobs will go a long way in stopping the present tendency of middle class women to use educational facilities for dilletante social work. The last war has already achieved a good deal in breaking down the social prejudices which prevented them from entering professions. Public men can, if they wish, consolidate these gains by intelligent planning. As far as the question of the educational curriculum for women is concerned it is obvious that the spirit of good fellowship between the sexes so essential to a harmonious society can best be served by providing both sexes with a similar general education at all stages. The differences in the curricula need arise only when the actual training for a vocation begins. At that stage vocational differences will play a greater part in determining the content of the individual curricula than innate or acquired differences between the sexes.

BELGIAN ROYAL QUESTION

(By ARMAND BACHELIER)

Publication of Winston Churchill's war memoirs in the two largest newspapers of Belgium, Le Soir and Het Laatste Nieuws, has revived the political quarrel over King Leopold.

Le Soir, which in principle is a neutral journal, emphasizes that the former British Prime Minister has charged Leopold III with running out on Great Britain after May 28, 1940. He characterizes the choice of the fact that Leopold solemnly promised, the day hostilities began, to share whatever lot befell his soldiers. At the same time, Churchill pays homage to the royal families of Norway, the Netherlands and Luxemburg, who reached England at the beginning of the invasion.

Leopoldist papers, on the other hand, have launched a counterattack, declaring that it is ignominious for a Belgian newspaper to use the pretext of statements by a foreign politician to support a thesis accusing King Leopold. They recall that the King of Denmark did not leave his country during the occupation, and no one thinks of reproaching him. Finally, they are pointing out that different versions of Churchill's memoirs have been published, and insist that the text appearing in Le Soir is not the same as that in the New York Times, Het Laatste Nieuws and Figaro in Paris.

With only six months before elections, no one knows yet what will be the attitude of all the parties on the royal question. Only the Christian Social Party, the largest in the country, would reliably defend the King. There is talk, however, of a split in the Liberal Party, and some of its members, concerned over the drift of a faction toward the Left might support the monarch. Leopold, though no reactionary and in many respects a liberal thinker, has been assailed most bitterly from the left-of-centre parties.

— *Worldover Press.*

A BIOGRAPHY AND APPRECIATION.

Mahatma Gandhi. By H. S. L. Polak, H. N. Brailsford and Lord Pethick-Lawrence, Foreword by Sarojini Naidu, Publishers, The Odhams Press Limited, London, Price Rs. 12/6

In this book, interest for Indians naturally lies in the last section where Lord Pethick-Lawrence reveals the inside story of the Cabinet Mission. There is nothing said here that has not been said before but the angle is new since it is that of the leader of that Mission himself. In view of a myth that is being created by a section that Gandhiji was not a party to the partition of India, it is interesting to note Lord Pethick-Lawrence's comment that the failure of the Mission was definitely the result of Gandhiji's insistence on Assam's asserting her non-acceptance of the grouping system. "In tendering this advice to Assam and the Sikhs," observes Lord Pethick-Lawrence, "Gandhi was taking on upon himself a very grave responsibility. It was not merely that he was upholding his own interpretation of the Mission's statement against that put upon it by both His Majesty's Government and the political leaders of the Congress. He was definitely jeopardising the whole functioning of the three-tiers scheme of the Mission." The writer observes that with trouble originating among the Sikhs and Assam Hindus the whole situation would have reduced itself to a choice between three courses: Britain's continuance in India or imposing the majority will on the minority or partition. "But Gandhiji hoped against hope that, faced with these dire alternatives, the Indian communities might yet be induced to agree to build a constitution on modified or different lines under which they could all live together in mutual goodwill." It would be an interesting study for the future historian to trace throughout Gandhiji's public life the dual characteristic of skilled campaigning for a cause and of inadequate advocacy in the negotiating stages. As a bargainer, a lawyer and a satyagrahi, Gandhi, needed most the capacity to strike hard bargains but birth, training, and the technique he had adopted of living were all left aside at the crucial moment. Therefore his campaigns are always the brighter side of his activities; his peace making the least inspiring. The present biography and appreciation is not, however, helpful for such an inquiry. It is a far too conventional production to touch a highly critical note. Mr. Brailsford, the most typically English of the three writers, is also the most judicious in his estimate of Gandhiji and his principles. "The Middle Years" is a delightful Western perspective on an essentially Eastern subject. Mr. Polak's "Early Years" deal with the making of the Hero, primarily in South Africa. Sarojini Naidu's foreword is a characteristic vignette, charmingly executed in which that gifted lady describes her first meeting with Gandhiji—in London! To Indians of this generation the life of Gandhiji will be a twice-told tale. But the portrayal by the joint effort of three English friends and not quite blind admirers is a well-worked second telling.

ALCOHOL

Why Prohibition? By Dr. Mookerji, Publishers: The Book House, Calcutta, Price Re. 4/-. (The author's share of the profits will go to the Gandhi Memorial Fund).

Dr. Mookerji has given the public a valuable analysis of the effect of alcohol on the human body. Although India is launched on Prohibition, there is very little literature available on the subject and certainly nothing like a scientific presentation of the base against alcohol. Yet it is obvious that, if the experiment is to succeed, there must be thorough propaganda to educate the public not only to abstain from drink but to help in the prevention of illicit distillation. To have a police force which will be adequate to the task of watching the possible law breakers is too much to expect. The Prohibition Act in Bombay, for instance, has a number of provisions which cannot be enforced except by the preventive officers. But there are others which need the cooperation of the general public. It is rather unfortunate that the book lacks an index or a bibliography because somehow it conveys the impression that Dr. Mookerji's references and authorities are all about 15 years old and largely drawn from the Prohibition literature of the U. S. A. Moreover, the writer has a jarring habit of writing "Father of the Nation" whenever he wants to refer to Gandhiji. But the various chapters entitled Alcohol and the Vital Organs, Alcohol and the Nervous System, Alcohol and the Blood, Alcohol: the Ally of Disease, and the thorough handling of the different human activities affected by liquor provide much valuable information. Dr. Mookerji makes a passing reference to the use of alcohol in religious ceremonies. He does not say that he approves or disapproves of it. He merely remarks that it does not lead to drunkenness. That, if we may say it, is beside the point. There are various other uses of liquor which will not lead to drunkenness but which nevertheless will be banned under Prohibition because once an article is tolerated as a matter of daily use it is difficult to regulate the quantity consumed. That is why we are inclined to disagree with Dr. Mookerji's feeling "we in India have a very important thing in our favour, which is that, fortunately, or unfortunately, religion continues to play a very large part in shaping our social behaviour." In Prohibition, it is likely to be more a point against than in favour of the reform. For though the Draft Constitution provides for the public interest even in guaranteeing religious freedom the administrations shrink from extending their anti-liquor policy into religious matters. Until that is done it seems rather ridiculous and futile to indulge in denunciations of drink. Dr. Mookerji might assert on high authority that liquor is a poison like strychnine; but when it is administered by the priest as a sacrament the effect on the public mind cannot be very happy.

WHERE THE SHOE PINCHES

(By DEVERE ALLEN)

Cold war and combat war have one thing in common. They create their own patterns of international behaviour. They push men's minds and programmes around, and end up by determining foreign policy rather than being the product of it. Diplomats fondly imagine they can use warfare for controlled objectives, but history shows otherwise.

Entrenched in one position, governments must hold fast; soon, in order to maintain that position safely, another must be grasped, a little further out toward danger. Peace becomes a sort of No Man's Land, with its space gradually nibbled away as foreign offices creep up to new vantage points. All too often policies meet in the middle, crash head on, and cold war turns to hot.

American policy in Europe has been put forward as consistent, natural, and peaceful. It has, in fact, come out to a very different position from the one originally expected. The change, if not realized by the people, may lead to disaster.

It began when President Truman set forth a temporary policy that became elaborated into a Doctrine. It was a programme of containment, to halt Soviet expansionism, but short of war. Its watchwords were "firm but friendly." In two places only, Greece and Turkey, the giving of economic help was supplemented by arms. Elsewhere the Marshall Plan in its economic aspects was to revive Europe and, while doing so, provide an unfavourable climate for Communism.

The Truman Doctrine had its successes and its failures. Its proponents argue that no new Soviet demands have been made on the Turks. The experience in Greece has been less fortunate; the weakness of the rebels has been lately due, primarily, to the Stalin-Tito split. And while American eyes were fixed on Greece and Turkey, Czechoslovakia became a new bastion in the Soviet sphere.

The Marshall Plan, where it was unencumbered by military aspects, went brilliantly toward its goal. Europe in many areas made surprising gains, and held back collapse in the worst places. The Communist tide ebbed in Italy and France, Austria and Trieste. Its minorities became smaller in many other spots. Even in Berlin and the Soviet zone of Germany, Communist prestige fell to a new low.

Precisely at this time, when Russia was still strong but losing ground, when the Berlin blockade had failed to achieve its purpose, when the Yugoslav defection had brought uneasiness to several satellite states, Washington began to inject a new note into its diplomacy. The economic phases of recovery were almost everywhere intermingled with a military programme. Foreign policy was taken over increasingly by the Pentagon. There were inquiries into the possibility of cutting off a certain amount of economic aid in favour of military equipment. When alarmed European leaders protested, the military material was sent all the same, in part; it could be spared from the surplus. But pressure was turned on Congress for appropriations over and above economic help.

European statesmen, of course, were hoping they might count on U. S. military help in case of an attack from Eastern Europe. But they had sense enough to see that, if military equipment was substituted for economic undergirding, the end would be weakness, not strength. If a guarantee of American help in an emergency could be obtained, many of them were sincerely convinced they might be safer. That was the way most people's thinking went, after two world wars on their own soil. The Western Union agreement, largely economic but also military, paved the way for a wider defence community. Britain, France, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxemburg might be expanded into a treaty arrangement that would bring in Canada, the United States, and several other European nations. The Atlantic Defence Pact will require discussion in detail. But already, its liabilities are as noteworthy as any prospective accomplishments.

The evolution of American Policy has done thus far a number of specific things. It has taken the military frontiers of America to the northern coast of Norway, next to Russia. It has destroyed one great hope of North European stability, a homogeneous union of Scandinavia. It has put Finland in a far more dangerous position. It has shifted the emphasis in Europe from the economic upbuilding it must have, to an armament race it cannot afford. And it has changed the voluntary cooperation of European countries with America to a compulsory alliance. How many governments besides those of Scandinavia were told that they would get no armed help unless they joined up—with the implication that economic help might be more reluctant—no one can say. But the whole relationship to Europe had almost, though fortunately not entirely, changed to compulsion from Washington.

This is what Sovit propaganda said would happen. This is what countless Europeans feared, what they were told by countless American emisf saries would never happen. It was the sort of pressure the whole world has deplored when used by Russia. As a consequence, the attitude o Europeans is already resembling that of Latin Americans in the past—a desire to be friendly to the United States, but always fearful of the Colossus. America has given Europe a fine new suit of clothing; but has pinned a political badge on its lapel and has put an embarrassingly dangerous gun in the hip pocket.

From the military viewpoint, as well as from that of peace, many questions must be asked. Was there any danger that Scandinavia would voluntarily fall into the Russian orbit? If it fell under attack, is there any advantage through the pact that didn't exist without it? Is the United

States able to guarantee that it will immediately save the countries of Europe from an initial invasion, any more than Britain was able to rescue Poland in September, 1939? Is there a possibility that the breakdown of U. S. economy, so fervently anticipated in the Kremlin, might be hastened by the cost of a new armament race in which it has to become, once more and so soon, the world's arsenal? Why substitute military methods, of dubious utility, fer the economic ones which already had Moscow on the run?

Not yet has the new programme replaced the former one, but it is dangerously close to driving it out, just as bad money drives out good under a well known economic law. Even now, American policy has shifted so far that it bears scant likeness to the one so widely supported by a generous public bent on building Europe up. It is high time for searching questions. And the answers had better be good.

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Anna Louise Strong has been vague about the reasons for her dismissal from the Soviet elect, and has described most explanations put forward by others as poppycock. She may not even know, herself, the whole story. But one thing is certain: she didn't help herself when she assumed, as apparently she did, that she could have one of her books, which had been edited by Moscow's censors, published under the auspices of the Yugoslav Communists. Basically, the trouble is that the party line grows narrower and narrower, not only with reference to the West, but even more particularly when it concerns East European issues.

Worth noting is the fact that the journal put out by the Moscow-loyal Cominform has warned Marshal Tito that his entire nation will be made to suffer because of his "adventurous Trotskyist measures." A thorn in the Kremlin's flesh is the replacement of Russian chromite and other minerals, shipments of which to the United States are being cut down to ten per cent of previous allowances, by Yugoslav exports of these vital goods. During last December and January alone, the United States commodities received more of these strategic materials from Yugoslavia than all imports from Tito's country combined in the whole year of 1947. About $3,500,000 worth of lead, antimony, mercury and chromite were included in the shipments for those two months.

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As Tito draws away from the Moscow orbit, Romania is constantly being built up to take rather inadequately Yugoslavia's former spot. The old Romanian police and gendarmerie are being eradicated, and in their place a new militia is being trained. The militia is aimed primarily at the suppression of any popular dissent. As stated by the Minister of the Interior, T. Georgescu, it will constitute "a powerful weapon for the repression of all attempts to reinstate the former condition of affairs."

What Communists need, and with them a great many erstwhile fellow-travellers, is a sort of Caterpillar Club like that of American aviators who have had to parachute suddenly down from the skies. The Kremlin's favour is no more stable than the air. Andrei Vishinsky is luckier than some of his associates; his cousin has just been elected primate of the Roman Catholic Church in Poland, though he spells his name Wyszynski. This ought to be a real help!

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The rapid fall of Soviet stars has given rise to a tale reportedly going the rounds in Eastern Europe. It seems that a one-time Big Shot was ruefully explaining how he fell from grace. He had grown to depend for guidance on a poster, always kept on his wall, which adjured him, 'Follow the Glorious Leadership of Comrade Stalin." One day, he said after he had left his office, the poster slipped to the floor, where it was swept up and discarded by an overzealous scrub-woman. "For years," he declared, "I worked hard and faithfully, with never a question or a doubt. And then"— he bowed his head on his hands and sobbed — "I lost my motto!"

—Worldover Perss.

SHIFTING GROUND ON INDONESIA.

A confidential report from sources close to the Dutch Labour Party, which has overwhelmingly supported the government's military policy (even if reluctantly) shows that increasing numbers of the rank and file are restive over the position in which they have been placed. This uneasiness was reflected in a meeting of the Party to discuss the Indonesian question, at which a resolution backing the Party's Ministers and the military action was carried only by 1, 79 votes to 909. The size of the minority was taken as significant. At the same meeting, a resolution was adopted which urged close co-operation with Indonesia on a free and voluntary basis; its adoption followed its submission to delegates representing the local pary branches throughout the country.

Even those who disapprove openly the policy of the government in launching military action, however, are not in accord with the United Nations condemnation of the Dutch regime. "This is the same Security Council," they say, "which neglected its duty to peace in so many other cases, notably those of Czechoslovakia, Greece, Viet-Nam and China." *— Worldover Press.*

POINTING THE FINGER

An old medieval device is being restored in various parts of the East European satellite states, to keep down dissent. In Sofia and other Bulgarian towns, for example, "denunciation boxes" were recently set up in the streets. An appeal to the public was made to put in these boxes the names and addresses of any persons deemed "enemies of the people." In Bulgaria and elsewhere, the secret police does the rest.

Sofia has a theological faculty run by the Orthodox Church, the only one of its kind in Bulgaria. There are 276 students. Recently new courses have been added: Christian social science, religious psychology, the constitution of the Bulgarian People's Republic and Marxist science.

—Worldover Press

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"*I will* be as harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice: I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard*".

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the LIBERATOR.

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NOTES

Governor-General's Salary:—The debate in the Indian Parliament on the remuneration attached to the office of the Governor-General was thoroughly unsatisfactory. There was far more reference to the present holder of that office than to the Governor-Generalship itself and an altogether unhealthy insistence on the Gandhian ideal. In fact, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel who last week felt it necessary to warn the house against acceptance of khadi-wearing as the outward sign of an inward grace, was impelled to tell members that, if they desired to adhere to the Congress idea of Rs. 500 a month as the maximum, they should give Delhi up and fix the capital somewhere else. It is time that somebody told the country to give up this petty mentality and get its attention fixed on worthwhile things. Swami Vivekananda, asked once what he thought of another public worker who had committed the offence of meat-eating, sharply told his questioner, "You grass-eating slave, eat anything but be a man". As a nation, it cannot be denied that we are a pack of old women whose main occupation seems to be nosing out sensational details and gossiping about them. To a large extent, this is due to want of sufficient occupation and too much leisure. The main point is that the Governor-General is the head of the State and he has got to keep up a certain amount of appearance, whether he likes it or not, whether he is a Gandhian or a reprobate. When foreign representatives have to be received and entertained, one cannot insist very much on austerity and the virtues of simple living. The Governor-General is on show in a sense in which no one else can be, and at least he might be paid for it adequately If the critics had their way, high offices in the country would be put up for a kind of Dutch auction in which the lowest bidder would get through. It is this public hypocrisy which has led to all manner of shifts and devices by men in authority. We cannot understand the sense of making the Governor-General's salary and income free of income tax. It should not have been difficult to work out a sum which would yield a net income of Rs. 5,500 a month and agree on it. In this and other matters, it looks as though the Congress leaders are afraid of the public insisting on policies that they had publicised in their days of indiscreet non-cooperation.

Timidity in Excelsis:—It is a character which is revealing itself in many other matters. On any public issue, the Congress leaders are reluctant to discard long-professed theories with the candid avowal that office has changed their perspective, and at the same time they lack the tenacity to put them through. The one exception to this has proved fatal—decontrol, which Dr. Rajendra Prasad declared he was entering on because he felt that Gandhiji's instinct was better than his logic. Anyway, to revert to the general, the result is a profession of Gandhian ideals, a confession of inability to live up to them, and the widest departure—in one word, hypocrisy. There are occasions, all too rare, when Pandit Jawaharlal and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel break away from this set pattern. In two instances, we regret to note, Dr. Rajendra Prasad has pursued some exceedingly dubious propaganda lines—the adult franchise question and the Hindu Code. On the first, there are periodically articles by Dr. Rajendra Prasad in the "Harijan," of all journals, piling up gradually the mechanical difficulties of adult franchise. The President of the Constituent Assembly is, of course, the soul of discretion but he has a very definite axe to grind. If the Congress leaders feel like this, why not be honest about things, admit that the country is not ready for democratic institutions and go ahead with benevolent bureaucracy instead of clinging to the shadow of representative institutions and responsible government? There is nothing to fear from the Indian people who, having swallowed partition after decades of

anti-partition propaganda and centuries of united living, have proved their blind faith in the Congress leadership. And so far as world opinion goes, there is so much concern over the Communist-Democratic conflict that any change in India will pass generally unnoticed or, at least, not seriously commented on. As regards the Hindu Code, Dr. Rajendra Prasad's anxiety to have this much-considered Code postponed is inexplicable. The postponement seems almost a certainty and it is very probable that the new tactics will be to secure its complete withdrawal. The only reason one can conceive of is a curious fear that Hindu reactionary forces will oppose the Congress effectively at the next elections. It is not strange for a popular party to develop a fear of the people and, in certain circumstances, it might be quite a healthy sign. But in the present circumstances, it is adding to the country's difficulties. The efforts of the Congress leadership to have the best of both the democratic and the authoritarian world would be pathetic if it were not so fraught with disaster for the country.

Congress Candidate:—The choice of Dr. K. B. Mhaskar as the Congress candidate for the Bombay Legislative Assembly by-election is open to objection on many grounds. Dr. Mhaskar has not been known as a Congressman all these years nor is he temperamentally fitted for the rough and tumble of democratic elections, his active years having been spent in medical research. His rival for the North Bombay seat is the veteran Purshotamdas Trikamdas who is one of the leaders of the Socialist Party. If it is remembered that till very recently the Socialists were a part of the Congress, then the perplexities of the voter can be well understood. It is an incontrovertible fact that the breaking away of the Socialists from the Congress left the older organisation practically denuded of its secondrank politicians. In this context, the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee has had to go out of its party membership to select its candidates for legislative and municipal membership. As between the two parties, public opinion will certainly favour the Congress. But, when better-known persons are put up by the Socialists against comparatively unknown political figures, the voter is placed under a tremendous strain. We can understand the electorate being asked to vote for earnest Congressmen no matter how strong the opponent put up against them. We realise too that the Congress has to build up the party organisation. But membership of the party is different from selection to representative positions, and that distinction must be clearly understood. The Congress Constitution provides for this distinction but there is a period in which a certain latitude is allowed. The interval should be utilised to build up healthy precedents. The practice of passing by Congress workers of some standing for Congress members recently enrolled is far from desirable. These are no doubt by-elections and as such, of minor importance to political parties. But if this method of selection continues, there is the danger that the electorate at the general election will not respond to the appeal to vote for the Congress party rather than for individuals.

Commonwealth Once More:—With the approach of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London, once again the Commonwealth issue has come before the public. Although there seems to be on both the Indian and British side a general desire to continue the present ties, there seems to be equally a certain restraint in meeting each other the whole way. Britain is holding fast to the Crown as the link between all Commonwealth units and India is equally insistent on her republican status. Possibly left to themselves, the differences would dissolve but the Labour Government has to reckon with British public opinion for whom the Crown has a sentimental meaning and the Government of India has to consider, to put it mildly, the lack of meaning of the British Crown for Indians. Since there is more material gain for both sides in ignoring sentiment than in insisting on it, it is to the interest of both Britain and India that they stay together. But there would be disappointment in India and a sense of loss in Britain if either side compromised on this point. Besides, relinquishing the Crown as link between Commonwealth units would lead to a search for common principles that all could adhere to, and that is exactly what goes against the British genius which is more for expediency than for precise thinking. It has been argued that much more can be gained by a loose undefined tie than by a precise agreement which would force the parties to a strict and legalistic implementing. But it can be said with equal truth that it might be that more is lost. If acceptance of the Crown involves also British acceptance of race equality and an anti-colonial policy, then there is no reason why India should hesitate to accept it. But there is a fear that India is being asked to acquiesce in the Crown because the other points are being evaded. This fear has to be dealt with by Britain first before any decision can be taken by India. The report that a formula is under consideration by which India can be a republic and stay in the Commonwealth, suggests that the April meeting, which is meant to tie up the ends left loose last October is not likely to make much progress. It is a significant fact that the atmosphere at these Commonwealth conferences is vastly different to the atmosphere prevailing in most Commonwealth units. And several decisions taken at them have to be modified later. Last October Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru sounded far more hopeful about India staying with the Commonwealth if not in it, and British spokesmen too tended to slur over the world "British" in speaking of the British Commonwealth. Now the situation is vastly different. Whatever the result, it is desirable that it be made known early. There is no gain in uncertainty and indecision.

THE INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, April 2, 1949.

EXCOMMUNICATION AND LEGISLATION

The Bombay Government which has a creditable record of social legislation, is contemplating a measure to abolish excommunication. The Bill had been circulated for eliciting public opinion after its first reading last session and it was moved for reference to the Select Committee at its second reading by Mr. Morarji Desai. The Bill has been widely discussed in the province and it has served sharply to divide opinion. In the Assembly, there was more indirect than direct opposition and various pleas were urged-like shortness of time for Select Committee consideration, drastic character of the Bill and that it encroached on the rights and the privileges of communities. Excommunication has essentially a social rather than a religious sanction and it is a coercive measure. In a state which stands for secularism, it is impossible that the practice can be tolerated. For excommunication is not only putting out a member from its pale. It is an expulsion combined with a stigma. Others of the community cannot easily mix with the excommunicated without incurring the same penalty, and the reason for expulsion can be anything from the heinous to the trivial. Ranade in the old days was made to do prayaschit or atonement for drinking tea with some officials and missionaries and he defended his conduct in submitting to this social tyranny by pleading that he had reduced the expenses of prayaschit to some four annas. Hindu society has, however, been slowly adapting itself to changed conditions and there are excuses made for people who cross the seas or incur the wrath of their community. One of the most sensible instances of adjustment was the suggestion that foreign travel in the country's cause is not only acceptable but even praiseworthy. All of which means that, if a person rises to a fair degree of independence to his communal setting, he can get away with anything. As a matter of fact, the communal and caste disipline hangs heavy over the weaker members of society who find existing customs irkome and intolerable but would go far to observe the conventions And it has its worst coercions in the village or in backward communities where progressive opinion has not gained a foothold. It is just in these patches of social tyranny that the help of the Government is most essential to protect the people from what has often degenerated into downright bullying. It is in every way a corrollary to the Bombay Government's policy of reducing communalism to its least harmful condition. But the reactionary in all communities have so long had their own way that they are inclined to protest against the restoration of the individual's freedom as an infringement of the rights of the "community". This is the sheerest nonsense. There can be no right of the community which infringes on the freedom of the individual. And, when we discuss as we do in India, a community which is not synonymous with society as a whole but is only a section of it, the coercion becomes the more indefensible.

The ban on excommunication does not mean that the social discipline of the community will be set at naught. It is only a restraint on the community leaders from exercising the savage and barbarous coercions which were common in primitive societies. Mr. Morarji Desai read out in the Assembly the powers of the Mullaji Saheb, head of the Bohra community, which are incredible in their ferocity. The fact that the bulk of the protest has come from Muslims, is indicative of the fact that social reform has made little headway in that community. Otherwise, apart from the men who exercise these powers—including the right to "loot one's property and distribute it among the poor"—there would be no defender of excommunication. The Bombay Government has done well in bringing forward this measure. It has done doubly well in making it applicable to all communities and in resisting efforts of reactionary sections of society to restrict, defeat, or sabotage the Bill. It is the first social reform measure which the Government has had the courage to make generally applicable and as such it marks a landmark in the field of Indian social legislation. Hitherto we have had measures restricted to one community or another. Even where the same evils existed in all communities, exemptions and exceptions were made for one or the other community—a practice which was basically vicious. The anti-excommunication bill is a threefold achievement: It is a liberating social measure; it is a national reform, not confined in its beneficial effect to any section; and it is a blow at the most powerful factor in communalism. Even if the more insidious pressures of religious and communal heads continue after this Bill becomes law—and there is no reason why they should-the open mischief of excommunication which is the worst, will be ended.

RAJASTHAN

During the week, the United States of Rajasthan was inaugurated by Sardar Patel. It was a historic occasion when this largest of States Union came into being and it speaks well for the rulers of the different States concerned that the merging was effected with so little difficulty. Rajasthan is the home of Indian chivalry and it promises to become one of the leading units of the Indian Union. Sardar Patel was obviously at home in this territory and he let himself go when he spoke of it as the head of India. States like Bikanir and Jaipur have a record of progressive administration. They have been in close contact with India for several decades and that should go far in building up a harmonious future. In Udaipur there is the ancient tradition. Socially these States are not as progressive as other parts of India and a great field of work lies before their popular leaders.

WASTEFUL EXPENDITURE

The craze for economy is universal. Somewhere in the most extravagant amongst us there is a little streak which bids us make one razor blade do where two are necessary, stick the irreducible minimum piece of soap to the new cake, squeeze the teapot for the last drop, save the return half of that suburban ticket for a second trip home, and even smoke that extra cigarette in private. When economy takes one into the sphere of hard cash, one is denounced as a miser. When it affects one's mental attitude on more than two or three items of daily use, it grows to meanness. The toleration point of personal economy lies in its unobtrusiveness and its being a hobby rather than a business. When Einstein said that his realism led him to use the bath soap for working up the shaving lather on his face, the world enjoyed the eccentricity of a great man. It is one thing, however, to practise voluntary economies. It is a different thing altogether when one person's economical ways become the daily tyranny of another. Nature which is always wasteful, has so fashioned Man that even his abstention from wasteful expenditure must be wasteful. The housewife who as a measure of economy buys her vegetables, her meat and her provisions from Crawford Market, might be less wise than you who realise that she has not added the cost of a taxi for reaching the place and back to her household expenses. But she has certainly a sense of satisfaction which no one should disturb. As Tennyson put it so well—I quote from memory—in another context,

> Leave thou thy sister when she prays,
> Her happy home, her pleasing days;
> Nor thou with shadowed hint confuse
> A life that leads harmonious ways.

On this there will be general agreement in India where people are essentially a peace-loving lot. But the trouble lies when the economical attempt to thrust their economies on the rest of us. The other day a message from Pakistan told us that in the interest of stopping wasteful expenditure the people have been asked not to offer cigarettes. When I read the message I thought it was obviously the work of some non-smoker who had failed to appreciate the correct situation. All my economies have been centred on the offers that others have made of cigarettes. Nor am I the only one. The other day, a friend who was once a chainsmoker, appeared without a cigarette in his hand. "Given up?" I asked. He smiled and said, "Not in the least. Only I have now reached the more advanced stage of cadging smokes off others." It was a bitter blow and I need hardly add that he has lost a good deal of his old popularity. As a matter of fact, it is not every smoker who offers cigarettes nowadays. They have grown wise. Which only disproves the fallacy that nicotine affects the brain. If it does, I have not seen any sign of it so far. But bad as this was, there is worse to follow: Another report tells us that three burqa-clad women presented themselves in the Lahore Corporation and appealed to the men to give up smoking in order to check wasteful expenditure. A Corporation official pointed to their glass bangles and said, "Physician, heal thyself". The women promptly broke their bangles. It is not reported whether the simple city fathers were tricked by this ruse into abjuring smoking. But it was a most unfair move and one that bore heavily the marks of domestic blackmail. A broken bangle can be replaced and, not doubt, the ones mentioned were; but a decision to give up smoking will not only be binding but it will lead to wasteful expenditure in other ways. More than smoking itself, more even than the cost of that eternal masculine search for cigarettes that do not affect the throat and lungs and for appliances to extract the noxious nicotine from the delectable cigarette, is the money wasted on substitutes for smoking which help to break the habit. And it is sheer waste. After all, what is the whole pother about? About half mankind—and with women taking to the reed, it is fast getting more than half—can be satisfied and pacified by sticking a cigarette, a cigar or a pipe into its mouth. In fact, it has become almost a part of the human form. Compared to the contentment radiated by tobacco, the advantage to be gained through enforcing a general abstention is negligible. Nor should it be forgotten that the loss to revenue will be enormous. I can suggest several ways of achieving savings without encroaching on the sacred smoke, and since it is necessary to be constructive I am now doing so.

The first economy that strikes one is in paper. During the war years, an enterprising paper dealer advised his clients to save paper by not keeping copies of their letters. This is very sensible. In fact if all letters are replied on their reverse—of course, this means that no letter should be carried on to the other page—then the economy becomes far greater. Saving in paper must naturally bring about saving in ink, in pencil and in nibs and pins. No economy could be more far-reaching. Next to this is cloth. The wastage caused by the penchant for clean handkerciefs, to take the smallest item in this sphere, is inconceivable to the ordinary unthinking mortal. Something must be done about it. The impression which is fairly general, that the change-over from loose garment to tight-fitting clothes is more economical, is a devastating illusion. It has increased the multiplicity of garments inordinately. Then there is the shave and the hair-cut. The daily shave is a Western defect which should be at once dropped. Nothing is more destroying to the independence of man than the belief, fostered with sinister cunning by American advertisements of shaving soap and razor blades, that a clean shave is a social asset. In fact the very phrase "clean shave" is a misleading piece of mischief. We must not forget that the Indian tradition is for a clean shave on the head not on the chin. Matter is only dirt when it is in the wrong place. A shaven head is an economy as it

is not needed frequently; a shaven chin is an extravagance. There should be a convention that every man and boy should start shorn and grow his hair to a couple of inches before going again to the barber. A coupon system would regulate this at once. *VIPRA.*

PRISONER OF THE RUSSIANS

(By DEVERE ALLEN)

This prisoner of the Russians came home to his Austrian parents, the first one to be kidnapped, seized or arrested yet to do so. And because he is unique, because his story can be trusted, because his experience throws new light on the trials of religious and political dissenters in East Europe, the facts ought to be told. There will be some who think they ought to be suppressed, who believe that evil things done by the Russian Communists are well enough publicized as it is. This is no atrocity tale, however; and it has come to the writer through dependable sources at the very heart of the event.

It has been charged in Vienna by a leading newspaper that the Soviet police work in the closest connection with the state police of Hungary; but newspaper reporters from the United States correctly send such stories with the addition, "But the source of this information was not given." The close connection could, perhaps, be taken for granted. Here, in any case, is evidence not to be brushed aside.

Anton Borg—we'd better call him that—is a young man who recently came back after six weeks of absence. His home was in the Austrian province of Burgenland, near the Hungarian frontier. He was a maintenance worker on the railway. One day while at work he was arrested by Russian soldiers. They took him to the Soviet Kommandatura, where he was refused answers when he asked the reason for his arrest. He was put into a truck and carried off. When the truck neared the Hungarian border, the Russians made Anton put on the coat and cap of a Russian first lieutenant. Austrian frontier guards have no right to examine vehicles of the occupation armies, and so the truck passed without difficulty into Hungary. The Austrians, polite as they are, even saluted the "Russian lieutenant."

After the frontier was passed, Anton had to take off his soldier's garb, and was taken to prison at Steinamanger, Hungary. There he was kept in solitary confinement, was given a bowl of soup and a slice of bread three times a day. After five days he was interrogated and told he had been arrested because he had received letters from the Western Zones of Austria which he was supposed to send on to Hungarian citizens inside Hungary. When Anton denied the charge, he was told that if he did not confess, he would be transferred to the prison of the dread Hungarian secret police. The young man had nothing to confess, so that was his fate.

During his confinement he shared a cell with another man. He was there five days. In that time, one slice of bread and a few apples were brought—for both prisoners, and just once in the five days. Once, the other prisoner was taken out for "examination". When he was brought back, he lay on the floor without moving or uttering a word. After a time, he said in a broken voice that the guards had bound him hand and foot, and had tried to extract a confession by putting him between two electric poles and sending a current through his body. Five times they gave him the shock treatment.

On the sixth day, Anton was taken out of his cell, manacled, and with other prisoners put into a jeep and carried to Budapest. When he entered a big building, he could see the address over the door—"Andrassy-ut 60." This is the headquarters of the Hungarian state police. (It has recently been roped off so that no vehicles or pedestrians, except those on police business, can come near.) The new inmates were put in a large room and made to stand, with faces to the wall, one whole day and one whole night. When near collapse, they were taken to cells. Anton shared his with 20 Hungarians. The cell had no furniture save a wooden stand of bare boards, in four stages, where the prisoners had to sleep. There were no mattresses, no covers, no heat. The cold caused extreme suffering. For food, the men got a bowl of beans cooked in water, and a slice of bread, once daily at noon. Each day some of the men were taken out for "examination." On their return they fell on the floor as if dead, lying immobile for hours. Many got the electric treatment. Others were beaten on the soles of their feet with rubber truncheons. Others were hung from manacled hands on hooks in the ceiling.

A very lucky youth, Anton was merely kicked and mauled by fists when his turn came to be examined. But he remained a month in this hell-hole. Then he was brought before a police officer who ordered him to sign a form printed in Hungarian, a language Anton could not read. He discovered later that he had signed a petition to be put into a concentration camp. Next morning he was taken to his new quarters. It was a former army barracks with bare rooms, no furniture, not even the wooden planks on which to sleep. Thousands of men were there, all sleeping on the floor without mattresses or covers, with no heat. For food they received bean soup three times a day, and a daily ration of eight ounces of bread. Most men were there for "sabotage" or "espionage."

What were their real crimes? There were peasants who had planted their corn in rows too narrow according to government regulations. There were engineers who had built machines that didn't run properly, and so were "saboteurs." There were men who were "spies" because they had received a letter from a relative or friend in some West European country. All had signed the form asking to be sent here, some because

they didn't know what it was, others after "pressure."

Things changed suddenly for Anton. On his third day in the camp he was taken out, brought by street car to the railway station, and taken to Steinamanger once more. From there he was brought back to the Russian Kommandatura, and next day returned to Austria and released. To the young Austrian, his release is as much of a mystery as his arrest. But there is one especially significant fact in Anton's case: the Russian occupation army was functioning as the bloodhound of the Hungarian secret police. This is something that has been rumoured in the "people's democracies" now established beyond all doubt. Another thing, too, has been proved by Anton's strange experience: the similarity in the methods of totalitarians, of whatever era or whatever country, in their determination to keep in power through the police state. For free men, that is worth remembering.

—*Worldover Press.*

WHAT CAN BE EXPECTED OF CHINESE COMMUNISM?

(By LEWIS HOSKINS)

The author, as a leader in field work for the American Friends Service Committee, spent five months in Chinese Communist territory during the past year, and has just returned to the United States. His article is released by Worldover Press.

What is the appeal the Chinese Communists make so successfully to the common people? That is a question asked throughout the world. It is a question that must be answered in terms of China's economic situation.

In large and backward China, the exponents of Marxism have attached themselves to a social revolution which is long overdue and which has for its object the breaking up of the old feudal land system. That system has held the peasant masses in virtual bondage for centuries. Any alleviation of their lot wins their support. The peasants seem convinced that their economic welfare is promoted where the Communists have taken over. In most cases the peasants have been so impressed that they would return reluctantly to the former regime.

This does not mean that the peasantry of China are going Communist in the usual sense of the word. They are not proletarian or united in feeling the necessity for a class struggle to secure their freedom. Nor does their traditional pattern of culture make them readily susceptible to a strictly Communist approach. Long advocates of the "golden mean," long devoted to the value of compromise, they distrust extremes. Their patience and fatalism make them accept intolerable conditions for a long time before succumbing to the plea for revolution. Demagogues find the peasants rather unresponsive to their usual appeals. Yet the Chinese Communists have been winning widespread support.

In many parts of China the masses of peasants eke out their existence on a small parcel of land raising the necessities with perhaps a little surplus to trade or barter for goods they cannot produce themselves. Often they do not own their tiny plots, but pay heavy rentals to landlords who live in the cities instead of in the rural communities where their lands are located. The peasants also have to pay burdensome taxes, along with other assessments, which strip them of personal income. Frequently they live under a contant threat of eviction.

Through all this they are patient as long as they can provide their families with the minimum needs of life; two bowls of rice, *mien*, or millet gruel a day, some clothing against the winter, and some kind of shelter. But if they find their economic condition deteriorating to the point where absolute necessities cannot be had, they will turn to another government or leader who promises better things. They have been accustomed in times past to such changes, which merely meant the substitution of one warlord for another.

The National Government under Chiang Kai-Shek sought unity and prosperity for China, and valiant efforts were put forward by some of its leaders to win mass support by inaugurating land reforms. But it cannot be gainsaid that in many areas they were unsuccessful. They lost even their middle class backing when the currency reform of last August failed, and many people saw their reserves swept away by the new inflation. Confidence was destroyed. The Communist military victories followed on the heels of the Kuomintang's waning prestige.

The Communists make their main appeal to the lowest class of peasants, and only lately have been changing their policies to attract middle class support. Disregarding the handicap of illiteracy that kept the Kuomintang from winning mass loyalty in the lower brackets, the Communists have utilized techniques of mass appeal familiar the world over. In mass meetings to which everyone in a community is invited (women included), with all hands given a chance to participate, the community's economic resources are inventoried, and the most efficient use of them planned, with available man-power.

Such a programme inevitably involves a realignment of property titles and the dispossession of the idle rich. While the Communists have no respect for property rights when it suits their purpose to brush them aside, they do give a sort of title to the land when it is redistributed.

The peasant "owns" his land, but his permanent tenure is subject to review by the peasants of his village in mass meetings sponsored by the Communists about once a year. Only if he is reported to have used his land effectively, by comparative production records, is the individual peasant permitted to keep it. To some, land will be added; from others, it will be taken away.

Definite appeals are being made by the Chinese Communists to business interests, both native and foreign. To do this, they deviate from

traditional Marxism and offer encouragement in the form of tax exemption and bounties. This kind of help is given to industrial and commercial concerns which remain and get their factories and firms going again. Such propaganda is not without effect; many foreign and Chinese firms are staying on, at least for a trial period.

To set up a strong government, in which they will have the dominant role, the Communists must secure firm support from the peasants and the middle class. At the same time, they will have to protect themselves from political intrigues by former Nationalist and military leaders.

It is because of this need that they have been trying to eliminate in advance the key personalities around whom discontent might rally, by naming them "war criminals." If those so labelled "see the light" in time, and join forces with the Reds, they are removed from the list. Otherwise their only alternative is exile, and many have been taking this course.

Final peace talks will not be completed until the Communist leaders feel assured that their enemies are not in a position to menace the new regime. When they are finally ready, their new government and its policies may appear more moderate and conciliatory than generally expected. If the new regime benifits a sufficiently large proportion of the population and brings economic stability and peace, it will have a fairly free hand. The people are inclined to "give the Communists a try."

—*Worldover Press.*

TOWARDS A WORLD FEDERATION OF FREE UNIONS

(By HERBERT TRACY)

Relations between the international organistion of the trade unions based upon the affiliation of National Centres, and the international Trade Secretariats based upon the affiliation of unions in particular industries, have always been a problem of the greatest difficulty. No real advance towards a solution of this problem was achieved at the Bournemouth Conference of Trade Secretariats early in March. In fact the discussions and decisions taken at the conference have served to emphasise the extreme complexity of the existing situation inside the international trade union movement.

In the background of the Bournemouth Conference there were of course, two inescapable facts; one was the complete breakdown of negotiations for the incorporation of the Trade Secretariats in the new Trade Departments to be created within the World Federation of Trade Unions; the other was the fact that the World Federation itself is now practically in dissolution in consequence of the withdrawal of three of its most influential affiliates - the British T. U. C., the American C. I. O. and the Dutch T. U. C., with other important withdrawals to follow in the course of this year.

Protracted negotiations between a committee made up of the representatives of the Trade Secretariats and of the World Federation foundered upon the failure to agree about the degree of autonomy the Trade Secretariats would continue to exercise upon their incorporation in the W. F. T. U. Trade Departments. The basic objection of the Trade Secretariats to incorporation was the requirement that, as Trade Departments of the World Federation, they would be finally accountable, not only for their finances but for all their activities, to the General Council and Executive of the World Federation.

In regard to their finance, the Trade Secretariats insisted that the Trade Departments in which they were to merge should have financial autonomy, including, specifically, the right to raise a levy among affiliated unions for special purposes. On questions of policy administration they insisted too, that the Trade Departments must have a free hand in dealing with matters affecting unions in the industries to which they belonged.

When it was found impossible to reach an agreement with the World Federation, the Trade Secretariats set up a committee to study the problems involved in their future relations with a general International Trade Union organisation. This committee was also instructed to examine the possibility of permanent co-operation among the Trade Secretariats on all matters in which they have common interest. This committee produced a Draft Constitution for a Council of Co-ordination on these lines.

In the discussion of this Draft Constitution at the Bournemouth Conference, the same intractable problem of relationships with the general international Trade Union organisation made its appearance again. The Draft Constitution was strongly opposed, in particular, by representatives of unions affiliated to the British T. U. C. The T. U. C. was not itself implicated in the proceedings of the Bournemouth Conference. But in a number of the Trade Secretariats, the T. U. C. influence is very strong—so strong, indeed, that one of the most powerful of the Trade Secretariats, the Mineworkers' International, actually decided to send no delegates to the Bournemouth Conference.

Opposition to the Draft Constitution reflected the T. U. C. view that the creation of a permanent Co-ordinating Council such as the Draft Constitution proposed, was equivalent to setting up a new general international body. Spokesmen of T.U.C. unions rejected the argument on which the Draft Constitution was framed: that there are problems of common interest linking all the Trade Secretariats together. In contradiction to this argument, it was contended that there is no general problem affecting the Trade Secretariats which the National Centres of the Trade Union Movement would not be responsible for through the centralised International Federation of the Trade Union Movement.

The Bournemouth Conference finally set aside the Draft Constitution. In its place the Confer-

ence agreed to a resolution empowering the committee responsible for calling the Conference together to hold regular consultations on matters affecting the Trade Secretariats, and to work out a plan for dealing with the finances of the Trade Secretariats.

At the present time the Trade Secretariats, which number about 20 in active existence, are financed by affiliation fees paid by the unions in the industries in which the Trade Secretariats exist. In addition, until the recent trouble in the World Federation, these unions have also been contributing through their National Centres to the maintenance of the World Federation—the affiliation fees for the National Centres being calculated on the cost of maintaining the Trade Departments, as well as on the general activities of the World Federation.

In practice, this has meant quite a substantial levy upon the funds of the unions involved in this way in a kind of double affiliation. The affiliation fee to the World Federation (including the liability for Trade Departments) was based upon a contribution of £4 (Rs. 53) per 1000 members each year. In the T. U. C. accounts presented to the 1948 Congress nearly £12,000 (Rs. 1.6 lakhs) was entered as the cost of its association with the World Federation for the preceding 12 months.

Not only the question of finances, but also the problem of establishing a satisfactory relationship between the Trade Secretariats and whatever new International Body comes into existence, obviously cannot be settled until the nature and scope of the central international body has been settled.

It is at present the subject of consultation between representatives of the British T. U. C. who are in the U. S. A. to make contact with leaders of the American Federation of Labour and the Congress of Industrial Organisations. The A. F. L. has expressed very strongly the view that the Trade Secretariats must be drawn into the fullest confidence, consultation and acts of collaboration in all the preparatory steps for the establishment of a healthy World Federation of free Trade Unions. To ignore the Trade Secretariats would, in the view of the A. F. L., be tantamount to treating with contempt "the very arteries of the living International Free Trade Union Movement." It is generally agreed, though, that the approach towards the establishment of a genuine International Federation of Unions must be carefully planned. It cannot be created overnight. The decision of the Bournemouth Conference to set up a committee of nine members, with the possible addition of a tenth from the Mineworkers' International, can be regarded as a step in the right direction, but this committee will not be expected to function as a representative of the International Trade Union Movement until the new central body is established. Its main function will be to facilitate negotiations on behalf of the Trade Secretariats when the new International Federation is coming into existence.

LIGHT ON THE CARDINAL

Washington is receiving a great deal of information on the Cardinal Mindszenty case from important Hungarian refugees who escape into Austria, or, in some cases, by roundabout ways into Western Germany. Their stories have to be taken with caution, but sometimes they cannot lightly be dismissed. In the latter category is the testimony of a former Hungarian political police official, who presented evidence that the Cardinal was questioned continuously, for 82 hours, while standing, and without food or drink. Andrew Zakar, the Cardinal's personal secretary, according to this report, was beaten along with several other loyal functionaries, and brought before Mindszenty, telling him that they had all been forced to confess, says "Worldover Press."

Internal evidence of the probable use of drugs to get the Cardinal's confession lies in the document itself, said to be " in his own hand." Mindszenty throughout his life boasted of his peasant origin; yet he begins the "confession" by the words: "I am a Hungarian nobleman." British physicians interested in the trial believe they know the drugs used to secure the kind of stories desired by European totalitarians generally. They are amphetamin, actedron, sometimes administered with benzedrine; or scopelamin, the "twilight sleep" drug. After an initial optimism and upswing of energy, the victim in time, with repeated doses, becomes susceptible to suggestion and suffers a loss of distinctive personality.

REFUGEES AND RUMOURS.

A striking number of refugees have invaded Trieste City recently from the Yugoslav Zone of the Free Territory. Included among them are Hungarians, Bulgarians, and at least one Romanian. Families with half-starved babies and with little clothing are in a majority. And so many of them have found good treatment that a large proportion refuse to leave when their turn comes up under the displaced persons scheme. It has been necessary for Allied Military Government to issue an order that those refusing emigration would not get another chance. There is a lot of work involved in the emigration of a DP. First he reports to the welfare branch of AMG, then he is sent to a displaced person camp in Italy, where he is examined by the officials of the country concerned. In the past few months a lot of youths have escaped from the Yugoslav Zone in order to avoid compulsory military call-up. Very seldom do these young men have any money. Many of them have a "hot story" to tell, at a price. The tales are often concocted. One persistent story runs to the effect that Tito is not as popular as appears outside the borders of Yugoslavia, and that his overthrow is imminent. Rebels are said to be among his own Communist comrades. It is obvious that some of the stories thus brought into Trieste are the sort of thing the tellers believe will be popular. On the other hand, it is true that 67 Communist Party members held a meeting in Belgrade and published a report denouncing Tito, as an "opportunist."—*Worldover Press.*

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"I will be as harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice: I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard".

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the LIBERATOR.

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NOTES

Marriage Reform:—The discussion in the Central Assembly on Pandit Thakurdas Bhargava's three non-official bills on marriage reform has shown how reactionary the attitude of certain prominent legislators is to social reform. Pandit Thakurdas had certainly not initiated any revolutionary principles in his bills. The key reform contemplated is the raising of the marriage age of girls from fourteen to fifteen and boys from eighteen to twenty. The necessity of this was recognised long ago, when the Sarda Act was drafted and passed. Experience of the working of this Act indicated that the reform was ignored rather than observed as the penalties it contained proved an insufficient deterrent. Consequently in the case of Pandit Thakurdas' Bills, the Select Committee recommended that offences against the Child Restraint Marriage Act be made cognizable, bailable and non-compoundable, and also that the Courts be empowered to award simple imprisonment in case of suitable offences and compulsory imprisonment for more grave offences. The three bills also aim at validating marriages between Hindus, Sikhs, and Jains and their various castes and sub-castes, and include clauses to raise the age of consent in respect of extra-marital and kidnapping offences. The two last-mentioned reforms did not meet with any opposition, which was reserved for the raising of the marriageable age and for recognising offences against the Act as cognisable.

Government's Caution:—Mr. Gadgil declared that Government would not agree to raising the marriageable age beyond that specified in the Sarda Act. He argued that if boys could be recruited to the defence forces at the age of eighteen, then there was no reason why they could not marry at that age. That the two situations are somewhat different was not pointed out by anyone. Joining the forces does not entail accepting responsibility for bringing up a family, besides life in the army for the new recruit is well regulated by a rigid code. Marriage is a matter of individual adjustment, on the other hand; success in it is achieved by the exercise of somewhat different qualities than those required for military service. Both Mr. Gadgil and the Congress President felt that social reform was achieved best by educating public opinion. True, but legislation has always helped in the process of consolidating all reforms and its value has been recognised by all Indian reformers. Prohibition is a relevant case. It is curious that though the police may be permitted to make encroachments into the private lives of individuals in the interest of working the Prohibition, the police may not do so in the case of a reform which affects the maternity mortality rate of the country. Even more curious was the argument advanced by yet two other legislators. These honourable members asserted that psychologists had pointed out that "child marriages were more conducive to mutual affection and compatability of temperament than marriages between adults, which were usually based on mere physical attraction." Naturally neither mentioned the names of the psychologists who supported them in their views, nor did they specify the age at which marriage was considered most desirable by psychologists or eugenists. The discussion makes one thing clear that is that, if the sponsors of the Hindu Code want to get their reforms accepted, they must concentrate on educating the public intensively before the Assembly begins to consider the Code. Else a number of "scientific reasons" will be discovered to show why the Hindu Code is undesirable for Hindu society.

The U. P. Governorship.—The selection of Sir Homi Mody for the U. P. Governorship is not altogether a surprise. It is in line with the Government policy of choosing for these offices men and women who are known for their capacity

for smoothing over difficulties and bringing an atmosphere of reasonableness into political controversy. For the rest, the main task is one of ceremonial functioning and keeping the public socially entertained. Sir Homi is admirably suited for these duties which he will discharge conscientiously and with great pleasure. But it is doubtful whether the United Provinces is the right place for his genius. Some people are permanently associated with their own town and province and one cannot think of them in other surroundings. Sir Homi is a Bombay man in every sense of the term and that is why he was able to discharge the difficult functions of being governor, though only acting, in his own province with comparative ease. He fitted in. It is also significant that Sir Homi is the only individual today who has established a kind of political and business leadership. Latterly he has been dwelling on the dangers of excessive social reform to economic stability and asking Government to proceed more cautiously; at the same time he has been busy instilling confidence in business circles for the Government. His appointment to the governorship deprives the business community of a genial leader who had recently begun to set on edge the nerves of the ruling political classes. In the social life of Bombay, Sir Homi's transfer to Lucknow will leave a gap. The appointment is another plum to minorities. The Government has chosen a harmless way of establishing the secular character of the state.

Linguistic Provinces:—The report of the Three-men Committee appointed by the A.I.C.C. to reconsider the findings of the Dar Commission on linguistic re-distribution of the Provinces was published on Wednesday. There is nothing that is surprising in this report. The inclusion of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on the Committee was a guarantee that in theory at least the findings of the Dar Commission would not be repudiated. It was also to be expected that Pandit Nehru and the Sardar would not be as firm and uncompromising in their views as the members of the Commission were. The Congress had in the past committed itself unequivocally to a support of linguistic provinces. Also there was a storm of agitation in the country as well as within certain influential sections of the Congress against the Dar Commission report. Dr. Pattabhi's appointment on the Committee further ensured a compromise solution. But there is a possibility that the compromise advocated by the three highest dignitaries of the Congress will hoist them on their own petard, just as their acceptance of the principle of partition, conditional on Bengal and Punjab being divided, did in the case of the division of India. To that extent the report is unhappy. The members of the Committee have made at least two declarations which are intended to damp considerably the enthusiasm of the supporters of linguistic provinces. They have affirmed in a determined manner that linguistically disputed areas will not be included in the new provinces, that is to say "that the people forming a new linguistic province will have to proceed on the basis of only accepting such areas as are clearly in favour of that linguistic province." Considering that the demand for Andhra, Kerala, Karnatak and Maharashtra contains such 'disputed areas,' it is evidently assumed that the agitation for formation of these provinces will subside for some time. But what happens if the advocates for the formation of these provinces are prepared to accept 'truncated areas?' Equally significant is the firm stand taken by the Committee on the vexed question of the cities of Bombay and Madras. The Committee has decided that, if Andhra is to be formed, Andhra will have to be content without Madras. The cosmopolitan character of Bombay is recognized and the formation of Greater Bombay is advocated followed by the announcement that, if the Bombay Province is to be redivided on a linguistic basis, Bombay City will be constituted into 'a separate political unit.'

Where Language Divides:—In the case of the demand for the provinces of Karnatak and Kerala, the Committee observes that it will not be possible to form these provinces without joining certain States to them: "Once there is an agreement on the part of the peoples of the states concerned to join hands with that particular linguistic area in a province, it will be comparatively easy to constitute a new province." Whilst reiterating gravely that it would be advisable to postpone the demands for linguistic provinces in the larger interest of the country, the Committee, nevertheless, feels "that, if public sentiment is insistent and overwhelming, the practicability of satisfying public demand with its implications and consequences must be examined." Since the demand is most unanimous in the case of Andhra province, and it comprises the largest compact area, a start in studying the feasability of forming this separate province is to be made in its case. On no account must the redefining of provincial boundaries affect the "security, unity, and economic prosperity of India." On this point the Committee is decided. And its firmness in this context is the most pleasing and promising feature of the report. It is gratifying also to note that the Committee has elaborated in detail the administrative and financial difficulties in which the linguistic provinces, if formed, will involve not merely the provinces themselves but India as a whole. The sentence that 'while language is a binding force, it is also a separating one' is full of meaning. It cannot but provoke thought.

Misfired:—The Committee which is looking into Unamerican activities, has landed itself in a sad mess. The current number of "Social Questions," Harry F. Ward's Methodist journal, replies to charges levelled against it by this Committee and convincingly establishes that political heresy-hunting has pitfalls which seem almost unavoidable. To accuse a section of the Methodist Church of America of Communist activities is to indulge in the wildest fantasy. "Social Questions" publishes effective rejoinders from its regular readers, a statement of the Church and a smashing reply by Ward himself.

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BOMBAY, April 9, 1949.

INDUSTRIAL POLICY.

Speaking at the annual general meeting of the Central Bank of India, Sir Homi Mody admonished Indian capital. In an undeveloped country like India, he said, there was opportunity for enterprise. Although there was no longer any hope of building great fortunes and winning large profits, he remarked, capital could always expect a fair return. Business which demanded guarantees against every possible contingency, added Sir Homi, was lacking in intiative. He was inclined to criticise provincial governments for venturing on social measures which affected the economic stability of India but on the whole he was inclined to be optimistic. To a large extent, his message of hope was induced by Government's repeated efforts to assure Indian business that their interests were not in any danger and by Government's recent practical steps to control Communism and the extremer forms of Labour agitation. Whilst Indian Business was being adjured to show more confidence in Indian conditions, for some time it has been apparent that the Union Government was tending to turn more and more towards foreign business. Mr. Rajagopalachari had some months back addressed the Calcutta business community and referred to foreign business as more enterprising than Indian business. In this statement on foreign investments last Wednesday the Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, announced a revision of official policy which was fundamental. He said that in April 1948, the Union Government had announced that there could be no control of any industrial venture by foreign capital either as regards management or ownership; and that the Government had taken steps to ensure power to deal with exceptional cases in the national interest. "Obviously," he observed, "there could be no hard and fast rule in this matter". The new policy explained by Pandit Jawaharlal is that Government will not object to foreign capital having control for a limited period and each individual case will be dealt with on its merits. The Prime Minister added that the Government desired to encourage Indian industry and the training and employment of Indian technicians in the shortest possible time. But where necessary, foreign exports could be employed, of course, temporarily. All this marks a drastic change in the Government's attitude. And it is worth considering the possible reasons.

The first ground for such a change is psychological and it was natural that Pandit Jawaharlal did not refer to this. It implies that the fears entertained of foreign economic domination leading to political control have been cast aside by the Government. Since these fears were mostly relating to Britain and since much of Pandit Jawaharlal's appeal to foreign investors is directly addressed to Britain, one must infer that the political discussions on the Commonwealth have helped greatly to reassure the Indian Government that there is no intention to dominate. Britain's helpful attitude has been a great factor in Indian leaders shedding the colonial attitude in a brief twelve month and it should be candidly admitted. To some extent too the reversal of policy indicates greater self-confidence and national confidence amongst our Government members. This is a healthy sign. Secondly, the change must be set down to a realisation that by herself India cannot develop her industries at a rapid pace. Pandit Jawaharlal remarked that not only for securing capital but even for obtaining machinery and technical skill India had to open her doors to foreign enterprise. This is significant as suggesting that there has been a form of rather cheap bargaining on the part of foreign business and that it has scored heavily. Many in India will view this aspect of the question with apprehension, despite Pandit Jawaharlal's assertion that foreign capital will be allowed only in so far as it is consistent with national interest. Thirdly, it cannot be overlooked that the Indian Government which began with certain pre-conceived notions about both Indian and foreign business, has been forced to make concessions to both. This must be regarded as a climb-down, however skilfully it might be sought to disguise the fact. Any risk of foreign infiltration into Indian national life will have to be fought not by the Government but by Indian Business interests who will be most affected by it. This is a logical consequence of the Union Government's recent submission to business. And that in turn must mean more concessions to Indian business which again must result in a general official tightening up of anti-strike rules and a less sympathetic attitude to Labour. It is obviously impossible for an Indian Covernment to resort to the strategy of playing foreign business off against Indian without limit. Where both interests demand a certain line of action, the Government must of necessity yield. Labour interests must necessarily give way to the claims of industrial development which depends so much on private enterprise. It will be interesting to see the repercussions of this on Government's general policies, and parcticularly in the Labour field.

Generally speaking, however, the Prime Minister's statement will be welcomed as a return to a sound policy. It would, of course, have been better had the Government of India from the outset adopted a go-slow policy instead of rushing headlong into opposition to all foreign and indigenous economic interests and suggesting a strong nationalist, socialist programme from which they have been forced to beat a retreat. But that they have learnt a lesson is something to be grateful for. It is true that some time will elapse before the impression created by the old policy is quite removed—Dr. Grady, in fact, incurred much unpopularity in India by warning the Government against it when he was here—but that cannot be helped.

EDUCATION POLICY AND PROGRAMME

The Report published on the activities of the Government of India's Ministry of Education during the year 1948-1949 is unimpressive. "Education," observes the Report somewhat bombastically, "is a provincial subject, but the importance and urgency of the development of a national system of education for the building up of a healthy nation is so great, that the Central Government cannot leave the matter entirely to the Provinces. .....A national system involves the establishment of a harmonious and well co-ordinated plan, which, while possessing sufficient elasticity and recognizing the special needs of Provinces, will seek to maintain a unity embodying the national urge of our culture. It is necessary to secure that the standard and aim of education in the primary and secondary stages is uniform in different parts. It is even more necessary to prevent waste and overlapping in the spheres of technical and higher education in view of our limited financial resources. The function of the Ministry of Education is to co-ordinate educational planning for the whole of India and to act as an agency for the collection and dissemination of information on education." Laudable objectives these; no doubt, but so far all the energies of the Ministry appear to have been absorbed in appointing committees and commissions. The Provinces in need of the Centre's guidance may have erred, but they have certainly shown greater enterprise. Most Central schemes are either in the stage of committee deliberations or have just emerged from them in the form of reports. The progress made by the Ministry in advancing basic, social or adult and technical education is woefully inadequate. "A beginning has been made with the implementation of the programmes of Basic and Social Education in the province of Delhi," says the Report. The beginning consists in the establishment of the Delhi Provincial Post-War Educational Development Board, of two training institutes for teachers in Basic teaching—one at Delhi for women and the other at Ajmer for men— and of a "hundred schools..... in Delhi in two instalments." The Ministry expects that before the end of 1949-1950 the entire area of Delhi Province will be covered by such Basic schools. One would have liked to have an idea of the constitution of these schools, of the expenditure involved and one certainly feels that all this spade work could have been done by now, seeing that the Basic Education scheme had been worked out in theory a long time before the Interim Government came into power. It is gratifying to note that the Ministry of Education also proposes to provide a sum of 540 lakhs to the provinces for basic education in the budget for the year 1949-1950. Activities concerning the social education scheme are more vague. The report of the Mohan Lal Saksena Committee has been submitted and accepted by the Ministry. A sum of one crore has been provided for assisting Provinces in liquidating illiteracy. Two Educational Melas have been held in the Delhi Province, in which villagers produced their own dramas and exhibited their local craft work. The Report is vague on what other beginning has been made in this connection. It is rather startling to notice that the old habit of Government departments patting themselves on their backs continues unabated in this Report. The absence of facts and figures is to be deplored. The legislators and the public are surely entitled to know on what basis the various demands have been computed.

Schemes for advancing technical education have not fared much better. The reader learns that the interim report of the Scientific Manpower Committee was submitted in August 1947 and that the All India Council for Technical Education has setup three types of Committees: (a) Six All India Boards of Technical Studies, (b) Four regional Committees of the Council to supervise the work of the Higher Technical Institutions in the four regions, and (c) a Co-ordinating Committee to co-ordinate the activities of the committees already mentioned. Following the recommendations of the All India Council for Technical Education advance capital grants and interest free loans aggregating Rs. 13,75,000 and Rs. 5,78,000 respectively were given in 1947-1948 to nine technological institutions in the country. The advice of the Council has also been accepted by Government concerning the location of the Eastern Higher Technical Institutions at Hijli, District Kharanpur, and West Bengal. The Report pays a tribute to the work of the Council and observes that its All India Boards of Technical Studies have framed All India diploma courses in fourteen subjects, among them being civil, mechanical and electrical engineering; architecture; electro-chemistry, industrial and textile chemistry; and rayon, cotton textile and jute bast fibres technology. The Council has also appointed a committee to formulate a scheme for special training of Engineers and Technologists in 'Business Methods and Industrial Administrations'. In the words of the Report, the All India Council for Technical Education is 'the pivotal scheme of the Education Ministry so far as technical education is concerned.' As regards the Scientific Manpower Committee, its terms of reference are given; the expenditure to be incurred in implementing its short-term recommendations during 1949-1950 is mentioned as Rs. 50,00,000. The nature of these recommendations has not been indicated, unfortunately. The function of this committee, it may be noted is to assess the requirements for different grades of scientific and technical man-power, taking into consideration mainly the need of the Government for the next ten years, of teaching and research, industry, agriculture, and medicine; and to make recommendations to the Government, on the measures they must adopt to meet these requirements during the coming five years.

There are various other activities of All India importance mentioned and they concern chiefly the maintenance of certain libraries and museums

and the formulation of schemes for establishing a National Cultural Trust, a National Museum of Art, Archaeology and Anthropology, and the reorganization of the Lucknow College of Hindustani Music as a National Academy of Music. A decision of interest also, particularly for admirers of Indian thought, is the Government of India's undertaking to sponsor the preparation and publication of a History of Philosophy giving Indian philosophy its proper place in world thought. The scheme will cost Rs. 85,000 and the work is already in progress. But the activities in which the Ministry of Education seems to have taken the greatest interest and shown results are the schemes of scholarships for sending Indian students abroad for higher technical education, and of awarding scholarships and fellowships to foreign students for study in Indian Universities. Active interest has also been taken in representing Indian thought abroad. India was represented at all the various conferences of UNESCO, and at its seminars and Indian experts have been sent abroad to help UNESCO in the execution of its programme. Schemes proposed by UNESCO, such as the BOOK COUPON scheme and the establishment of a National Commission representative of the principal governmental and non-governmental organisations in education, science and culture, are receiving the willing co-operation of the Government of India. The Report notes these activities in detail and mentions that a sum of Rs. 12,70,000 has been provided for contribution to the UNESCO budget; also that another Rs. 200,000 have been reserved for expenditure in India and abroad in connection with UNESCO work. Whether this energy spent in participation in UNESCO activities is well spent is a debatable matter. There are quite a considerable number of thinking Indians who feel that the amounts incurred in maintaining India's prestige abroad through embassies and representations at international conferences could more profitably be spent at home, in view of India's limited resources. However, that may be, it is certainly disappointing to see that the Education Ministry has done little in following up its laudable objectives with concrete measures. A lot remains to be done by the Centre to advance education in the country. There should be a stimulus provided to educational research, psychology laboratories willing to take it up could be subsidised; model text-books might be prepared, and translations of standard science text-books in Hindi at least could be undertaken. The Report mentions grants in aid to organizations such as the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, the Jamia Milia, the Anjuman-e-Tarque-e-Urdu and others. It is not clear, however, for what purpose these grants are assigned to at least some of them. There is vague reference to their doing work of national utility, but surely the nature of their work could have been specified. If they are all involved either in educational research or in the development of a common Indian language there is point in singling them out for special grants. Otherwise their specially privileged position is incomprehensible.

THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH

(By DR. RITA HINDEN)

The theme running through all colonial history is the struggle for self-government. It makes no difference whether the colonial people are white, or brown, or black; as soon as they become politically conscious, they resent their dependent status, and the cry for self-government goes out. The more honourably an imperialist power fulfils its function, the more quickly do the people become educated and articulate, and the sooner do they claim the right to shape their own destiny.

This was not understood in the early days of British imperialism. It was hardly believed in the 18th century that the American colonies would really revolt. The colonies were thought to exist for no other purpose than the advantage of Britain, and the majority of English statesmen—there were famous exceptions such as Pitt and Burke—took it for granted that they could impose 'taxation without representation'; they could not understand that in the end such injustice would become intolerable. The declaration of American Independence in 1776 was a severe shock; its lesson has influenced the British attitude towards colonies ever since.

As the 19th century advanced, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa all became increasingly intent on achieving self-government. In Canada there had been representative government since 1791 in the shape of a House of Assembly, but the real power lay in the hands of an Executive controlled from London. There was constant friction between the local legislature and the British-controlled Executive, which—complicated by bad relations between the French and British populations on the spot—broke out, in 1937, into insurrection against "British tyranny". The way this crisis was handled has provided the model for the whole of colonial constitutional advance in the succeeding century.

The British Government began in the classic British way of sending out a Commission of Inquiry. Grievances were examined on the spot and consultation was held in the place concerned, with representatives of all opinions. The Commission was headed by the Earl of Durham. He was one of an energetic group in the House of Commons who had banded themselves together to fight for Colonial Reform, which, to them, meant colonial self-government. His Report on Canada is one of the classical documents of British Imperial history. The device he proposed for satisfying Canadian aspirations, and at the same time maintaining the imperial framework intact, was to separate "internal" from "external" self-government. Canada, he proposed, should be granted full responsible self-government in all matters of internal administration, but responsibility for external affairs (such as foreign relations) should rest with the Imperial Government. "It is difficult to understand" he wrote, "how any English

statesman could have imagined that representative governmont and lack of responsibitity could be successfully combined.....I know not in what respect it can be desirable that we should interfere with their internal legislation in matters which do not affect their relations with the mother country. The matters which so concern us, are very few. The constitution of the form of government, the regulation of foreign relations, and trade with the mother country, the other British Colonies, and foreign nations, and the disposal of the public lands are the only points on which the mother country requires a control".

Lord Durham's proposals were accepted. To us they seem simple enough. At that time they were revolutionary, and they proved quite remarkably successful. In the decades that followed, internal self-government was extended to Australia, New Zealand and South Africa, and the matters over which imperial control was retained were gradually reduced. The constant friction that had existed between the colonists and Britain was immediately—almost miraculously—ended. The Colonial Office, which was at that time attached to the War Office, and known as the Office for War and the Colonies, had been wittily described as "the Office at war with the Colonies". But with the grant of responsible internal government, the old irritant sores seemed to vanish. There followed the extraordinarily peaceful and successful development of these countries to full "Dominion Status" under the Statute of Westminister, in 1931. By this Statute the Imperial Government gave up the last of its reserved powers and the status of equality was recognized. The only link between members of the Commonwealth, under this statute, is allegiance to the Crown. There is no written constitution for the Commonwealth and it has no central executive or legislative power.

In the twentieth century we see an exactly similar development taking place in regard to Colonies, which are for the most part inhabited by coloured races. Their constitutional evolution begins with a measure of representative government for internal affairs; in almost every Colony there is a Legislative Council, in one or two of the tiny dependencies there is a Native Tribunal where public affairs are discussed. These Councils begin with only a minor degree of democratic representation, but gradually they take on a fully representative character—with universal suffrage, and the elimination of members appointed by the Governor. The next step is for the Executive power, as regards internal affairs, to be handed over to the representatives of the people,—it is not sufficient that people should discuss and yet be deprived of the power of implementing their discussions. When this has been achieved, the Colony has reached the stage of responsible internal self-government. There will still, however, be imperial control of external affairs and sometimes of certain special matters such as defence in Malta. The Governor may at this stage return the power of veto over local Bills, but only with the consent of the Colonial Secretary in London. The struggle then proceeds for the removal of even these reserved powers; and once that has been achieved, colonial status has been discarded and a fully-fledged Dominion or independent nation emerges. An example is Ceylon, which at the end of the war was still a colony but which in February 1948 became a Dominion equal with the United Kingdom and other members of the Commonwealth.

This is the usual pattern of advance; but before the war, progress along that pattern was slow. The rapid progress in the "White Colonies" in the nineteenth century had largely been the result of agitation among the colonist themselves. The colonial peoples (with the exception of India, which was never strictly speaking a "Colony", and even in India the first Independence Resolution dates only from 1926) had not yet thrown up coherent national or political movements of their own; an effective demand for self-government had yet to be expressed. It was not until the 1930's that this demand took shape, partly as the after-effects of the first World War, which had uprooted many colonial people from their old way of life; partly as a result of the improvement of communications and the spread of ideas—partly, too, as a consequence of the economic depression and neglectful "laissez faire" policies of the time. Simmerings of discontent were noticeable through out the colonial empire, boiling over here and there into riot and blood-shed, and crystallising into a general attitude of hostility towards imperial rule. The British Government of the day did not go far enough to meet the people's demands.

The war put a new complexion on things. Many of the colonial territories were overrun; those in Asia (with the exception of India) were conquered by the Japanese, and India itself was seething with nationalism.

The highest degree of self-government possible in the light of each territory's resources has been the stated aim of British Colonial policy for at least the last twenty years. Differences of opinion have in the main been on how soon this end might be reached, but, even before it came into power, the Labour Party, in a statement on its Post-war Colonial Policy, accepted the principle that the inhabitants of dependent territories should be trained to govern themselves "in the shortest possible time". Accordingly, Britain in 1947 handed all her remaining powers in India to the Indians, and from this act have arisen the two new dominions of India and Pakistan. Similarly, Burma was granted full independence and no obstacle was put in the way when the Burmese Constituent Assembly chose to leave the Commonwealth altogether.

Thus, within two and a half years of the end of the war India, Pakistan and Ceylon had achieved Dominion Status, exactly the same constitutional position as Australia and Canada enjoy with the right and power to secede from the Commonwealth even as Burma has done.

JAPANESE WOMEN IN THE NEW CONSTITUTION.

(By TETSUICHI KURASHIGE)

Though only 12 Japanese women are members of the national Diet as compared to 39 two years ago the set back is believed temporary. In this article, released by Worldover Press, a Japanese publicist contrasts the new position of women with their pre-war situation. The author was born in Honolulu and attended the University of Oregon, where he twice won essay contests on ways of promoting friendship between the Pacific States and the Far East. After practising law in Hawaii, he went to Japan in 1928, working for a British firm and later for the United Press. During the war he was employed by the Domei news agency. In 1947 he was a prize winner in a nation-wide essay contest on the new Japanese constitution.

Japan's new constitution prohibits discrimination against any persons in "political, economic or social relations because of sex." It also provides that marriage shall be based on "mutual consent" of the man and woman. In short, it recognizes the equality of husband and wife in marriage, in their domestic relations, and in marital property. Fortunately or unfortunately, divorce through legal procedure has increased since the constitution became effective.

The Japanese attempt to "elevate" their women's status may seem unnatural to Americans, who are accustomed to placing women on a pedestal. However, the reason becomes apparent if we trace the historical development of women's place in society.

The Chinese civilization and its moral philosophy, which Japan imported in days gone by, influenced Japanese attitudes toward women-folk. Some Japanese even forgot that they had an Empress Jingo, who led an invasion of Korea back in 200 A.D.

The Chinese philosophy emphasized three precepts of obedience required of women. As a daughter, a woman had to obey her father. Upon marriage, she had to obey her husband implicitly. Upon the death of her spouse, she, as a widow, paid obedience to her son. Thus a Japanese woman was bound in obedience from cradle to grave. This unquestioning obedience reduced her practically to dependence and bondage.

Supplementing the Chinese philosophy, Buddhism and feudalism further subordinated women. Buddhism regarded women as unclean, and tempters. Feudalism scorned effemiancy and presumed that women discouraged gallantry and chivalry These latter qualities were euphemistically called "Bushido"—Way of the Samurai.

Later, with the introduction of western civilization, women were supposed to have been emancipated and lifted up to a footing equal with that of men. This was a mere fiction, however, for society still regarded a woman as a creature subservient to the male of the species.

Prior to the new constitution a married woman's legal status was somewhat comparable to that of an English wife under common law. That is, she was rendered legally incompetent upon marriage. She forfeited certain legal rights which she enjoyed while single.

The pre-war Japanese wife was required to obtain her husband's consent in order to borrow money or become surety; to acquire or waive rights pertaining to real or personal property; to make gifts, compromises or arbitration agreements; to accept or refuse gifts or testamentary gifts; or to enter into contracts calculated to place her under any physical restraint. A husband could revoke any of these acts if they were done without his knowledge or consent.

These legal impediments were removed after V-J Day. A few examples may be cited. Under the revised law of domestic relations, adultery (though the law does not specifically mention it) can be used by a wife as ground for divorce. Heretofore a husband's adultery did not entitle the wife to any legal divorce action.

The custody of children may now, upon divorce, be awarded to either parent, by taking into consideration the welfare of the children themselves. Under the old law, the father was given custody as a matter of course. Although the mother could challenge this seemingly unilateral right, such a challenge often went unheeded.

Today a woman may ignore the wishes of her family and relatives in the choice of a spouse. This is because the archaic family system, which frowned upon individualism, has been abolished.

It should be remembered that women's long and patient fight for equality came from within. During feudal days there existed a "guide" for moral training of women, called "Onna Daigaku," or Greater Learning for women. This "guide" placed a woman in absolute subordination to her husband, stripped of the enjoyment of "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

Among the teachings contained in this "guide" were seven causes for which a wife could be divorced: disobedience to her in-laws: sterility or barrenness; lewdness: jealousy; incurable disease; stealing; and loquacity.

In 1887, Yukichi Fukuzawa, founder of Keio University, and himself a great liberal and scholar opened a broadside on the Greater Learning for Women. He criticized education based on Buddhism and Confucianism, both of which discriminated against women. His books and articles on women's status could be placed beside John Stuart Mill's work on "The Subjugation of Woman."

Meanwhile others, including women themselves, began defending the emancipation of women. This campaign for liberty included the political franchise. Women also crusaded for improvements in social, legal, labour, industrial, economic and educational aspects of their lives. But recognition of women's status as on a par with that of men must be deemed a by-product of the war.

It has to be conceded, however, that mere assurance of freedom will not enable women to reach the desired goal Their fight has just started. It is for them to see that the newly given constitutional guarantees do not remain a dead letter, or a mere ornamental flourish.

MENNONITE SETTLEMENTS IN PARAGUAY

The Gran Chaco is a huge, undeveloped area the size of New England. The climate, though severe from heat and sometimes from drouth, is capable of producing the world's finest cotton, cattle and oil-bearing plants, together with small grains. This has been proved by settlements of Mennonite families who have not been deterred by hardship from seeking a livelihood where they could live in peace and follow their own religious ways.

Factories and machine tools, scarce in South America anyway, are not found in the Chaco. Small Mennonite shops in homes and villages, however, make furniture, wagons, shoes and farm machinery. Iron and steel for shops are supplied mostly from broken-down trucks left over from the Chaco War of 1935.

Always wanderers searching for freedom, many of the present families were victims of the Communist revolution in Russia. After leaving Germany in the late 18th century when they no longer had the freedom promised them by Frederick the Great, Mennonites accepted an invitation to settle in Russia. Some earlier migrated from there, but many were caught up in World War II, and when the war came to a close, were stranded in the various Zones of Germany. Thanks to the Mennonite Central Committee, with headquarters at Akron, Pennsylvania, large numbers of these refugees have been added to earlier colonies promised freedom by the Paraguayan government.

To help the needy settlers clothing has been sent from the United States during the last two years. But a major boost toward a more balanced economy has come from efforts, largely initiated by Dr. Herbert R. Schmidt of Newton, Kansas, to introduce mills for the extraction of vegetable oils. Dr. Schmidt sent down the first mill and refinery in 1948, and went personally to supervise its installation and to do some needed surgery in the local hospital.

Now a second mill has been ordered for a colony in Eastern Paraguay. The vegetable oil industry has enormous possibilities because of cotton seed and potential quantities of peanuts, sunflower seed, castor beans, palm kernel nuts, etc.

The settlers have been stimulated to other advances. Road improvements are going forward; and river barges may be introduced. Farmers in the United States are being urged to donate outmoded and discharged horse-drawn farm implements. In the Chaco, transport proceeds chiefly by horses and oxen, with home-made wagons. The setting up of canneries and the establishment of a textile mill are under consideration.

The "Green Hell" of the Chaco was not easy for the Mennonites. Jungle had to be cleared. Soils had to be tested. Houses had to be built out of jungle woods, with little equipment. Not least, it was necessary to learn how to get along with the Paraguayans and the Guarani Indians. Yet in 20 years, the colony has in some respects become a paradise; the land has been cleared and laid out in beautiful little villages.

Paraguay extracts no taxes from the Mennonites. It helps them in their fight against grasshoppers and parrots which destroy their crops. The Paraguayans talk with pride about the accomplishments of the colony. The new industries will speed up the work of building a strong economic basis for the future life of the colonists, and aid them in still further achievements.

—*Worldover Press.*

REAL SCARE ELSEWHERE.

When press reporters in Japan stated that Secretary of the Army Royall had indicated that in case of war the United States would not undertake to defend Japan—and stuck to their story in spite of Royall's denials—there was agitation at Washington. Hasty reassurances were given, though General MacArthur asserted that defence would not require the Japanese to participate in the conflict themselves. It has been generally assumed by commentators that Washington's flurry was due to a fear lest U. S. policy be constructed as weakness in Moscow. The real trouble was however, in Australia, ever fearful that American forces, if withdrawn from Japan, might leave the Australians under expanding Asiatic pressure—a menace about which Australia, with its colour prejudice, has an obsession.

—*Worldover Press.*

BELGIAN ELECTIONS

Women will vote for the first time in the new Belgian elections. Also, the number of unemployed increases daily and is already 300,000. It is probable that the people, disappointed in promises of the Left and extreme Left, may give more votes than hitherto to the Right. In case of a sweeping victory of the Christian Social Party, the whole royal affair will undoubtedly be brought to the fore. But even in this eventuality, it is generally thought that Leopold III would refuse to occupy the throne. He would probably abdicate in favour of his son Baudoin, who nevertheless indicates that he would not accept public duties until the opposition withdraws its charges against his father.

—*Worldover Press.*

THE FUTURE OF GOVERNORSHIP

It seems to have been practically decided in the 'inner circle' that governors in the new constitution will be nominated by the Centre and not elected. We do not know whether this change in the original intention is wise or not. There can be wrong choices in election as well as in nomination but popular selections are generally more trustworthy. So far as the experience of the past year and a half goes, the Central Government's nominations have been far from commendable. Sarojini Naidu was, as it turned out, an admirable selection for the U. P. and it is doubtful whether a public vote would have rejected her. But so far as the rest are concerned there is little to say for them. Sir Maharaj Singh has, of course, been a great social success in this province. In fact a survey of the past makes one wonder whether there is any purpose to be gained by retaining these functionaries. If they are appointed by the Centre, then they must be clearly set up as agents of the Government of India, charged with the duty of ensuring stability and maintaining unity and uniformity in legislation.

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"I will be as harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice: I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard"*.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the LIBERATOR.

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NOTES

The Atlantic Pact:—In the latest release of the "Worldover Press", a Norwegian source observes that "despite assertions that no American bases will be called for as the price of U. S. aid in arms, there are some who cannot believe this will not be a logical step later. Those who also believe that the pact may turn out to be a move towards war instead of towards peace, quote Walter Lippmann's statement that 'no atomic bombardment could destroy the Red Army, it could only destroy the industrial means of supplying it. The Russian defence to atomic attack is, therefore, self-evident: To overrun Continental Europe with infantry and defy us to drop atomic bombs on Poland, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Switzerland, France, Belgium, the Netherlands and Sweden.' Many Norwegians add their own country to the list." We have had a recent British friend in who added even Britain to this list, doing so, however, as a justification for Britain signing the Atlantic Pact. At any rate, the internal danger from Communism is much greater than it was from Nazism. Devere Allen is even more emphatic in his criticism of the Pact. He asserts that the Soviet State can build a case which would appeal strongly to Asia and charge the West with aggressive intentions against her. Moreover, he points out that the Pact has not made the European peoples feel more secure but rather less. If war comes, Russian invasion is a certainty. And it is better to avoid this certainty. Some disquiet too is caused by the overtures to Portugal run by a dictatorship. This might lead to UN repercussions in India if and when Portuguese possessions here are up for discussion. Mr. Allen comments:—

Worst of all about the Pact is its bad timing. The Marshall Plan has been performing its task with brilliance. In face of the programme of building up a better life in Western Europe, Communism was in full retreat. Even in its own domain, it was fumbling, uncertain, losing prestige, troubled by schisms and splits. A method so conspicuously successful, one might have supposed, would be pursued to its logical end, complete recovery, before a hard-boiled, extraneous, and questionable tactic was introduced to meddle with it, possibly to nullify its best results. Once again the world's peoples have been manoeuvred into the unenviable position where they must sanction outworn, explosive methods which often have led to war, and do it all in the holy name of peace. For from now on, the militarization of Europe will come to symbolize peace, and those who oppose such methods will be accused of aiding war. Without European rearmament, we shall be told, the Pact is useless; to seek further peaceful organization of the world without militarization will be to oppose peace itself. This will be a travesty of the truth, but it is one of the consequences the Pact is almost sure to bring.

Congress and Congress Ministries:—The Congress has been forced by circumstances to declare itself for greater party solidarity. The first impulse came when Congress members in the Central Legislature, took upon themselves the role of the opposition and mercilessly criticised the different Departments, particularly the Food Ministry. At one stage it was thought that Mr. Jairamdas Daulatram would have to resign. But later the party whip was brought into play and Congress discipline was asserted. In the provinces meanwhile, an even more difficult situation arose because of the small men who held office in the Congress ministries. In Madras, there was a change of Prime Ministers under circumstances which could not be regarded as very healthy. Though the Congress President commended the Madras example at a Bombay meeting, steps have been taken to heal the rift in the party and achieve a united front. In East Punjab, the position proved even worse with Dr. Bhargava thrown out of the party leadership and Mr. Sachar put in his place. The Centre has intervened to unite the dissenting parties in the East Punjab Congress and establish a "composite Cabinet" which can rely on the support of the local party and the guidance of the Central Congress Executive. It seems that wisdom has at last dawned on the Congress heirarchy and that we are returning to some form of parliamen-

tary party government. It would be desirable for a general directive to be issued calling on Congressmen to desist from indulging in sniping attacks on their own ministries. After all, we have got in all parts of the country Congress Ministries and the party owes it its loyal cooperation,

Vindhya Pradesh: — The Union of Vindhya Pradesh consisting of some of the lesser States in Central India has disintegrated. The Central Government has stepped in to save it from chaos. The chief cause of the breakdown is ministerial corruption and too many factions. The prospect is of the different areas being merged into the United Provinces and the Central Provinces, according to geographic situation. At the moment the situation is a glaring censure of popular movements in the States and it amply proves that democratisation, the second plank of the Union programme relating to the States, is possible only if the Union Centre takes up the administrative responsibility. In the Union of Rajasthan, the overriding authority of the Centre is accepted and it has been declared that this will be an example to other States Unions and States. For years, Indian States drew largely from India for their principal administrators—Sir Mirza Ismail being the unique instance of a front-rank public figure who was essentially a States leader. This was not due to any perverse mentality on the part of the rulers but a necessity dictated by prevailing conditions. The removal of the Maharajas has only intensified the need for men from India undertaking the administrative responsibility for the States. With the withdrawal of the central personalities, local rivalries intensified by the existing political immaturity manifested themselves to an alarming degree. The example of Vindhya Pradesh should be a warning to other Unions to close their ranks and sink local differences. The alternative to States Unions is not individual States but merging into Union Provinces. In this connection the example of Sir V. T. Krishnamachari who in his farewell message in laying down the dewanship of Jaipur called on the people of the State to accept the extinction of Jaipur State and its merging into Rajasthan, is a striking lead to all merging States leaders. It is a warning that the process of integration cannot be reversed.

A Governor's Decision: — The Maharaja of Bhavnagar who is at present Governor of Madras Province, has, it is announced, devoted his entire salary as Governor to Madras charities and public works. This is a commendable move and the Maharaja-Governor is entitled to credit for his self-denying act. At the same time, it cannot escape attention that his sacrifice has been directed towards benefitting the people of Madras for whom he has but a temporary responsibility rather than to his permanent subjects of Bhavnagar. No ruler has so far sacrificed his privy purse for the benefit of his State. The Bhavnagar ruler's gesture to Madras, it might be asserted, is at the expense of both Bhavnagar and of the Saurashtra Union of which he was, and presumably still is, the Uprajpramukh. There is nothing to prevent any Governor from distributing the amount of his salary or more to the good causes of his province, and there would be no question asked. But this rather ostentatious gesture is likely to cause more trouble than is expected. Particularly is this probable where, as in India today, local loyalties are fast growing.

Developing Commonwealth: — We publish this week the second and concluding part of an interesting article on self-government in the British Empire by Dr.Rita Hinden. This historical review is naturally from the British angle and it is one that presents the imperial policy in a favourable and consistent light. At the present moment, it is of special importance to Indians to know the other point of view and to realise that what they have felt on the subject of colonialism is not shared by the British. This is something quite apart from the question of the Crown and it is vital to full understanding between Commonwealth units. The White Dominions and the British regard the Asian denunciation of colonialism as almost a personal reproach and it is not possible for them to adopt an attitude of sufficient detachment to attribute colonial misrule to the circumstances in which the ruling power found itself. On the other hand, this is about the easiest subject for Indians to dilate on and it colours their entire attitude on all international questions. If the Commonwealth countries are to achieve a united front this running dispute will have to be settled amongst themselves at the earliest opportunity.

Education and Election:—Congress leaders are waking up to the implications of adult suffrage and stressing the need for educating the public who will at no distant date be called upon to exercise their franchise. This is a much more sensible attitude than the attempt to avoid adult franchise by concentrating on the dangers that might accompany it. What is necessary is a far greater amount of public discussion on public issues than is encouraged today. There are any number of meetings but they are mostly felicitations for some public event or some personal triumph. Dr. B.R. Ambedkar in a message to the Scheduled Castes Federation of Hyderabad has rightly deprecated the present tendency to lionise public figures. But even he has succumbed to giving a message and accepted it as inevitable. To a great extent our leaders themselves are responsible for this state of affairs and, so long as they do not resolutely set themselves against the practice, it will continue. The public which has a shrewd sense of what is expected of them, plays up to the weakness of our leaders. In this connection we might be permitted to refer to a recent ceremony in which Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel was involved. Whilst proceeding to Jaipur for the inauguration of the Rajasthan Union, a mishap to his plane held up his arrival for a couple of anxious hours. The relief that was felt throughout the country was genuine and spontaneous, when the news got round that he was safe. But was it quite necessary to mark the occasion by presenting him with a gold replica of the plane in which he had travelled?

THE INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, April 16, 1949.

COMMONWEALTH AND CROWN

Conrad Noel in his book, "Jesus the Heretic", speaks of the British Crown as a limited monarchy; "now so limited as to have become almost meaningless." With characteristic vigour, he turns the pages of British history to establish that "no English king of modern times has been allowed to reign over us; directly he attempted to reign, he would be dethroned." More, he goes on to quote with approval H. G. Wells' assertion, "for a couple of centuries the British Royal Family has had no relationship whatsoever to the thought, literature, art, science and education of our community." In fact, as far as recorded history goes, English monarchs have been under submission to one section of the community after another. Except for interludes which might be ignored as contrary to the genius of the people and, therefore, irrelevant and erratic contributions to national life, the British Monarch has beeen a prisoner of the dominant element in the nation at any given time. And for that very reason, perhaps, more "national" than any absolute monarch could ever be. There have been British Kings who sought to assert themselves but they failed and, with each succeeding effort, the counteracting strength has been less. Charles I was beheaded; James II fled; and Edward Windsor abdicated before his coronation. It is very unlikely that any future monarch will so much as offer resistance to the conventions of his time and the feelings of the class in controlling authority. In a sense not intended by the Scripture, it has been peculiarly established that he that will lose his soul, shall save it. The British Crown has by the very restrictions imposed on the wearer of it become a national institution. If we are to judge from the attitude of several Britons who have expressed themselves recently on the Crown, today it is very much influenced by the White Dominions which have a fanatical devotion to it. This is not a new and sudden process. It has been brewing since Baldwin in his struggle with Edward Windsor cited the opinion of the Dominions as a deciding factor in demanding a choice between the throne and a marriage of Edward's choice. Though he was later repudiated by at least two Prime Ministers of the Dominions, the argument had great weight. Today it is being so heavily relied on in the argument with India that it almost gives the impression that the British King now is a prisoner of the White Dominions. This is not very helpful in reconciling the Asian nations of the Commonwealth to acceptance of the Crown as an Empire link because the policies of the White Dominions are saturated with race prejudice.

It is this aspect of things which has to be understood in considering Commonwealth relations. The reason why Indians fail to arrive at a presentation of their case which will have some meaning to the British, is that they have been concentrating on the possibility of fitting a republican India to the Commonwealth. The real question is what does the British Crown mean to the different units of the Commonwealth and it is this question which has to be answered, not by India alone but by all the Commonwealth countries. When Pandit Jawaharlal remarks that the British King even in present-day India does no more than automatically approve of his nominations for the Governor-Generalship and for foreign appointments, he does not so much as touch on the point in dispute. The British and the "British" Dominions would not mind the political and constitutional reduction of the King to a cipher because in their own territories this is a condition of his being accepted at all. What they are objecting to is the implied rejection of a symbol which pre-eminently stands for British nationalism and British influence. As it would be impolitic to mention this and make an issue of it now, there is much said about the sentimental value of the British Crown. There might possibly be people who sincerely feel this way themselves but it is ridiculous to think that the present persons in power in Britain are among them and even more absurd to believe that, even if they were, they would desire to inflict their sentiment on millions to whom it is at most another man's superstition. To the politically minded Briton, it must be conclusive proof of Indian confused thinking that so much objection should be raised to a monarch who has been tamed and tutioned in the home country and whose upkeep—which is a million pounds a year—is borne by the Briton himself. Once the fact of India wanting to continue Commonwealth ties is established—and of that there is certainly no doubt now—then it seems somewhat peevish to strain at the symbolic Crown. And the concept of desiring to be in the Commonwealth yet not willing to accept the inevitability of British influence predominating over all others is one that cannot easily be grasped by the practical British mind. Since there are many complications in this situation, British spokesmen have wisely refrained from too much discussion of the subject. They have in fact left Indians to do the larger part of the talking. In India, the public has watched with interest not unmixed with concern Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's series of explanations, elucidations and annotations—each taking the country more deeply into acceptance of the Commonwealth ties and all of them quite unnecessary. The Prime Minister had stated beyond doubt in the Constituent Assembly that all agreements and commitments regarding India were subject to the declared goal of the Objectives Resolution—an independent, sovereign republic. Nothing could be added to this though possibly something could be taken away. And it might have been well to have let that statement stand. Pandit Jawaharlal, however, verging very near the process of edging by explanation, has now

reached a point where—in an interview with the London "Daily Mail" of all newspapers—he maintains that, since the King's consent has come automatically to his recommendation of the Governor-General and to everything for which it was constitutionally required, it does not materially affect India's place in the Commonwealth if, instead of a Governor-General, she had a President. Coming as it does from one who insisted for years that responsibility to the British Crown was a hopelessly inadequate substitute for responsibility to the Indian people, this political exegesis is most astounding. As he himself has said with far greater candour in his Indian pronouncements on the subject, it is not a matter for India alone to decide but for all the units to settle in consultation. The Briton might well ask the Indian what exactly his acceptance of the Commonwealth means, and what it is worth to the Commonwealth as a whole.

Much has been said about common interests and common ties. General Smuts came very near the truth, however, when he said that with the giving up of the Crown the ties and interests would all break down. In other words, there are no common interests and ties between the White Dominions and the Asian Commonwealth. It is doubtful whether there are common interests among the White Dominions. The first thing that strikes one, is common action in war, even if only defensive war. This is the least that any union of nations can look for; this is what appears in the North Atlantic Pact. What assurance, the Briton might well ask, is there that in a crisis Britain and the Commonwealth can count on India standing with them? None, at all. Pandit Jawaharlal has stated categorically that in any war India's attitude will be decided by her circumstances and her interests. It is true that he has also spoken of the greater gain to Britain of a friendly but neutral India in contrast to a sullen and reluctant ally but military experts with two world wars to judge from might well draw a different inference. Apart from war, even as regards peace, India's interpretation of this condition is vastly different to that of Britain, causing cracks in the Commonwealth front at international meetings. On the trade front, most Britons have been made to realise that, given an adequate supply of dollars, India would far rather have her requirements in capital goods met in the U.S.A. In the cultural sphere, India is busily engaged in dislodging English from the pride of place occupied by it so long in India—however necessary it is from the Indian point of view, it cannot be represented as a step designed to strengthen the Commonwealth's position in the world. Finally so far as race relations go, the Anglo-Saxon is the most difficult to cure of race prejudice and the Briton would probably resent being told that his attitude on this subject is improper and unjust. It is true that colonialism is a decaying vice with the British but they still have a sneaking sympathy for the strong men of France, Belgium and Holland, and Britain is actively engaged in restoring another imperial relic, Italy, to its former power.

Pandit Jawaharlal, realising all this acutely, has concentrated on the fact that the Commonwealth is a developing concept not a static final idea. If this is so, can it not be that defining attitudes and relations is a process contrary to tradition and injurious to growth? That has been the British tradition and with an unwritten constitution they have managed to get on very well. In fact, the very attempt to put things down in writing has always been a sequel to a fierce conflict between two or more sections and the British cannot understand why, having finished a long-drawn conflict, India should seek to have definitions fixed now. As there is often professed goodwill in abundance to Britain, it might be fitting to consider how far this goodwill proceeds from understanding as well. So far as the public is concerned, there is not much thought expended on this subject. Among serious students, there is a mixture of fear of India being cut off and left inadequately prepared for the responsibilities of modern defence and of Congress India taking the country into a long and unfruitful period of political adventuring. Pandit Jawaharlal, on the other hand, seems mainly interested in tiding over the present uncomfortable condition in the smoothest possible manner and the easiest way that presents itself is evidently that of issuing a multitude of statements, developing in varying mixtures the twin ideas of Indian Republic and British Commonwealth. An attitude admirably suited to the British genius, it is not likely that it can be sustained after all the controversy that has been raised both in India and in the rest of the Commonwealth over this issue.

"NIRA"

Sir,

The issue of 'The Indian Social Reformer' of March 26 contains a note on Nira which is based on a reported answer to a question in the Central Assembly saying Nira contains 9% alcohol.

As a matter of fact Nira contains zero percent alcohol. The following is its analysis:—

Water 84.72%, Protein 00.10%, Fat 0.17% Mineral matter 0.66%, Carbohydrate 14.35%.

The 9% alcohol mentioned in the answer may be correct in the sense that the potentiality of alcohol in the Nira is that much. Which means that, after alcoholic fermentation, when nira becomes toddy, it may be possible to obtain from it. alcohol to the extent of 9%. Even then it is rather a high figure. Usually commercial toddy contains 5% aclohol.

Nira is the sap of certain palms collected in sterilized pots which are chemically treated to arrest any fermentation in the juice collected. This juice is as innocent as any fruit juice - all of which are capable of being ultimately converted into alcoholic beverages.

Yours etc.,
J. C. Kumarappa.

THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH-II

(By DR. RITA HINDEN)

Today, if we look at the British Colonies, we see advances everywhere taking place along the evolutionary pattern we have described. Some of the Colonies are near the end of the course—having reached responsible government, though still with certain reserved powers in the hands of Britain. Others are still in the early stages of evolving representative assemblies; the majority are somewhere midway between the extremes. The most advanced Colonies are in the West Indies; and among them Jamaica is the nearest to full self-government. Jamaica has a House of Representatives of 32 members elected by universal suffrage, and a Legislative Council of not less than 15 members; of these latter, 3 are ex-officio members (the Colonial Secretary, the Attorney-General and the Financial Secretary) and the remainder are nominated by the Governor, not more than two of them being officials.

This new form of constitution, set up in 1943, gives to the House of Representatives most of the powers enjoyed by the old Legislative Council of the previous constitution. For example, it elects 5 of the 10 members of the Executive Council, which now prepares the budget, is responsible for the administration of the Government and is the principal instrument of policy.

This means that the democratic forces have not yet got complete responsibility for government; and even if they did control the Executive, the Governor—in the name of Britain—still has a right of veto, (which he is careful not to use except under the most unusual circumstances) and reserved powers in regard to certain special matters.

The other West Indian Colonies are now agitating for constitutions, not less advanced than that of Jamaica, but the problem in all these countries is their small size. Jamaica is the largest, with a population of less than 1,500,000, and it can hardly be expected that such small countries can be really independent as regards their economic existence or defence arrangements. There is a strong movement, therefore, in favour of a federation of all the British West Indian territories, which—as an integrated whole—would be capable of self-support and could be expected to reach Dominion Status. A Conference to discuss this scheme was called by the Colonial Office in Jamaica in 1947, and the principle of federation was adopted by the representatives of all the territories except British Guiana. The details are now being worked out, to be presented to a further conference next year.

Next in the constitutional scale (leaving aside the special position of strategic islands such as Malta and Cyprus) are the West African Colonies. Here we are dealing with much larger agglomerations of people-21 millions in Nigeria, 3.5 millions in the Gold Coast, about 2 million in Sierra Leone, and a quarter of a million in the Gambia. But the populations are far less advanced—in education, in national sentiment, and in political consciousness—than the West Indians. More than 90 per cent of the people are illiterate, and are only beginning to come into touch with Western culture and institutions. There are tribal, racial and linguistic differences which make things yet more difficult-in a country like the Gold Coast there are dozens of different dialects spoken, and in Africa as a whole there are at least 700 languages. These Colonies have all had Legislative Councils for at least a generation, but until recently the Councils were dominated by Government officials and representatives of the European mining and trading companies. Very few of the few African representatives were elected.

Since the war there have been notable advances towards fully representative (though not fully responsible) governments in the West African Colonies. The Gold Coast celebrated its new constitution in 1946, whereby for the first time in a British African Colony, a majority of the Council consisted of elected Africans. True, they were not all elected by direct ballot—some were selected through the traditional tribal institutions—but they represent, nevertheless, a considerable public opinion. Three Africans sit also on the Gold Coast Executive Council but final administrative responsibility remains with the Government officials, who are in the majority, backed by the Governor's power of veto.

Recent riots which broke out in the Gold Coast are at present being investigated by a special Commission appointed by the Secretary of State for the Colonies which is now in the Gold Coast making a full enquiry. The underlying cause of the troubles appears to have been discontent with the increased cost of living. Members of the Gold Coast Convention (a political organisation whose stated aim is to cooperate with the Colonial Administration and with the native rulers for the improvement of the standard of living of the colony, and the attainment of responsible government within the shortest possible time) took the riots as an opportunity for campaigning for self-government.

In 1947 Nigeria, also, entered a new phase of its constitutional history. It was given a new Legislative Council, covering the whole country, (the previous one had had limited territorial powers) and the majority of the members on the Council are Africans—though not necessarily elected Africans. The National Council for Nigeria and the Cameroons which seeks self-government for Nigeria in a specified time has disagreed with the constitution, but on the whole it is considered that it goes a step further towards representative government, though responsibility, again, is still in the hands of the Imperial Government, and its officials. In Sierra Leone a new constitution will be introduced in 1948, also with a majority of members who are not Government officials on the Legislative Council, while ultimate responsibility remains a preserve of the British Government.

The East African Colonies are less advanced.

and the position is complicated by the division of the population into distinct racial groups — European, Indian and African. Until the last couple of years there were no African representatives at all on the Legislative Councils of any of these Colonies, but now in most of them two or three Africans have taken their places—usually nominated by the Governor. The Councils are not, therefore, truly representative, as the Europeans, who are only the merest fraction of the population, dominate them and the large African majority has no more than one or two appointed men to speak on its behalf. The Councils also have limited executive responsibility, and British officials hold the main power in the separate Executive Councils. The path of advance in these countries is nothing like so clear as elsewhere, because of racial tensions; but, even within these limitations, one cannot be unaware of increasingly representative nature of the membership and the slow transfer of power into the hands of representatives who are not Government officials.

Malaya, too, presents a difficult picture of racial complexity retarding political advance. As a result of the rapid economic development of the peninsula there exists a large immigrant population of Chinese and Indians which by May 1941 was estimated (if Singapore is included) to outnumber the indigenous Malays. The new Federation of Malaya is designed to provide a working solution to the administrative and political problems that these circumstances created.

The new constitution, introduced in February 1948, integrates the different political units into a Federal group with a strong central government; it establishes a form of common citizenship by which the immigrant races have the chance to identify themselves with the country of their adoption; and it provides certain safeguards for the Malays whose rights, by the former Treaties of Protection, the British Government undertook to uphold. The Federal Legislative Council of 75 members contains a majority of 50 members who are at present nominated but who are not Government officials; the Federation Agreement provides for the election of members as soon as local conditions will permit.

This political pattern may appear slow in achievement and unsatisfactory to those who wish to see an immediate eradication of even the faintest trace of imperial control. It is, however, a continuing process which, once begun, cannot be halted until the logical conclusion is reached. Colonial nationalism is everywhere too strong to allow any people to feel content with less than has already been achieved by dependent nations elsewhere. And even if it were not, the strength of world opinion against imperialism is such today that the imperialist powers stand before the United Nations and the judgement of the world.

The revolt of Asia against imperialism has produced an indelible mark, and it is impossible that Africa should lag too far behind. The many plans for economic development which Britain is now engaged upon, exemplified by the East African Groundnuts Scheme, and the setting up of the Colonial Development Corporation, carry within themselves the seeds of rising standard of life for the colonial peoples; and the corollary to this is a strengthening of political thought and a crystallisation of the aspirations towards independence.

Yet there is little future, in the closely-knit world of today, for small scattered nations, splintered off from each other, each trying to build up a separate economic and cultural life of its own. Progressive thought in Britain looks forward today to an integration of these separate peoples, as self-governing units or groups, within the Commonwealth, linked together, for the advantage of each unit. This is something different from the old ideas of Empire, where the dependent nations were compelled into the association whether they liked it or not. If Dominion Status is retained, the link exists in a certain pooling of arrangements for defence, perhaps—though not necessarily—for foreign policy, certain trade and financial arrangements of mutual advantage, and a certain common loyalty to the same institutions. But these links are agreed upon entirely voluntarily by each side, and every Dominion is free to abandon any of them, or to leave the Commonwealth altogether by a vote in its own Parliament.

CHRISTIAN TRADE UNIONISM

(By GASTON TESSIER)

Gaston Tessier is President of the French Confederation of Christian Workers as well as of the International Confederation of Christian Trade Unions.

It is a matter of record that the A.F. of L. is highly appreciative of the efforts of Christian trade unionists in France and other countries to defend the principles of free trade unionism—independence from governments, political parties and employers, and opposition to totalitarian attempts to dominate the labour movement. The A.F. of L. also heartily welcomes the cooperation of Christian trade unions in the international conferences of the trade unions of the Marshall Plan nations.

However, it is appropriate to point out in this connection that the A.F. of L. has always been critical of the formation of trade unions on a denominational basis.

Contrary to the views expressed in this article, the A.F. of L. post-war reconstruction of the democratic trade unions of Germany on a unified basis is a progressive development of great importance; conversely, it believes that such developments as the split along denominational lines in the miners' movement of the Saar are likely to hamper the progress of free trade unionism.

In the life of society, Christian trade unionism is a historical and geographical factor of great magnitude; its existence and growth are proof of the justice and strength of the principles which inspire it.

In France, the first Christian trade unions were formed in 1886 and 1887—that is, shortly after enactment of the law of March 21, 1884, which, at the close of a century of individualism, re-established freedom of association by trades.

The Christian trade unions renewed a tradition of French labour which, before the Revolution of February, 1849, was represented by Philippe

Jean-Baptiste Buchez and the newspaper *L'Ateliter*, a group which sought to achieve social progress through protection of the rights of the workers by social legislation as well as by organizing them, especially in producers' cooperatives.

At the present time, the French Confederation of Christian Workers (C.F.T.C), which was founded in 1919, has affiliates not only throughout the entire territory of metropolitan France but also in the different parts of the French Union (the French overseas territories). The C.F.T.C. comprises 4,889 local trade unions which form 105 provincial (departmental) or regional federations and 43 national or industrial unions.

The Christian trade union movement showed its real strength in April, 1947, at the elections of the administrative councils of the local social security funds. In this nation-wide election, held on the basis of secret and proportional suffrage, the homogeneous lists of C.F.T.C. polled a national total of 1,458,475 votes as against 3,280,183 votes for the lists of the C.G.T. At that time, the later had not yet undergone the split which resulted in creation of the new French trade union organization, the Force Ouvriere.

More recently, in November, 1948, elections were held for the renewal of one half of the assessors of the Labour Courts (*Conseils de prud'hommes*). These are based on equal representation of both labour and management; their constructive role is even more important in the field of mediation than in that of judicial decision. This latest election of Labour Court assessors gave the C.F.T.C. 300 seats as against 202 in 1946. The C.F.T.C. won five seats in Tourcoying, four each in Paris and Saint-Etienne, two each in Armentieres, Fourmies, Rochefort-sur-Mer, Cholet and Troyes, one each in Lens, Orleans, Chalons-sur-Marne, Macon, Roubaix, Nantes, Lyon and Grenoble. For the first time, it obtained seats in the following communities—four in Le Creusot, three each in Lannoy and Bailleul, two each in Argenteuil and Chateauroux, one each in Valence, Hazebrouck, Haubourdin and Brive.

The number of Labour Court assessors elected as candidates of the Departmental Federation of the North (C.F.T.C.) increased from 35 in 1946 to 52 in 1949. In the large industrial centre of Roubaix-Tourcoing, the corresponding figures were 6 and 15; in 1946, the candidates of the Christian trade unions obtained 4,321 votes as against 9,041 votes for the C.G.T.; last year, 5188 votes went to the C.F.T.C., 3,921 to the C.G.T. and 3,843 to the new C.G.T.-Force Ouvriere.

In 1946, the candidates of the C.F.T.C. for election to the commercial sections of the Labour Courts of the Paris region polled 6,895 votes as against 8,773 for the C.G.T.; in November, 1948, they obtained 7,214 votes as against 3,553 for the C.G.T., 1,003 for the Force Ouvriere and 2,721 for Independents.

Thus, the Christian trade union movement has won increased support from French workers who view it with an appreciation and confidence based upon the achievements which it has attained —thanks to the soundness of its methods and its stand for well-defined principles.

The 23rd annual convention of the C.F.T.C., in 1947, adopted the following amendment to its constitution:

"In its activities, the Confederation adheres to and is inspired by the principles of Christian social morality. The attitude which it may adopt in regard to the problem of economic and social organization with the view of safeguarding the the prosperity of the nation is thus dictated by an endeavour aiming at preparing the triumph of the ideal of peace, by making sure that the spirit of fraternity and the commandments of justice prevail."

Contrary to movements which, in continental Europe, are inspired by historical or dialectical materialism and propagate the class struggle, Christian trade unionism strives to convert into action the primacy of the spirit in regard to the individual, to the family and to work. Undoubtedly, the great majority of its members in France are Catholic workers who observe the social doctrines of their church; however, the constitution of the C.F.T.C. has opened its door wide to all workers of good will. It has therefore been able to win a considerable number of members among Protestants, Jews and Moslems.

In accordance with the formula of "a free trade union within the framework of the organized trade," the C.F.T.C. proposes an organization of the economic and social forces which, at the limit, would assume the character of a public institution and would be animated by the various trade union organizations acting within the framework of this scheme in a manner similar to that followed by the political parties within the nation. Christian trade unionism tries to achieve the greatest possible unity of action through agreements or "cartels" with other trade union groups.

In the Resistance movement, the Christian trade unionists concluded an agreement with authoritative representatives of the C.G.T., who were inspired by the same patriotic spirit. This cooperation resulted particularly in the distribution, on November 15, 1940, and on May 1, 1941, of manifestoes which had been edited in common and carried signatures, in spite of the dangers involved. In July, 1944, the Interfederal Joint Committee issued an appeal to French labour which, one month later, was sharpened by a call for an insurrectionary general strike to achieve the liberation of France.

The Christian trade unions do not hesitate, in normal times, to proclaim strikes in order to obtain satisfaction of legitimate demands—whenever this has not been possible by peaceful methods. However, they oppose the use of the strike for political purposes. They, therefore, refused in October and November of 1947, to participate in the general work stoppage desired by the C.G.T.

and thus contributed, in a decisive manner, to the failure of that movement. Moreover, during its 80th session, in October, 1948, the National Committee of the C.F.T.C. expressed its regret "that the intervention of party politics into the life of the C.G.T. makes impossible, at the present moment, unity of action on the national level."

Since last year there has existed a joint committee (cartel) formed by the C.F.T.C. together with the new C.G.T.-Force Ouvriere and the General Confederation of Supervisory Personnel (C.G.C.) The purpose of this cartel is to bring about a price decrease, in the hope that a sound equilibrium in the budget of workers' families can be achieved through this method rather than by continuous wage increases.

Formed in 1920, the International Confederation of Christian Trade Unions was reconstructed at the end of the Second World War. Its headquarters are in Utrecht, the Netherlands. The International Confederation can proudly assert that it has, in the past, always protested—especially in the International Labour Organisation—against all tendencies towards totalitarianism and trade union monopoly, regardless of their origin.

The International Confederation has renewed its relations with its former correspondents in Germany, Austria and Italy. In August 1947, it brought about the reconstruction of the Christian Miners' Union in the Saar. The International Confederation has drawn the attention of the occupying powers in Germany to the inconveniences of the conception of a single trade union organization as contrary to international law and apt to appear as imposed from outside.

Since 1914, the Christian trade union movement has been represented at the sessions of the International Labour Conference. The International Confederation was recently admitted, in a consultative capacity, to the Administrative Council of the I.L.O. It actively cooperated in the preparation of the International Bill of Rights which was adopted at the recent session of the General Assembly of the United Nations in Paris.

Finally, the International Confederation has been recognized by the U.N. Economic and Social Council as an organization in "Category A"—that is, as one of the few international organizations of great importances which the Economic and Social Council has to consult before making any decision. In this respect, the International Confederation has been placed on the same level as the World Federation of Trade Unions and the American Federation of Labour.

Based upon a concept of freedom, the Christian trade union movement considers itself an integral part of organized labour, to which it intends to bring the loyal cooperation of a force that is practical and even realistic, though animated by the flame of spirituality.

TITO'S DEALS WITH THE WEST

Italian nationalist papers in Trieste which is always a sensitive barometer of East-West policies, have been giving much space to the increasing trade agreements made by Marshall Tito with western nations. Some have been optimistic enough to profess belief that Tito will soon be in the western camp. Others have published long, flowery eulogies of the western democracies, but warning them—especially Britain and the United States—that they must be careful with Tito and not make too many concessions. Before Yugoslavia is brought into any "new Europe," these papers say, all Tito's "crimes against the Triestini" should first be dealt with.

Some of the local comment has been indignant, accusing the West of deserting the people of Trieste, and of utilizing the trade opportunities with Yugoslavia for their own political advantage. Sometimes there is an attempt to drive a wedge between the British and the Americans; for example, the Messagero Veneto, a nationalist paper that is printed in Italy but contains a special Trieste supplement, carefully exonerates the United States for trade pacts with Tito, while condemning Britain for acting in her "traditional cloak and dagger style."

But Tito's own supporters in Trieste, after a great deal of confusion during the first days of the split between the Yugoslav leader and the Cominform, have been showing a new spirit. They have not been won back to Stalin, but they deny stoutly that Tito has any intention of joining the western countries. In one typical article, their press has castigated "Beggarly Imperialism," and declaimed: "All these reactionary hornblowers, who think to gain something for their revisionist claims out of the 'Yugoslav question,' must be told once and for all that Tito is not a man who lightly sullies the spotless honour and pride of the Yugoslav peoples."

Nevertheless, if Tito's organ in Trieste has taken a new lease on life, the Yugoslav radio has remained singularly quiet concerning the Trieste issue. For months there has been no scathing abuse of Allied Military Government. Instead, there has been a condemnatory campaign against the countries of Eastern Europe for their 'mulcting' of the Yugoslav economy. Missed by most western commentators is the fact that some weeks before Tito began to offer trade concessions to the West, he made a significant talk over a radio station selected for its location close to A. M. G. in Trieste.

In his speech, Tito's emphasis was expressed in this sentence: "Never before have we (the Yugoslavs) negotiated with the West, and yet Cominform countries have with these nations many trade agreements." The speech went on to assert that, if trading with the West could be thought good for Cominform countries, it was good enough for Yugoslavia.

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"*I will* be as harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard*".

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the LIBERATOR.

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NOTES

The Defence of Democracy :—In a forceful speech to the Oskaloosa Conference of the Methodist Federation for Social Action, Bishop Robert N. Brooks, the President for the year, observed that "we spend much more energy in fighting other systems than in making democracy operative." He went on to point out that what appeals in other systems is often the "borrowed idealistic portion of our own democratic theory which we have fought so bitterly and effectively that many people fear to proclaim these lofty ideals lest they be called by other names than democrats." The assertion that democracy can best be served by attending to the obvious hardships of the existing system has a validity for our own country where there is too often a tendency to indulge in easy condemnation of things that are without attempting to correct them. Democracy implies a great deal of initiative and it is that which has to be cultivated in modern India. Apart from the men in power, there is little organised effort to build on existing foundations; and even the governments in India suffer from the fact that they are manned by persons who have been too long in the opposition to change over now to constructive ways. There is as a result far too much reliance on individual reform than on organised effort. Recently there have been calls to the public to cultivate higher ideals and practices which conform closer to them. These are bound to be futile without the necessary organisation to help the individual forward. If democracy is to be defended, there must be a certain effort to have it understood. Unfortunately, this is totally lacking. The various aspects of the Draft Constitution, now under discussion in the Constituent Assembly, for instance, have scarcely been laid before the public in any coherent form. Our whole propaganda has concentrated on a few issues like linguistic provinces and a national language in a manner calculated to confuse rather than enlighten the public. All other matters are left to be decided by the Assembly which has shown itself inadequate to the task. It is a strange commentary of Indian Independence that since its advent there has been a lull in public meetings and open forums. Even the radio which had shown a certain liveliness in non-political discussion in the pre-Independence period, has exchanged controversy for propaganda. Interest in public matters cannot, it is true, be created, but there is no attempt, almost one is tempted to say no desire, to foster or encourage interest.

Separation of Judiciary :—Chief Justice Kania of the Federal Court has once more emphasised the importance of separating the Judiciary from the Executive. This was frequently pressed by Congress leaders in opposition and it is surprising that there is such a lethargy towards this necessary reform among Congress Ministers today. It is sometimes contended that a popular government makes it less necessary to separate the two functions of the State. But this is an altogether false reasoning since the individual requires protection against the possibilities of administrative excess, irrespective of the form of government under which he lives. There have been far too many instances of members of the governmental party seeking to influence the magistracy and succeeding in less advanced provinces in impeding justice, for the public to accept complacently the suggestion that there is nothing wrong with the present system. The fact is that popular leaders now at the helm of affairs are at the moment greatly impressed by the problems of administration and tend far too readily to dismiss other considerations. If an executive fiat is found by the relevant High Court to be ultra vires, the official attitude is to condemn the law as bad and requiring amendment, rather than to retreat from the position. Obviously, the attitude cannot be

persisted in indefinitely but until the breaking point comes it leads to considerable hardship to the public. The fight which the Judiciary is putting up, is one of the most promising signs of possibilities of a return to healthy conditions. But the general lack of interest in the public and the insidious growth of a class of apologists for the Government make the Judiciary's battle a harder one. The Civil Liberties Union ought to take the matter up and pursue individual cases.

The Durban Riots Report: — The report of the inquiry committee on the recent Durban race riots is an ineffectual attempt to whitewash everyone who has any responsibility in Durban. The blame is placed on the poor housing of the natives but it is immediately stated that for this state of affairs no one can be held responsible. A warning is given that there might be a recurrence of the riots at any time, which presumably will encourage the the authorities to tighten up regulations and restrictions. As was to be expected, the report throws part of the responsibility not on the racial policy of South Africa's Government but on India's protests against that policy, which has roused world opinion and indirectly influenced African natives to a general discontent. At the same time, the report rather smugly remarks that the African natives are generally satisfied with their conditions except for a few intellectuals. All this is so very familiar to those who have lived under the colonial system that they need hardly be answered seriously. It is a complete condemnation of all inquiries by members of one race into the attitudes and behaviour of another. With the best will in the world, the Durban Committee members could not have understood the feelings of the African natives, coming as they did from the narrow, jaundiced section of the White community which forms the South African ruling class. And there is ample evidence in the report to establish that there was very little goodwill.

Britain and her Colonies:—We publish this week an article by Dr. Rita Hinden on the economic problems of the Commonwealth as they relate to the Colonies. There is another side to this question which calls for seerious attention. In an interview with the "Worldover Press", Mr. Arthur Creech Jones, Britain's Colonial Secretary, stressed his desire to find administrators sympathetic with native welfare needs and the difficulty of training new ones fast enough. Now it has been revealed in Parliament, continues the report, that in the West African colonies alone, 495 senior service positions are unfilled through a lack of suitable applicants; the policy of British Labour is to train large numbers of native Africans for posts requiring technical skill, but the programme is too recent to offer as yet anywhere near enough candidates." This message is a revealing indication of the collapse of colonialism in a most peculiar way. The imperial power finds itself left without the necessary men in its own country to man the outposts of Empire and it has not yet trained enough natives to take over the administration. The most obvious solution would be to draw upon the large numbers released since the advent of Indian Independence from the Indian services and to utilise their services for administering the colonies which need them. But probably these men cannot be counted on to act with sympathy to the local people.

Eire's Choice:—The Government of Eire has made its decision and gone out of the Commonwealth in so far as giving up the Crown can be interpreted as an exit. The move has been condemned by Mr. De Valera who fears that it will fix the partition of Ireland and prove a serious obstacle in the way of reunion. He has commended the acceptance of the Crown for external representation only as the best solution at present. Students of Indian politics who are anxious to have India remain in the Commonwealth, have tried to draw a parallel between India and Eire. Their argument is far from convincing. It must not be forgotten that Eire never accepted the partition of Ireland ideologically as India has accepted the partition of this country. India enthusiastically supported Pakistan's entry into the United Nations and the Indian Government has negotiated with Pakistan representatives an agreement banning any organised propaganda for reunion. It is regrettable that in their anxiety to secure a decision for the Commonwealth a section of Indian publicists sheuld lapse into fantastic suggestions. Mr. Kodanda Rao of the Servants of India Society, for instance, who uses De Valera's argument, also holds hopes of the Commonwealth at some later stage electing its King and of an Indian being so elected. This is bordering on the ridiculous. There can be no "elected King", even in Britain. Edward VII, when he was Prince of Wales, was outraged by the suggestion that Queen Victoria should abdicate in his favour, because he held that once popular opinion was permitted to govern the monarchy the very kingship would be endangered. The attainment of a sovereign republican status by Eire is an important event in the Commonwealth paralleling the independence of Burma. It will be decided at the coming London Conference of Dominion Premiers what meaning it has for other units of the Commonwealth. And the decision will be of the first significance to India. But for the fact that the Eire decision was preceded by previous consultations with other Dominion Premiers, the recent move would have stolen the limelight from India.

India in the Commonwealth:—Whilst the Indian attitude has been stated as being insistence on the status of a republic, if possible within the Commonwealth, if necessary in association with it, it rests with Britain and the other Dominions to decide whether India as a republic can be in the Commonwealth. If the answer to this is yes, then it would be absurd for India to go out of the Commonwealth and the indications are that she will not. We have said that giving up the Crown as the link will bring about serious consideration of common principles for all units. In the way things are developing, it will be correct to say that even retaining the Crown must raise questions regarding the bonds of the Commonwealth. After all if India and the Asian Dominions are asked to accept the British Crown, it is natural far them to demand what Commonwealth membership means to them.

THE INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, April 23, 1949.

EDUCATION FOR POLITICS

The mere prospect of adult suffrage has created a near panic amongst our politicians and publicists. Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramaya has spoken of the need for educating public opinion; Mr. Diwakar, Minister for Information, talks of the necessity of using radio and film to train the people in the ways of democratic politics; and a Bombay newspaper has written at length on the trite saying that *politics is a game*. All this is very disquieting. The fathers have eaten the sour grapes, says the proverb, and the children's teeth are set on edge. Ignorance of politics is the defect of the people—or so we are told—and, strangely, it is our political leaders and professionals who are in a state of bewilderment and confusion. It is interesting to see what is the reason behind all this. For this, it might be useful to consider for a moment what might develop if the people are left ignorant of their power under adult suffrage. An extreme possibility is that the vast majority of them might not go to the polls which would leave things very much as they are. This is not a particularly disturbing contingency to those who are already in power. On the other hand, there is the greater danger of the people going astray and voting the wrong side in. From Plato to Sun Yat-Sen, human ingenuity has been directed towards ways of preventing this disaster and human ingenuity has been beaten. The Greek philosopher postulated that true democracy meant that the vote would be conferred on the right-thinking alone. He did not say it in so many words but every political tyro knows that in politics right-thinking essentially means thinking as one does. There are on all political issues but two opinions: My own and the wrong one. Therefore, the Chinese statesman declared that the way to Democracy lay in three stages: Authoritarian rule, political education for democracy, and democracy extended to those who had shown themselves sufficiently educated. But somehow, the practice of this theory is much more difficult than the enunciation of it. The success of its working depends to a considerable extent on the public being unaware of the intention of the educators and—well, it is difficult to teach people without letting them know that they are being taught, or what they are being taught. Therefore, the most sensible thing is to allow adult suffrage to come in and follow the American process of letting people *learn while they earn*.

As for proclaiming the thought that politics is a game, surely this is a dangerous policy. It at once brings to mind the phrase, much more commonly circulated in democratic countries, Politics is a dirty game. And this is hardly a wise or safe introduction to politics. Moreover, calling it a game can only lead the public to ask what is their part in the game. The answer to this is obvious; If the politicians are the players, then the public can only be the ball and as Omar Khayyam says,

> The Ball no question makes of Ayes and Noes,
> But Here or There as strikes the Player goes;
> And He that toss'd you down into the Field,
> He knows about it all—He knows—He knows.

To be the plaything of God or the Gods is one thing—at any rate, it is inevitable—but to be the politician's plaything is something that the people will not—and should not—tolerate. Besides, the "He knows" does not apply here, since the uncertainties of political elections are notorious. Therefore, the people on whose behalf everyone wishes to speak these days and whose voice is never heard, can only be confused by this attempt to reduce politics to an amusement, a hobby and an entertainment. If politics is a game, the people might demand that at least one rule should be made by them—that they should not be kicked about. It is not from these sources that anything might be looked for in the way of educating public opinion or warning the people of the politician's wiles. But it would be a great day when the people can tell the politicians and their henchmen that they do not need to be taught. Till that day comes, it is enough if some at least of the less interested took the trouble to warn voters of a few common pitfalls. And the first is against those who would have them think politics is a game. It is not and the persons who insist it is, are only trying to make game of the public. Secondly, no more education is necessary to cast one's vote sensibly in elections than it is needed in looking after one's own affairs and no more is possible. One is born intelligent or not. No system has yet been devised to confer brains on those who have it not, and it is no use worrying about this. When one sees the most educated minds running into the communal or provincial bog, then one can only be amused to think of politicians preaching the need for education before one exercises to vote.

So much has been said about the people, so much told us of the estimate in which the politician holds the people, that it might be wise for just a little to see the other side. What do the people think about the politician—red, pink, blue or white? There is, we fear nothing good here to record. Since the supporters of Abimelech, son of Gideon, gave him three score and ten pieces of silver (which too seem to have been misappropriated temple funds) and he "hired vain and light persons which followed him", the politician is held as an extremely corrupt and dishonest fellow before he gets into office and a public menace after he gets there. Someone more recently has described the politician's speech as no more than a "mometary rattle". But between the Judges and the modern student of American democracy there have been several who expressed themselves pretty frankly on this old-new parasite on society. Shakespeare who was a shrewd student of courts

and courtier, finds a favourite target in the "politician of sweet words, low-crooked court'sies and base spaniel-fawning." The less educated the people the more likely they are to see through the wiles and stratagems of the climbers; too much education will instil into them a desire to pursue the tortuous path of the political. We are surprised that no one has drawn the obvious lesson from Madras where the standard of education is so high that they have one prime minister every year and a long waiting list; or at the other extreme of Hyderabad where there is no claimant, and a resulting political vacuum. If we might venture a suggestion, it would be desirable to manage things so that neither politics nor education becomes a burden and an oppression on the people. And in a sense the two are supplementary: Education being essentially a matter of minding one's own business, and Politics the art of interfering in other people's—pleasantly if possible, but otherwise if necessary.

PRIMARY EDUCATION IN BOMBAY

On March 14, 1947, the Bombay Municipal Corporation took a momentous decision. It resolved to call for a thorough examination of the constitution, powers and functions of its Schools Committee and to appoint a Special Officer to investigate into the "working of the Free and Compulsory Primary Education Act, and to make suitable recommendations on the question." Since the points specifically mentioned in an accompanying note are numerous, the report of the Special Officer, Mr. R. V. Parukekar, was found to be a complete and exhaustive study. It was made public only a few weeks ago and, like all reports of its kind bearing on constructive but unsensational problems of social reform, it received but little notice in the Press. This is unfortunate for at least two reasons. The report reveals striking facts and figures about the working of compulsory primary education in Bombay city, and radical overhaul of its administration is likely by the Municipal Corporation, which has been since 1909 solely responsible for controlling and managing the city's primary schools. Again though the Bombay enterprise is not impressive in itself, in comparison with other similar enterprises in the country it certainly is progressive. Its errors and successes teach a wholesome lesson to those who intend to follow its example. Several chapters of Mr. Parulekar's report deserve close scrutiny, particularly those dealing with the working of the Bombay City Education Act since 1920, the recruitment and training of primary teachers, and the conditions of existing municipal school buildings. Mr. Parulekar tells the story of the development of compulsory primary education in Bombay sympathetically. The tale begins in 1925, when the Bombay Municipality introduced compulsory education in the F. and G. wards of the city and brought into existence an Attendance Department. This new department was placed in the charge, of the Superintendent of Aided Schools, who was called the Census Officer for this purpose. This Census Officer continued to do his old duties as Superintendent of Aided Schools in addition to being responsible for the new department. This he worked with the assistance of two subordinate officers, ten clerks and ten peons. The two wards were divided into ten sections, each of which was in charge of a clerk who was later designated Inspector. These inspectors were expected to go around their sections with a peon to note down the names of non-attending children and to pursuade their guardians to send them to schools. Notices were served by them on the guardians, if they failed to respond. And, if repeated notices were ignored, their names were submitted to the Schools Committee. In 1929-30 and the two following years an Attendance Teacher's Scheme was launched "to reduce the number of non-attending children and to secure regular attendance of both old and new pupils." The number of teachers engaged each time was eighty and the two most important duties among the several assigned to them were: (i) "to take the enumeration of children below eleven years of age for the purpose of printing and publishing the registers of non-attending children of compulsory age" and (ii) "to move about in the area entrusted to them for bringing in children who may not have joined school at all and also those who may have attended school but may have left later on." A new scheme was again tried in 1932-33. This time all the teachers of schools in selected localities in F. and G. wards were made to co-operate with the Attendance Department. The selected schools were closed altogether on half holidays and the teachers thus relieved were required to visit the homes of the parents or guardians of non-attending children to impress upon them the necessity of sending children to schools. The total number of children brought to school as a result of enlisting the co-operation of teachers during these four years was 10,000. In October 1937, when an actual Census was taken of the number of children at the primary stage in schools in F. and G. wards, it was found that of 29,000 children of compulsory age, 22,000 were actually going to school. In the same year was submitted a scheme for extending compulsion to the remaining five Wards—A to E—to the Government of Bombay. Taking the Census-returns of 1931 as the basis for their calculations, the Municipality estimate that the total number of children of compulsory age in the five wards was 64,000. Of those 45,000 were reported to be actually at school. Thus in 1937 it was estimated that 26,000 children were still not receiving any schooling whatsoever. Compulsory education, however, was actually introduced into Wards A to E only in January 1940. In that year another Attendance drive was made. "As many as 446 persons including Supervisors (5), Head Teachers (45), Teachers (258), school peons (37) and outsiders (101) were engaged.....They worked for 3 months two hours a day, outside the school-time for extra remuneration." The end of the

campaign saw another 9,400 children at school. Subsequently several other drives were made and from 1943-44 part-time peons began to be recruited also for serving in the attendance department. Their number rose to 340 by 1947-48. It is difficult to estimate the actual number of children at school to-day. The population has increased tremendously since the last Census of 1941.

We have to rely on the figures of the Rationing Office. In September 1948, the Government Rationing Department had issued 27,62,000 ration cards in all in Bombay. On the usual calculation, 8 per cent there should be 2,16,000 children of school-going age in Bombay. But in March 1948 there were only 1,21,000 children at school. The figures tell their own tale, but Mr. Parulekar's comments on them are enlightening:" Although compulsion has been in force in the whole City of Bombay for about eight years or so, things have not, owing to various difficulties both financial and otherwise, settled down to a point where compulsion might be said to have gone beyond the initial stage. For all practical purposes it is still in infancy. Thousands of children are out of school; thousands leave school in the middle of the school and an equally large number returns to the City in the middle of the year. Prosecution of defaulters, which is the most important step in any system of compulsory education, has not been resorted to for one reason or the other." And again—"The machinery set up by the Schools Committee for enforcement of compulsion which might have been adequate for a population of 15 lakhs cannot be considered to be adequate for a population of 27 lakhs." This is letting the authorities off rather liagtly considering that it was only in 1938 that a post of Special Attendance Officer was created. The Schools Committee had obviously not recognised the importance to their scheme of the Attendance Department. Their reluctance to prosecute defaulting guardians bears further testimony to an easy-going attitude. However, it is true that the successful working of compulsory education in Bombay is complicated by several factors. Two are common to the country as a whole—the lack of education among adults and the low standard of living. "Out of every hundred non-attending children residing in the localities mostly inhabited by the working classes..... 60 do not attend for various economic reasons." A problem peculiar to Bombay is created by its floating labour population. The permanent homes of workers are in the districts and batches of them stream in and out of the city at odd times of the year. A sample investigation conducted in 27 Marathi schools in 1937-38 showed that 24% of the children attending left during the first year of schooling, whilst 39% left during their second year. The position since then seems to have deteriorated for a similar investigation indicates that in 1943-1944 the percentage of pupils leaving during the first two years has risen from 63% to 68%. Little wonder then that Mr. Parulekar's own suggestions or improving the situation contemplate a radical revision of the whole administrative machinery responsible for primary education.

Municipal schools provide an average floor space of less than 8 square feet per child. The classrooms are badly lit and the ventilation is even worse. "With in a short time of assembling, the air becomes unbearably fetid, and a visitor fresh from the open air is glad to beat a retreat. The lighting is insufficient and improperly distributed for school work and the eyes of the children are subjected to strain and injury. In some cases where parts of the building alone are hired, the classrooms filled with children are adjacent to rooms and passages in which domestic and other non-educational operations are going on and the contiguity is unseemly and educationally objectionable." Mr. Parulekar quotes this extract from a reply submitted way back in 1895 to Lord Sandhurst, the Governor of Bombay, when, appalled by the condition of hired Municipal school-buildings, he asked the Chairman of the Joint Schools Committee to supply him with a note giving, among other things, a rough estimate of the cost of new buildings. Mr. Parulekar's justification for quoting lengthy extracts from this correspondence is that"they still represent in substantial measure the conditions that prevail even today in the majority of buildings hired by the Municipality for school purposes." When one realizes that "250 out of 303 are hired buildings" to date, the full significance of these observations is overwhelming. The distress becomes more pronounced as one learns that in 1906 the Bombay Government invited the Corporation to accept a programme of construction of school buildings, costing ten lakhs in all. The Government promised to contribute 5 lakhs (at the rate of a lakh a year) if the scheme was adopted and completed within five years. A contract was duly made out and the programme was to commence in 1907 but upto 1914 the Corporation had claimed only two out of the stipulated 5 lakhs and the whole scheme was completed in 1923 instead of 1912. The losses incurred by the tax-payer are tremendous, considering the rise of prices in the intervening period. This particularly in the history of primary education is distinctly one of missed opportunity; it must be ascribed partly to the absorption of the corporation in the political struggle. There have been other causes of delaying, and these are not so easily condonable.

Mr. Parulekar himself attributes a good deal of the defects of the existing administration to the fact that the Municipal Schools Committee is too independent of the general executive of the Corporation. But there is yet another side to all this. The intentions of the Corporation and their School Committee are beyond reproach. In introducing the system of medical inspection and milk distribution they have shown their awareness of progressive social legislation. But there is a tendency to move ahead without consolidating the gains achieved, which is definitely injurious.

ECONOMIC PLANS AND PROBLEMS OF THE COMMONWEALTH

(By DR. RITA HINDEN)

In the years between the wars, a constant reproach was levelled against Britain for the neglect of her Colonies. These fifty or more territories, with a population of 60,000,000 offered few attractions for the private investor, and at that time, the idea of public investment or planned development was not seriously considered by British governments. The Colonies, were, for the most part, producers of primary products; and it was just this type of produce—food-stuffs and raw materials—which was so mal-distributed on the world markets. These were the days when, in South America, coffee was being dumped into the sea and in North America wheat was being burnt.

It had also been traditional British policy to spend nothing on Colonial development apart from what could be raised in local revenues or in loans which Colonial governments could themselves finance. The idea was that the Colonies should be self-supporting so that, as they advanced towards self-government, they would do so in economic independence. The trouble was that the Colonies had so few resources of their own that, without any help from outside, they had no means of development, or of purchase of capital equipment on which progress could be based. Most of the Colonies, were, therefore, caught in a vicious circle of low productivity, low revenues, and low expenditure.

The first attempt to finance Colonial development schemes was made when the Colonial Development Act of 1929 was passed. Under this Act, however, no more than £ 1,000,000 could be advanced in one year, and the schemes to which this money was to be devoted were to be selected with a view to the promotion of commerce with the United Kingdom.

The real change in policy came in 1940. At one of the darkest moments of the war, when the Germans had just defeated France and the Low Countries, the British Parliament passed a new Colonial Development and Welfare Act which allowed the expenditure of £5,500,000 a year for ten years "for any purpose likely to promote the development of the resources of any Colony or the welfare of its people." This followed a cancellation of £11,000,000 debts. For the first time, the British taxpayer would put his hand in his pocket and spend money on Colonial development irrespective of any returns.

The problem was to get this Act working during the war. Staffs were depleted, skilled workers unobtainable, capital equipment scarce, shipping facilities almost non-existent. However, schemes were prepared and drawn up for post-war activities and capital expenditure in the period was £10,000,000. In fact, over 600 schemes were prepared during the war—from 1940 until the end of March 1946, nearly £30,000,000 of grants and loans had been approved (though not all spent) for Colonial development projects.

Before the war was over, the money provisions were extended yet further. Yet another Colonial Development and Welfare Act was passed in 1945, with the same objects as the 1940 Act but making available a total sum of £120,000,000 for development in the succeeding ten years.

Under the 1940 Act a Colonial Development Advisory Committee had been set up in London to co-ordinate development plans for the separate colonies, and in 1945 a dispatch was sent to all Colonial Governments informing them of the general lines on which development should be planned, and asking them to draw up a comprehensive ten-year development plan. This plan should be based not only on the money which the Colony could expect from the British Treasury (and for this purpose a total of £85,500,000 was allocated directly to the different Colonies so that each knew where it stood from the start) but also from whatever contributions could be expected from the Colonies' own revenues and from loans. It was particularly emphasised that local opinion should be fully consulted in the carrying-out of these development plans.

In the last three years all the Colonies have been busy preparing their own ten-year development plans, and by May 1948 seventeen had been approved and put into operation. Even those still being considered have not remained as mere blue-prints. Specific schemes which form part of them are being put into operation in the meantime. Some of the plans are on an ambitious scale. The Nigerian plan, for example, provides for an expenditure of £55,000,000, of which £23,000,000 will come from the Colonial Development and Welfare Vote and £32,000,000 from local sources or loans. Jamaica's plan will cost £23,000,000, of which £6,350,000 will be provided from Britain and the remainder locally. For the three East African territories of Kenya, Tanganyika and Uganda, the plans will cost £54,000,000--£14,740,000 from Britain and £39,000,000 from local revenues.

Many kinds of schemes are covered in these development plans—soil conservation; the control of malaria; anti-sleeping sickness campaigns; housing projects; development of communications; technical education; leprosy services and so on. Of the £120,000,000 a sum of £23,5000 has been reserved for central schemes which will benefit all Colonies, and these include research. For research alone, £1,000,000 may be spent annually, and a whole series of special Committees and Councils already in existence will plan this research. There is a Colonial Products Research Council, a Colonial Social Sciences Research Council, a Medical Research Committee, a Colonial Economic Research Committee, a Committee for Colonial Agricultural, Animal Health and Forestry Research, and a Colonial Insecticides Committee. The sum of £3,000,000 has been set aside for land, geological, and other surveys, for which aircraft and new techniques developed during the war are to be used. For extending higher education facilities in the Colonies £6,5000,000

out of the central allocation has been set aside; and with this money University Colleges are being established in the West Indies, West Africa, East Africa and a University in Malaya. Courses have already begun at Ibadan College, Nigeria, and courses at the West Indian Colleges will begin this Autumn; their principals and staffs have already been appointed. Finally, out of this central allocation, £2,500,000 has been earmarked for training new entrants to the Colonial Service: £1,000,000 of this sum will be specifically devoted for scholarships to enable Colonial students to qualify for the higher grades of the civil service.

Excellent as these planning schemes may appear, they are still not really satisfactory in meeting the basic problems of Colonial development. It is not only that there are still such acute shortages of equipment and manpower that the schemes can progress with nothing more than an exasperating slowness; but, even were they to be fully carried out, they would not solve the basic problem of Colonial poverty. They provide a certain *framework* of economic life — communications, water-supplies, a certain extension of education and improvement in health and resources,—but they do not provide the actual enterprise itself. The most urgent need in the Colonies is to raise productivity; this can only be done if there is new capital, new planning and investment in specific enterprises.

It was with this in mind that the British Government decided to apply the technique of the public development corporation to Colonial planning. In February, 1948, the Overseas Resources Development Bill was passed through Parliament. Under this Act a Colonial Development Corporation with powers to raise capital up to £110,000,000 was established; and a similar Overseas Food Corporation, with capital of £55,000,000 was set up. The Colonial Development Corporation has wide powers to investigate and undertake projects for the development of Colonial resources. The same applies to the Overseas Food Corporation, which will concentrate on developing food projects, not only in the Colonies but anywhere overseas. Its first duty was to take over the ground-nuts schemes in Central Africa. This scheme, involving a capital expenditure of about £23,000,000, had been inaugurated about a year previously, to develop ground-nut production on more than a million hectares of unused land in East Africa. A contract had been given to a private company to put this scheme into practice so as not to waste time, and in February 1948, when the Overseas Food Corporation came into being, it immediately assumed full responsibility for the scheme as a public concern.

The ground-nuts scheme is the only big enterprise which the new Corporations have as yet in hand for the Colonies, but missions have been sent to a number of places to investigate specific possibilities—more ground-nuts in West Africa, rice in North Borneo, Malaya, and West Africa, timber in British Guiana, industrial projects in the West Indies and so on.

All in all, therefore, the sums to be spent on Colonial development in the coming years amount to a considerable total. £120,000,000 under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act; a further £200,000,000 approximately to be raised for the ten year plans from local loads and revenues; £110,000,000 for the Colonial Development Corporation: a total over £400,000,000 all told—excluding the Overseas Food Corporation, whose resources of £55,000,000 can be used at the invitation of the Secretary of State.

It is still, however, a hard task to put these schemes into operation. Today, it is true, the economic position has so changed that primary products are in keen demand and the more that can be produced of them the better. There is no question now of the colonies being unable to sell their products. But there are the gravest shortages of every sort of capital equipment, and of consumers' goods to act as an inducement to labour; and workers in the Colonies are not always responsive or enthusiastic towards development schemes. But it is hoped interest will be stimulated by the methods of consultation and collaboration being worked out throughout the the colonies today; they are, of course, connected with the moves towards self-government which have taken place in almost every Colony during the last three years. It has been specifically laid down in the case of the ground-nuts scheme that the whole project shall be transferred to the local governments as soon as possible, and shall eventually be handed over to Cooperatives of the workers themselves. A start has been made towards organising the workers in the scheme into Cooperative groups.

GERMAN YOUTH AND POLITICS

(By HENRY HOLM)

One serious problem confronting those who want a democratic Germany is the negative attitude of German youth toward all political party movements. After the breakdown of Kaiser Wilhelm's empire in the First World War, young people suddenly given political rights, flocked into the political parties with the enthusiasm shown everywhere by people who have a chance to try something new. Most of them, eventually, went to the extreme Left or Right—to Communism or to Hitlerism.

This time, in the postwar years, there has been no enthusiasm at all. The young people who do go into the parties are comparatively few in number, and many of these do so in the hope of good jobs. This correspondent has had opportunities to talk continuously with groups of youth, only to find them on the whole contemptuous of parties altogether. Distrust of all slogans coming from the older generation is a characteristic of present-day German young people. The most common expression of this negativism is the disgusted cry, "Oh, they are all the same; politics is nonsense." For a future democratic and peaceful Germany, such attitudes are a sad portent, but their widespread existence cannot be doubted.

THE MAN WITHOUT A COUNTRY

(By DEVERE ALLEN)

Here is a story that illustrates, better than a bookful of statistics could ever do it, the bewilderment and frustration which afflict countless Europeans. It comes from a friend who knows the man with whom the story is concerned. For that matter, I have known many a similar person in the post-war years. And what happened to Robert Werner makes it plain that the relief of physical hunger, even the reshaping of Europe to a better political pattern, can never do the job of human rehabilitation. Only a new spiritual emphasis, a new morality in world affairs, can give hope to the Robert Werners and set their feet once more on sure, productive, co-operative paths.

In the northern part of Bohemia Robert was born to German parents who were, at the time, citizens of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. While he was still a young boy, that empire went to pieces. After the post-war shake-up in 1919, the Werners lived in Czechoslovakia, where they were Sudeten Germans. By the time Robert was grown up, he had become a skilled glass-blower. But there came a time when jobs were scarce, so he emigrated to Spain. There, in a glass factory he did well. He was a quiet and skillful worker. He married a Spanish girl. He built a little home where he lived peacefully, troubling no one, with his wife and two daughters.

The Civil War broke out in 1936, however and when his part of the country fell into Fascist hands, Robert was unhappy. Still he "kept out of trouble," and because he was a foreigner, he was not called to the army. Then suddenly, in the autum of 1938, the great powers of Western Europe, democracies young Werner had admired, felt called upon to deliver Czechoslovakia to its most fanatical foes, the Hitlerites. It was to safeguard the World's peace for the next 50 years. Werner was summoned before the German consul, who took away his Czech passport and gave him a German one instead. With Hitler in power, the idea of being a German was repulsive. But that wasn't all; he was called upon to join the Nazi Party in Spain. He went to meetings for a while, convinced that Nazism and Fascism would have a short life.

The Spanish war ended and World War II began. Werner was ordered by the German consul to go to work in Czechoslovakia. If he didn't go in seven days, he would be sent by force. To save his family from disaster, he left them in Spain and went to Germany as a "volunteer." It was of no use, because the police came and carried the family to Germany anyhow. Soon Robert was fighting the Russians, for whom he had no hatred, in a cause he detested. In time, the Germans were swept back by the Soviet armies, and young Werner was elated. The Russian slogan appealed to him: "Workers of the world, unite!" Well he was a worker. They would all pitch in now and build a new world, an international civilization.

When Czechoslovakia was re-established, Robert Werner was happy. After all, there was idealism behind the move, as he saw it then, and if the Communists had an important place in the renewed life of the nation, this would help guarantee progress. But before long, he was notified that as a Sudeten German, he was to be expelled. And it was the Czech Communists, most of all, who insisted that the Sudetens go. Again he had to abandon his home and leave everything behind. His family, found after a long time, had been with him; now they too were refugees.

Today the man who was pushed from country to country, from loyalty to loyalty, is in Germany, wondering what the future holds. The thing he wants most to know is this, which is his country? The place of his birth, Austria-Hungary, no longer exists. Spain? He had never done any harm to the people of that country, but he had been emphatically expelled, and in an odious way. He and his whole family had to go through suffering, experience the ignominy of belonging to a German "race" at a time when he hated everything its leaders stood for. Was his country Czechoslovakia? Not any more—the Czechs had seen to that. He simply has no country; worse, he has no foster-country worthy of his love.

For a while, Werner had put his faith in an international society, for the Russians were at least seeking to create the world of the Worker's International. But the other day someone handed him a newspaper. It bore the old shibboleth, "Workers of the World, Unite!" Werner tore it angrily into pieces. It was just another lie. Had it not been the Czech workers who threw him out of his Czechoslovak home, and for nationalistic reasons? "There is no such International," Werner exclaimed. "There is nothing!"

What can be given him? Who is to give it? Robert Werner, which is not his real name, finds no hope in the Soviet blockade of Berlin, nor in the setting up of a West German government. On neither side of the cold war is anything for him. In fact, that is his tragedy, and the tragedy of thousands like him. He can believe in no one, can see nothing to be trusted. And the tragedy for the western world, for those of us who have greater creature comfort and a philosophy less shaken by stern experience, is that we have so little to offer to the Robert Werners of our time.

—*Worldover Press*.

SOFTENING THE PACT

Foreign offices of the countries signing the North Atlantic Pact have quietly agreed that for the present at least, no long range guided missiles will be sent from the United States, and European research in this form of offensive warfare will be confined to the laboratory. And although Great Britain will get more long-range bombing planes, none will based in Norway or Denmark, which are close to Russia, and probably none in Italy.

The Soviet intelligence system is pervasive, and it is deemed best to keep the arming of Europe, especially that part of it near Russian soil, on a technically defensive level. Further, one means of defence is to encourage the discontent existing in former and present Russian satellites, rather than uniting them more closely through fear.

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KAMAKSHI NATARAJAN

April 29, 1949 is exactly a year since Kamakshi Natarajan passed away. It was intended to publish an appreciation and a tribute in this issue but it is difficult for the "Indian Social Reformer", every issue of which bears the stamp of his personality, to speak of him without seeming to indulge in self-praise, as it were. I have tried to write something but I feel hopelessly inadequate for the task. In one sense there is so much to say and in another there is nothing at all that seems worth saying. The year that has passed has been a mixed one. It would have delighted him to have known that the Commonwealth ties were to be kept up but not the way in which it has happened; and the confusion created by the politicians over the Hindu Code would not have surprised him the least. But it is all vague. The front page of this issue carries a photograph of his —it is difficult to realise that he was so little photographed. And for the time being I must leave it at that. —*S. N.*

INDIA IN THE COMMONWEALTH

A valued friend who has a wide experience of politics and administration writes to us asking why it should not be possible to have India as a Republic in association as an equal partner with the Commonwealth. The question obviously was provoked by a desire to retain Commonwealth ties whilst giving full value to the loud professions of Indian leaders in favour of a Republican status for India. The proposal had one merit to it: The entire system could have been referred to as "India and the British Commonwealth" for there could be no objection to retaining the word "British" in these circumstances. However, the necessity for any such precise arrangement has been rendered unnecessary by Britain's surprising adaptability in accepting a republic in the Commonwealth and India's reciprocal surrender in accepting the British King as the symbol of association of free nations and as the head of the Commonwealth. This formula is not very satisfactory and it is certainly less than the one suggested above but it has passed scrutiny and so will do. The British King as the head of the Commonwealth is a novelty to the British Commonwealth. So far the theory of the sovereignty of the Dominions has always worked to blot out all attempts to set up a common single head for the Commonwealth. Lionel Curtis remarked in his "Civitas Dei" that, though the communities of Canada, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand and the United Kingdom are united by a common allegiance to the Crown, as an executive officer the King must act as the head of five separate States. Discussing the complications presented by this dualism, Professor Berriedale Keith considers the extreme instance of one Dominion, like Eire, contemplating a treaty of commerce giving marked preferences to some foreign power to the detriment of British goods. He concludes that the King's consent to such a treaty would be necessary, "it being made clear that the King finally acted merely on the advice of the Dominion." Therefore, the question of a head for the Commonwealth has not arisen until now and it is difficult to understand what exactly it means. Paradoxical though it may sound, those Dominions which have accepted the Crown and declared their allegiance to it, are better placed than India. For since India has accepted that she is a member of the Commonwealth and she has also accepted the King as the head of the Commonwealth, she has accepted as it were the British King's authority on matters that concern the Commonwealth as a whole. The others have done no such thing; they have merely accepted George VI as their own King. In other words, to take a concrete instance, if India contemplated a commerce treaty which would benefit America as against several nation—members of the Commanwealth, the King might as head of the Commonwealth intervene and stop it. Of course, this is the technical position which will never probably present itself but there it is. But it must give food for thought to those Indians who profess to see a reaffirmation of India's zeal for a republican independent status in the fact that the Governor-General will go and the President will exercise all the functions discharged now by the King when India becomes a republic. Treaties with other nations, it is true, need not be referred to the King if the interpretation generally accepted of the new formula is correct. But whilst when the reference was essential, the King's consent was automatic, now there is scope for active intervention as the "accepted head of the Commonwealth." The statement that the agreement conveys the objection of the Dominions to the Commonwealth being regarded as a super-state and the King as the head of such a super-state, does not exactly bring greater clarity to it all. From which, it follows that Indian leaders have been needlessly exercising their minds over the question of Dominion Status so long. On paper, the position is worse than acceptance of Dominion Status could have been. But evidently it is not on paper that it has to be judged. The great thing about the formula is that the eight men who have negotiated it, have reached agreement and have carried their governments and their countries with them. And it is this which is responsible for the general satisfaction at the outcome of the London Conference.

So far as those who desired India's continuance in the Commonwealth are concerned, there will be little desire to look too closely into the formula. One does not look a gift-horse in the mouth and the London Formula is the most unexpected of gift-horses. After all, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who is not generally looked upon as a changing politician, had declared that India sought to be a

republic in association with the Commonwealth not a republic in the Commonwealth. In addition to its being unexpected, India's membership is a guarantee of stability in international affairs, abstention from foreign-policy adventuring and to some extent economic conservatism. So far as the extremists are concerned, the majority will be silenced because it has been negotiated by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and partly because it contains the word "republic" in it. Those who might protest, will be dismissed as carping critics with no experience of administration. From the general public there will be neither approbation nor condemnation. It is an unimportant point and it is more important that it has been settled than how it has been settled. From Britain, there will, no doubt, be a chorus of cheers and compliments to the statesmanship of the Indian Prime Minister by way of sugar-coating the pill. And the world will settle down to its old ways again. But it would be idle to pretend that India has gained by her attitude in this matter. There has been nothing done by a nation in recent years that approximates so close to the spoilt child. And the humouring which has succeeded, leaves an impression that the child had half a fear that what it asked for would hurt it if it were given it. A frank acceptance of India's inability to do anything other than stay in the Commonwealth might have served even to secure better understanding and more genuine goodwill.

NOTES

Bombay By-Election: — The unexpected has happened. The Socialist candidate has won convincingly against both his Congress and Scheduled Castes opponents in the Bombay by-election. Much of this success is due to the general discontent existing against the Congress governments and their vacillations but it can also be attributed to the loss of Congress faith in the Congress itself. The nomination of Dr. Mhaskar for the candidature was a most flagrant miscalculation; intended obviously to pander to the electorate, it was bound to fail because Dr.Mhaskar was never a mass man and he could have been least expected to appeal to the public. In fact, to many who are aware of his past work, it must have been a surprise to learn that he entertained political ambitions. He was not in the Congress all these years and it was an election combine which fell through because the public was not interested in a tepid Congressman. It is true that even the hundred per cent Congressman these days has to sing a low tune. How much worse is a fresh convert who somewhere near seventy years of age is practically devoid of any enthusiasm for the fleeting illusions of politicians. Mr. Purshottamdas Trikamdas is not a very energetic political personality but he has more than enough to confront the Congress with. It is interesting that in two by-elections in Bombay the Socialists have put up better Congressmen than the Congress itself and forced the Congress selections out of the field. No one is deceived by the plea that the Bombay Provincial Congress cannot get better men. If this is true, it is largely the fault of the men behind the Congress organisation in the city. They have not allowed the party to develop on healthy lines. A thorough overhaul is necessary if the deterioration is not to grow.

Baroda Merger:—On May 1, the Baroda State merges with the Province of Bombay. There have been protests against this step from some Baroda personalities who feel that the merging will be a loss to Baroda without being a gain to Bombay. Their contention is that Baroda as it is has a fine system of education and medical aid which the Bombay Province will not be able to maintain. A point stressed by certain memorialists of the Praja Sangh before Mr. Rajagopalachari is that the merger will mean higher taxation for Baroda. A great deal has been said in favour of the Maharaja who is painted in glowing colours. There is a general feeling in the States that the India Government is pursuing a high handed policy but the usual grievance is against the Union for not supporting popular parties more vigorously. This at any rate is natural on the part of popular leaders who are seeking to rally public opinion by a rather obvious effort to exploit the sentiment for royalty. It cannot be denied, however, that most of the States politicians are political adventurers who not only lack experience but are even failing in intentions. So far as Baroda's services go, whilst there is no reason why they should suffer after integration, it must be admitted that the danger is there. It is something to ponder over, however, that a state with the added burden of maintaining a ruling family is able to provide more security services than a province. About taxation, it is not quite certain that Baroda's taxes are less than taxes in Bombay. It would be well if the authorities bore the objections in mind, however, so that all administrative adjustments will be suitably effected.

Graded Profits: - The award of four and a half months' bonus to textile workers by the Industrial Court has created some stir in business circles. The case against the award is that it does not allow enough funds for reserves and replacements. It is a curious fact that, when any question arises of giving something to the workers, there is considerable anxiety on getting money for reserves and depreciation and such other matters. Why textile magnates should have neglected so far to provide for "rehabilitation of machinery and replacement of existing plant" and for building up reserves is a mystery? Evidently these are only to be secured at the expense of the workers themselves. It is something to be thankful for that the other argument—that these bonuses put too much money in the hands of those who do not know how to spend wisely—is not being advanced with all the crudeness that it can bring on.

PRIMARY EDUCATION IN BOMBAY—II

Whilst the picture of compulsory Primary education is not bright in itself, it must be admitted that the education imparted in Bombay's Municipal schools is far better than that given in the primary schools of the province outside the city. This is so because the proportion of trained teachers in the Corporation's service is as high as 82%, the provincial percentage being only about 50. For 2,800 out of 3,400 teachers are trained, mentions the report. Mr. Parulekar ascribes "this comparatively satisfactory position" to two factors. "Firstly the Municipal scales of salaries for trained teachers have, for several years past, been more attractive than elsewhere... Secondly the Bombay Schools Committee in their own training classes during the years 1930 to 1948 have been able to turn out about a thousand trained teachers." It appears that during 1942 and 1946 there was a considerable fall in attendance at schools—in the first instance due to war panic and in the second caused by the then prevailing communal tension. As a large number of teachers did not have sufficient teaching to do, the Schools Committee utilized the opportunity to train an appreciable number of them in classes specially started for this purpose. Nevertheless the position is far from ideal, or even reasonably happy. It is not quite clear how many of the trained Municipal teachers hold only one year's training certificate and how many have gone through the two years' training course. But it is evident that a considerable percentage are holders only of the Primary School Leaving Certificate—i.e. their own schooling has been confined to three additional years besides the years spent in the Lower Primary School. The practice of accepting lower minimum qualifications when recruiting candidates belonging to the backward classes is one that is calculated to lower the standard of efficiency still further. Mr. Parulekar is quite firm in asking for this practice to be dropped; and rightly so, for the application of the communal ratio in any form to educational services cannot be deplored in too strong a language. Indeed the Corporation would do well to adopt all the suggestions made by Mr.Parulekar for improving the efficiency of its teachers. His recommendation that whilst recruiting trained teachers preference should be given to candidates, other things being equal, holding the Matriculation certificate or its equivalent is invaluable, as the Matriculation certificate holder is much better qualified than the Primary School Certificate holder. Equally important are his proposals for organising refresher courses for teachers, and instituting a Merit List. The incentive provided by the latter, particularly if recognition of merit is accompanied by extra promotions, cannot be exaggerated. The teacher's profession is admittedly a noble profession but nobility is not incompatible with comfort. Interesting sidelight is thrown on the manner of recruitment by Mr. Parulekar's insistence that "the selection must be kept entirely in the hands of officers, and not of a committee of non-officials..... Officers can be held responsible for an unwise selection, but the changing non-officials are above challenge." Mr. Parulekar, who has been the Secretary of the Schools Committee, perhaps has good reasons for his preference—but the method recommended by him has its own dangers.

As regards the curriculum adopted in Municipal Schools, till 1902 it was identical with that of mofussil schools. Since then the Schools Committee of the Bombay Corporation has endeavoured to modify the mofussil or Government planned curriculum to suit the city's special needs. In 1930 an entirely new syllabus was planned for the Lower Primary Course—for the Infants and Standards I to IV. At about the same time too the Committee felt it necessary to reduce the course from five to four years and so planned a new four years' curriculum. But the then Government of Bombay having refused to allow the Corporation to adopt a four years' course on the ground that it would mean taking a retrogressive step, the new five years' syllabus was used until 1941, when the Committee changed it again for the newly revised Government syllabus. In 1947 the Provincial Congress Government itself reduced the five years' Lower Primary course to four years' presumably for financial reasons. At the moment therefore, the syllabus taught in Municipal schools is the four years' syllabus drafted and published by the Government of Bombay in 1947. There is one obvious disadvantage in using this syllabus, which is prepared primarily for the mofussils. It does not reflect the conditions and problems of urban life adequately, and therefore, would need to be suitably modified, particularly where 'General Knowledge' is concerned. 'General Knowledge' covers a wide field-nature study, local geography, history, sanitation and a knowledge of the local administrative machinery. If the modification of this course is to be adequate, teachers of Municipal schools will have to be given thoughtful assistance by way of literature, charts and maps etc. To do this will be essential and not merely 'wise', certainly a mere official note from the "Education Officer advising the Schools to substitute suitable other topics from time to time" will be wholly inadequate. The other subjects to be covered in the first four years are Language and Arithmetic. Language teaching also, at any rate for the first two years, will require to be adapted for city children. The question of text-books becomes important in this connection and it is a complicated one. Mr. Parulekar's treatment of it seems controversial.

Municipal schools have been giving physical instruction to their pupils for some time now—to be precise since 1935-36. Today a period of 30 and 25 minutes is set aside five times a week in

boys' and girls' schools respectively for physical education in the first four standards. How satisfactory the position is can best be assessed from the following extract. "Big rooms or halls which can be used occasionally for physical instruction are conspicuous by their absence... The majority of children have to be subjected to physical exercise in their own class-rooms which are full of furniture and even crowded." To be subjected is absolutely the right phrase to use under the circumstances obviously much has to be done to improve this situation. Financial difficulties here, as in all educational planning all over the country, present a formidable problem. Still the immediate remedies suggested by Mr. Parulekar will not prove too taxing for Municipal finances. Some of them are admirably practical, notably his proposals for using terraces of Municipal owned buildings, renting available open spaces, organising games in Municipal or other parks, and the closing of bye-lanes and parallel streets to traffic for certain hours of the day.

The frame of reference of the Parulekar Committee having been wide, the report contains also exhaustive reviews of all the educational activities with which the Corporation is associated. There are chapters relating to Adult Education, Central Schools, the curriculum in use in the Senior Primary School and to Pre-School Education. The impression that much has been attempted and much energy has been frittered away is again and again reinforced. True the Schools Committee has had tremendous financial difficulties to face. In 1948 the grant received by the Corporation from the Provincial Government for its primary educational activities was Rs. 9,74,000. The expenditure incurred by it was Rs. 74 lakhs.—i.,e., Government's contribution amounted to not more than 13%. The situation is unsatisfactory. However, there have been avoidable delays and wastages "for which the present administration of the educational service is solely responsible." Mr. Parulekar's point is that the existing machinery has failed because of its very constitution. At present the Schools Committee, consisting of 16 members, is the executive authority of the Corporation's educational service. It has its own accounts section, frames its own budget, which is submitted to the Standing Committee of the Corporation through the Municipal Commissioner and finally is placed before the Corporation. Its secretarial work is done by the Secretary, Schools Committee, who is also its Education Officer. The power of appointing all employees from the lowest to the highest, except for the Secretary, vests in the Schools Committee; it is also empowered to fix grades and salaries and to revise them from time to time. It is obvious that the position of independence which the Committee enjoys isolates it from the other departments of the Corporation. This isolation, as Mr. Parulekar points out, causes conflicts to arise particularly where the budget is concerned, since the Municipal Commissioner is 'the administrative head of all spending services'. Again, though the Education Officer, the Secretary Schools Committee, is the executive head of the educational service 'his position is not enviable so far as his relations with his suboridnates is concerned." That things are far from bright is emphasized by the following extract' The Head Master .....hardly ventures to condemn his colleague, for fear of complications which may not be pleasant for his own safety. Besides, Head teachers are not always selected on their academic merits.....As things stand today it is difficult to get disciplinary action taken against an inefficient teacher, for the committee system of administration is not conducive to such a move." All things considered it appears to be in the interest of the city's educational service to follow Mr. Parulekar's advice and to divest the Schools Committee of its executive powers. Mr. Parulekar's suggestion for entirely remodelling the administrative machinery ts to transfer the management and executive control to the Municipal Commissioner who, with the assistance of an additional Deputy Commissioners would be responsible for the whole service to the Corporation. This would certainly eliminate some of the inevitable delays associated with the Committee system of administration. The Education Officer, would also not find his work interrupted by sudden and 'unexpected decisions,' and what is even more important he would be relieved of his secretarial duties, which would become the responsibility of the Municipal Secretary. Similarly it would be advantageous to have the accounts of the educational service supervised by the Chief Accountant of the Municipality instead of being in charge of a subordinate officer of the rank of a Superintendent as at present. The guidance that the School Committee or its Secretary can give to their Accounts Officer is necessarily limited since they do not possess the requisite knowledge of the principles of accountancy.

RUSSO-AMERICAN RELATIONS

Dr. Frederick L. Schuman, the American professor whose books on contemporary history are classics in their own way, delivered an interesting survey of American-Russian relations to the Oskaloosa Conference of the Methodist Federation of Social Action. Dr. Schuman was one of the first scapegoats of the Committee on Unamerican Activities and in his speech he congratulated the Conference on having also come under the Committee's displeasure. His reading of one of the major conflicts of our time is an important contribution to the controversy. We print the first part of it in this week's issue, beginning on the next page.

AMERICA-SOVIET MISUNDERSTANDING

(By FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN)

Five hundred and sixty two years ago, some years before the discovery of America, in the year 1486 to be precise, a brilliant young Italian of the Renaissance, Picco Della Mirandola, wrote an essay on "Human Dignity—Oratio de Hominis Dignitate". In that essay he imagined God saying to man, at the creation of the world, these words: "I have set thee at the world's centre to observe whatever is in the world. I have made thee neither of heaven nor of earth, neither mortal nor immortal, so that thou may, with greater freedom of choice and with more honour, as though the maker and moulder of thyself, fashion thyself in whatever shape thou shalt prefer. Thou shalt have the power to degenerate into the lower forms of life, which are animal; thou shalt have the power out of thy soul's judgment to be reborn into the higher forms of life which are divine."

That choice, I presume, almost of all us would agree, is the eternal choice of men and women everywhere in our world. That choice is, above all, our choice today in this, our time. And it has become an imperative choice, an inescapable choice. In spite of that, at this particular time, though we are summoned to choose, we are not choosing, and we have not yet chosen. We are not choosing and we have not chosen, because, taking us all together, we don't quite know where to go. Or if we think we know, we also know in our heart of hearts that what we think we know is at best, doubtful, and, perhaps at worst, false.

What makes the matter even more difficult is that we find ourselves, in the world situation at the turn of the year 1948-49, somewhat in the position of little Alice when she asked the Cheshire cat, "which way she ought to go from here." 'You remember the cat's reply—the cat said, "That depends a good deal on where you want to get to."

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I am possibly unduly influenced in this somewhat mad view of things by the fact that I lived in Berlin during most of the year 1933. Berlin was then the proud capital of the Nazi Reich in its first year of glory; Berlin, or the ruin of Berlin, is now the centre of the world crisis of our time. Be that as it may, I was rather puzzled by the Berlin of sixteen years ago, very sorely puzzled indeed. I saw people, for example, banning books, and I saw people later burning books. I saw people denouncing and shackling labour unions and, later, suppressing labour unions. I saw people persecuting other people because of their race, or creed, or colour. I saw people hunting down other people as "Communist spies" or as political "subversives" or as "Soviet agents," all in the name of "saving Germany from Communism." I saw people then making money, considerable sums of money, by publishing their confessions as ex-Communists and by indulging in character assassinations at the expense of their former friends and colleagues. This was first literary assassination and it was later, and not so much later, physical assassination. I saw people staging gigantic military parades and demonstrations and air shows and telling one another with the utmost enthusiasm and, as far as I could judge, with complete honesty and sincerity that Germany must arm to the teeth, Germany must make itself invincible. Germany must do all of this in order to preserve world peace and in order to save Christianity and civilization from the "Red Menace." I thought then that none of this made very much sense. I was puzzled by it; I tried to understand it, and, after some months of observation, I finally decided reluctantly, but inescapably, that there was a rather simple explanation and the explanation was that most Germans were insane.

We are now in America in 1948, almost 1949. Some of the symptoms are the same, disturbingly so. I say that we are all of us as a people, in some sense and in some measure mad, or neurotic, then you are entitled to ask wherein consists our madness or neuroticism. Many answers could be given to that, but I think one is commanding and compelling and you have already had it. Our collective madness consists of the fact that we as a people are busily preparing for World War III, and the Russians are busily preparing for World War III, and the other people, lacking power, are feebly preparing as best they can for World War III, or are cowering in unspoken fear and trembling before the prospect.

This is madness in a special sense in the Atomic Age. And in the Atomic Age, World War means the death of our civilization, and possibly of the human race by murder and suicide. A few people, the atomic scientists, have been trying to tell us this for over three years now. As a people we do not choose, apparently, to listen. Let me cite but a single example among many hundreds or thousands that could be cited. Dr. Harold P. Urey, atomic scientist and Nobel prize winner, wrote in a journal of wide circulation, in January, 1946, these words: "I am a frightened man; all the scientists I know are frightened for their lives and frightened for "your" life. Now in Washington we have learned a new fear. We are are afraid of what politicians and diplomats may do with the atomic bomb. I hear people talking about the atomic bomb in war. As a scientist, I tell you there must never be another war... The bomb is fused; the time is short; you must think

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So we have to ask ourselves further, why are we collectively neurotic, how is our neurosis expressing itself? And I beg of you to believe that I am not here playing on words. I am talking about incipient insanity, not yet incurable insanity, but yet insanity precisely as the psychiatrist or psychoanalyst would talk about it. Incipient insanity is not necessarily a disorder of unbalanced individuals. It can be, and frequently is, a disease of many individuals together; sometimes of most of the individuals of a whole unbalanced community or nation or even world. All functional insanity, I take it, is a result of inability to solve problems. It is always a result of failure to reconcile contradictions of purposes and motives in some desirable, acceptable, and constructive form. All of us, all the time, in this our civilization, in this our "time of troubles," are constantly confronted with many contradictions and paradoxes, far too many to list here. These contradictions are difficult to reconcile. Many personalities find them impossible to reconcile.

However, we are increasingly told that all these problems are not important and that there is only one important issue. We are told that this great issue is: America "versus" Russia, capitalism "versus" communism, democracy "versus" totalitarianism, freedom "versus" tyranny, religion "versus" atheism. And in the last analysis, we are told that the issue boils down to a very simple one: God "versus" Satan. And we are assured that if we can halt and then smash the forces of Russia, totalitarianism, communism, atheism, tyranny, and Satan; then somehow all will be well. Most people of the Soviet Union and of Eastern Europe and of much of China are told exactly the same thing in reverse. Even the language is the same. I submit to you, therefore, that all or at least 99.44% of the people in the world today think this is the issue. I submit to you that this is "not" the real problem that faces us, nor is it the problem that the Russians face. The real conflict we face is not a conflict between the two halves of one world; it is, rather, a conflict within each half of one world and within the mind and hearts of scores of million of human beings in each half of one world.

The neurotic individual is one who is filled with anxiety because of inner conflicts which he cannot resolve and of which he is unaware. The neurotic individual is one who escapes from anxiety by fearing and hating others, not because they deserve to be feared or hated, but because they somehow remind the neurotic of the hidden sources of his own inner tensions and anxieties and cause him to escape from those tensions and anxieties through the very process of fearing and hating. The neurotic cannot be honest with himself. He does not know, or he will not see, the inner conflict which makes him anxious and worried and irritable and miserable. He solves his problem, typically, by externalizing his aggressions, by projecting onto others the doubts and guilts and fears and hates which are deeply rooted within himself and within his own way of life. Neurotic behaviour is "unsatisfactory" behaviour because it solves no problems. Neurotic behaviour is "dangerous" behaviour because it creates ever new and more insoluble problems. Neurotic behaviour is potentially "tragic" behaviour because when persisted in and aggravated over a period of time it can and does lead to crime and violence and death. My central thesis is that we are all of us much of the time indulging in collectively neurotic behaviour and that our prospects of survival and salvation will remain dark and dismal unless we can somehow learn to be honest with ourselves and to liberate ourselves from our neurotic phobias and compulsions and from our own devices of self-deception and our own devices for escaping from our anxieties.

Now let me try to spell that out in terms of the national attitudes and policies that we see about us on every hand, in terms of the nature of the world crisis itself. We are assured daily, and almost hourly now, by our political leaders and our pressmen, that we must fear and hate Russia and Communism and we do. We seldom any longer ask why. If we do ask, we are told (and most of us seem to believe it) that Russia and Communism constitute a monstrous menace to our own way of life; an evil conspiracy of depraved men and women, dedicated to tyranny and slavery and murder and sworn to destroy democracy and liberty and decency throughout the world. Conversely, on the other side of what Paul Joseph Goebbels called the "Iron Curtain," the Russians are assured by their political leaders and pressmen (and, as far as I can judge, they are also disposed to believe the assurance) that they must fear and hate Americans and Capitalism and I presume they do to an increasing degree. They seldom ever ask why; one does not ordinarily ask why, with regard to such questions in the U.S.S.R. But if they ask why, they are told (and, I presume, they believe) that America and Capitalism constitute a monstrous menace to the Soviet way of life; an evil conspiracy of wicked and depraved men and women, dedicated to murder and slavery and tyranny and sworn to destroy decency and liberty and democracy throughout the world.

These mass attitudes and the national foreign policies which flow from them constitute neurotic behaviour because in each of the great communities of our world fear and hate and doubt and guilt do not spring, in the last analysis, from the attitudes and purposes of those who are regarded as enemies, but they spring rather from inner conflicts, short-comings, failures and defects —failures to give full content and meaning to the highest ideals entertained in each half of the world.

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Americans say that they believe in individual liberty, in political democracy, and in free enterprise capitalism, and we do, in fact, practice to a large and heartening degree individual liberty and political democracy and something which some people identify as free enterprise capitalism. So much do we do these things that we have actually no need whatever to be alarmed or feel threatened by what others may do in these respects. But Americans also say, and they have been saying for a long time now, that they believe in human brotherhood, in equal opportunity for all and in a stable and secure economy dedicated to the arts of peace. And it is scarcely news any longer that we do not in fact practice these things. We tend, instead, as a community to deny human brotherhood on grounds of race, or colour, or creed. We tend to deny equal opportunity to all and to perpetrate the exploitation of men by men for private profit because of the forces of greed and privilege and monopoly. We tend to enjoy an unstable and insecure economy which is increasingly dedicated to the work of war. So much is this the case that we feel unconsciously threatened and we experience acute alarm at the spectacle of another great national community actually building a stable and secure peacetime economy, actually providing equal opportunity for all, actually abolishing the exploitation of men by men for private profit, actually practising human brotherhood to a peculiar and unique degree. This is alarming. This is monstrous.

The Russian challenge to America, the Communist challenge to democratic capitalism, I submit, is not at all the challenge of despotism, of dictatorship, of a suppression of private enterprise and private property. These things are real, but they are no challenge at all to our way of life. The real challenge of the Soviet Union and of world Communism is the challenge of economic planning for social welfare, the challenge of equal opportunity for all regardless of race, or creed, or colour, the challenge of actual fraternity and brotherhood among peoples. These things are equally real, and they hit home and they hit hard because they reveal our own defects and weaknesses.

But, we cannot, most of us, admit our own deficiencies, defects, and weaknesses, we cannot acknowledge our own inner conflicts between ideals and practices, so we solve our problems, not by re-examining and seeking to perfect our own way of life, but by fearing and hating Russia and communism with a blind and frantic hatred and fear engendered by our own doubts and our own guilts. What I am trying to say, in brief, is that we hate Russia not because of Russia's sins, but we hate Russia because Russia constantly reminds us of our own sins, and we don't want to be reminded.

Now the reverse of this is equally true, and equally striking. Consider the reverse of it for a moment. Russians say they believe in economic planning, in equal opportunity, and in human brotherhood and they have in fact achieved a large measure of these values in actual practice; so much so that they have no need at all to be concerned with what others may do in these respects. However, Russians also say, and they have been saying it now for over thirty years under their new regime, that they believe in liberty, in freedom, and in democracy, and in human dignity. And occasionally their spokesmen assert with great vehemence and even violence that they are the only people that believe in liberty, in democracy, and in human dignity. But as these values have hitherto been understood in human experience, the Russians do not in fact practice these things. They practice, instead, political and ideological intolerance, and a peculiarly ruthless type of regimentation. They practice a type of police state dictatorship which denies the dignity of human personality in a very special sense. And so much is this the case in truth that they feel threatened and alarmed by the reality or such approximations to the reality of liberty, of freedom, of political democracy, and of human dignity, as may have been attained elsewhere.

The American challenge to Russia, the capitalist challenge to communism, is not at all the challenge of racial discrimination, of greed and privilege, of monopoly and exploitation, of militarism and imperialism. Some of these things are real, but they are no challenge at all to Russia and communism. The real challenge of America, of democratic capitalism, to the U.S.S.R. is precisely the challenge of political democracy, of civil rights, of freedom of the individual, of the sacredness and the dignity of the individual, and these things are still in some measure also real and they hit hard in their impact on the Soviet way of life because they reveal the weaknesses and defects of the Soviet system and of the communist creed in practice. But Russians and communists being also human beings are most of them reluctant likewise to admit their own weaknesses and defects, admit the extent to which their values, and their ideals do not jibe with the realities of everyday life in the U.S.S.R., so they choose to solve their problems not so much by perfecting their own way of life and striving together to bring their practices into conformity with their ideals and stated purposes, but they also embrace an easier way to solve their problem. They solve the problem by hating and fearing Americans and capitalists with a kind of blind and neurotic fear and hatred, bred of their own inner conflicts and guilts and doubts. What I am trying to say there, again, is that the Russians hate us not because of our sins—they hate us because, in some respects, we constantly remind them of their own sins, and they don't want to be reminded.

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"*I will* be as harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard*".

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the LIBERATOR.

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NOTES

One Culture for India?:—It is unfortunate that the Associated Press of India has incompletely reported Mr. Purshottamdas Tandon's address to the All India Cultural Conference. According to its report, Mr. Tandon warned those responsible for the partition of the country on cultural ground, and admonished them to abandon the two-culture theory. He added that in free India there could exist only one culture. If Mr. Tandon merely intended to ask Muslims to be good Indian nationals, he did a service to that community; though it is not quite clear why he did not also address the linguistic enthusiasts, who at the moment threaten Indian unity more than do Indian Muslims. But if Mr. Tandon seriously holds that there is room for only one culture throughout the length and breadth of India he is either confused about the concept or does not know what he is talking about. Culture, in the anthropological sense, signifies the way of life of a people living in one place or region. It includes their religion as well as their social system, their customs, habits as well as their arts. To talk of one culture existing in any modern society, therefore, is to be ambiguous. And when that society includes about 300 million people spread over an area as wide as is included in India, one cannot think in terms of one culture at all. It is true that those who know Sanskrit, can learn with ease almost any regional Indian language. But the mass of the people do not know Sanskrit. And Indians living in different parts of India cannot exchange their ideas except in a non-regional language—till now English at that. It is folly to underestimate the power of a common language in establishing cultural affinity between the members of a group. Again whether Mr. Tandon likes it or not, the repeated infiltration into the country of foreigners who made India their home assimilating her culture and in their turn influencing it, makes it impossible to consider Indian culture as having a purely Sanskrit basis. The cultural pattern of the North, which was most directly influenced by the Muslims is by no means identical with that of the South. Similarly there is a noticeable distinction between the way of life of Indians who have lived hitherto under a matriarchal social system and that of the rest; and the cultural pattern prevailing in rural areas necessarily varies from that of cities. Whatever the changes that the future "classless society" may introduce into the cultural patterns of contemporary peoples, right now the way of life of the different classes differs so considerably that sociologists must take note of different cultural levels in describing the culture of any one modern society. To talk of there being room for only one uniform culture in India, therefore, is sheer nonsense. The stream of unity running through all Indian life is sufficiently forceful to enable one to speak of an Indian culture. Hinduism is the binding force that knits all the regional cultures together. Conversions of Indians to Islam and Christianity in large numbers have not disturbed basically the Hindu way of life common to all Indian communities. Neither Indian Christians nor Indian Muslims ever abandoned completely their original customs. There is thus no need for politicians to super-impose an abstract uniformity on the people. Only mischief can result from doing so. It should never be forgotten that the richness of Indian culture is derived entirely from its many hues.

The Last Bastion:—Nawab Ali Yavar Jung's appeal for English to be retained comes with peculiar significance from the Vice-Chancellor of Osmania University which has long pursued the experiment of using Urdu as the medium of instruction. As a matter of fact, many Congressmen were taken in by the Osmania experiment, failing to realise that with all other Universities stressing English, Osmania was in danger of falling out of the main stream of national life. This is actually what has happened and the highly developed

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Who is this? — NAME ???

September 23, 1868. April 29, 1948.

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—*WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.*

VOL. LIX. No. 35
April 30, 1949

Urdu of the Osmania University has little in common with Hindi. The new programme is to use Hindustani with Persian and Devanagri scripts from next June and all the teaching staff has been asked to learn the Devanagri script with which, according to Nawab Ali Yavar Jung, most of them are unfamiliar. We should like to know what Osmania University has done all these years to equip Urdu with the necessary vocabulary. The Nawab Saheb does not appear to be very familiar with this aspect of the University's development since he pointedly remarked that Hindustani or Hindi had yet to develop sufficient richness and vocabulary for highly technical subjects. If the medium is to be Hindustani, need it be difficult to take the Urdu words developed by the University into Hindustani? The question has to be decided on an all-India scale what is to be done in Indian Universities, whether the medium is to be Hindustani or the regional languages. But whatever is decided, Urdu is out of place in Hyderabad and will be dropped early. Hyderabad might begin work on the regional language, Telugu, which will be useful in developing the cultural basis of Andhra Province.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad's Objection:—It is strange to find Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President of the Constituent Assembly, among the opponents of the Hindu Code. His objections to it are even more curious. He urges that the Constituent Assembly is not competent to legislate on this subject and he contends that not enough publicity has been done on the reform. The particular instance he has cited is also very surprising for one of his sober temperament. He says that Mrs. Rajendra Prasad would not find herself in sympathy with the Bill, and he asked leading women to take up propaganda work among their less educated sisters. If Mrs. Rajendra Prasad is out of accord with the Hindu Code and Dr. Prasad is himself in sympathy with the objective, then surely it is the fault of the distinguished Congressman for not placing the facts before his wife. As for the question of legislative competence, there is no point in raising it at this stage and in fact it will give rise to all manner of difficulties. There is no reason why all the Labour legislation that has been passed in the Constituent Assembly, should be within its jurisdiction any more than the Hindu Code. These objections are frivolous and seem intended just to delay matters for as long as possible. Dr. Rajendra Prasad is too sincere a politician to resort to tactics but his attitude will be easily exploited by timid Congressmen who think that reform measures affecting the wealthy classes will cost them votes at the coming general elections. There are few bills which have been made as widely known as the Hindu Code and to say that public opinion has not been informed of its contents is astounding from members of a party which has been in the habit of rushing all three readings of bills at one sitting of a legislature.

The Commonwealth Formula: — The reception accorded to the London Formula in India has been almost enthusiastic which marks the success of it. After all, the accommodation made by the various Prime Ministers was with a view to arriving at a solution which would be generally satisfactory. As the greatest difficulty was to be expected in India, the concession to Indian sentiment is obvious. Now opinion in this country has justified that attitude. So far as the rest of the Commonwealth is concerned, the feeling has been one of relief that a crisis has been tided over, even Mr. Churchill having accepted the position as tolerate, to say the least. The attempts of Socialists and others to whip up opposition to the formula are of little strength because there is a general relief at the outcome of the London Conference. It is whispered that the national leadership hesitated to appear before the public with a proposal to stay in the Commonwealth but, if they only realised it, public opinion has been prepared for it for some time, and not unhappily either. The time of extremism has ended and for some years to come the leaning will be towards peaceful progress. It is only on matters which threaten the rights of the ordinary citizen—as a retreat from adult franchise would—that there need be a fear of opposition from the public.

Kashmir Tangle:—The Kashmir situation is getting more and more complicated. The United Nations Commission has not been able to make very much headway and the plebiscite administrator Admiral Nimitz has declared that the plebiscite might be expected in 1951. Generally this is regarded as an over-optimistic view of the situation. The holding of the plebiscite is likely to take much more time since differences have already developed over the interpretation of the truce agreement and specially the terms relating to the evacuation of Azad Kashmir forces which Pakistan has admitted were under the general direction of Pakistan Army chiefs. India has declared that she will not agree to any modification of the terms so far accepted by both parties and it would be grossly unfair for the United Nations to demand it. Prolonged negotiations over the Kashmir truce have not created a feeling of confidence and it is time that a definite stand was taken by the United Nations. Of course, the very fact that fighting was ended, has led to a peace which will not easily be broken. That is not a small achievement but we seem to be resting at that, thanks to the United Nations' vacillations.

Labour Unions:—The second annual session of the Indian National Trade Union Congress which met last week, recorded steady progress during the two years of its existence. To a great extent this development has been helped by the fact that Congress Ministries are in power and they are the force behind the I.N.T.U.C. There have been complaints from other Unions against the methods used by the I.N.T.U.C. officials to push their Unions forward and to get employees to recognize them. Much of this must be party feeling but it is very probable that a good deal of it is correct. But Trade Union rivalry and exploitation of unfair methods is not confined to one section—it is generally widespread. This might be taken as a sign that Labour organisation has reached a highly developed stage.

THE INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER
BOMBAY, May 7, 1949.

INDIA AND THE WORLD

In an article on the Commonwealth Conference and the formula, Mr. A. Fenner-Brockway who had been insistent on India quitting the Commonwealth before, hails it as an achievement holding promise. In his concluding paragraph, Mr. Brockway contrasts the Russian, the American and the British ideologies. The Russian way, he says, is that of planned economy with a superstructure of political dictatorship; the American is that of free enterprise with a superstructure of political democracy; and the British that of planned economy with a superstructure of political democracy. The presentation is attractive though it cannot be regarded as strictly correct. America is moving faster towards planned economy than seems visible at first glance. In his State of the Union message, President Truman referred to the responsibility of the State for the backward areas where few amenities are available and for the neglected peoples of the U.S.A. who need special attention. He was quite plain that private enterprise was not to be so free as to hamper the progress of the community. But it is correct to say that political democracy without economic security is likely to end in a mockery of democracy itself and that Britain has proved more alive to this fact than the United States of America. It is also true that with India by her side Britain would be able better to pursue her ideals than she would be by herself; just as India would thus be most able to fulfil herself. Few writers have stressed this point as Mr. Brockway has done and this is a breath of fresh air in an atmosphere contaminated by economic, military and political considerations. Mr. Brockway does not brush aside the problems presented by South African racialism. But he draws a distinction between South Africa's offensive mood and Australia's racial attitude of defence. He observes that Australia is able to rise above her prejudices referring evidently to her participation in the Asian Conference and her strong protest against Dutch imperialism. It is a desirable development that both India and Britain should look to the possibilities of joint contribution to the cause of world peace rather than to the advantages each will secure from the other. Mr. Brockway observes that the formula leaves the matter vague as to the surviving links of Commonwealth. This only means that the Commonwealth countries are in a stage of transition from the sentimental hangover of the imperial bond and still only in the process of building new and enduring ties. As a matter of fact in the circumstances, it is much more important that all concerned were anxious not to break apart than that this or that adjustment has been effected.

It is, however, somewhat regrettable that in his speeches in London Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru should have been anxious to explain that India was not committed to anything by the Commonwealth Conference and formula—particularly, in his speeches to Indian audiences there. It does not look fitting that one of the personalities at a Conference—and by all accounts, the leading figure—should be so eager so soon after the session to make it clear that his country was not committed to anything. As a matter of fact, India so far as we can understand the situation, is definitely committed to the Commonwealth and this was the only purpose for which the Commonwealth Conference was convened. It is bound to convey an impression that responsibilities are being taken up in a rather evasive manner. And such an impression will not exactly create conditions favourable for future building. It is unfortunate that these utterances are based more on an assumption that the formula is an end in itself than that it is a means to the end which is international peace and stability. We are well aware that Pandit Jawaharlal himself looks on the Commonwealth in a broader vision than the mere consideration of material benefits would inspire. But this makes his observations all the more deplorable. Evidently he was moved by a sense of relief over having surmounted a great ordeal and did not care much to weigh his words. Evidently too he was rather worried and anxious about Indian reactions and was unwilling to say anything that might be taken up by the Indians in Britain and passed on for trouble to India. The national leaders have been very troubled by fears of mass reaction to any decision on the Commonwealth. And to some extent this is due to lack of confidence in themselves since the passing away of Gandhiji.

The Indian decision has made the task easy for other Dominions like Pakistan and Ceylon who need not swear allegiance in order to be in the Commonwealth and who presumably will not if they need not. South Africa will probably move out of the Commonwealth in future. In fact that is the crucial issue which will have to be decided in the not very distant future: Whether the racialism of South Africa or the universal outlook of the British mind and the Indian is to prevail in the Commonwealth. Had India decided on walking out—for it may be taken that staying in is a settled fact now—it would have meant leaving the battle unfought. Now the opportunity is present both for challenging the South African attitude from outside at the United Nations and for resisting its further extension in other parts of the Commonwealth. It is as it were, a staying of the rot. And at this stage in world politics this is a very necessary purpose for some nation to serve and India's strategic position in the Commonwealth and in Asia makes it peculiarly her part. At the same time, there is also the possibility of building up a force between Russia and America which could be done by the British Commonwealth. It would have helped greatly in this direction if the Commonwealth countries of Britain and Canada had kept out of the North Atlantic Pact but that need not be an obstacle to building world peace.

AMERICA-SOVIET MISUNDERSTANDING

(By FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN)

A little over 11 years ago, in October of 1937, when he spoke in Chicago, President Franklin D. Roosevelt, in what was then, as it turned out, a vain effort to arouse his fellow-citizens to the perils then facing the world, quoted in his address a few sentences from James Hilton's novel, "Lost Horizon": "Men, exultant in the techniques of homicide, will rage so hotly over the world that every precious thing will be in danger, every book and picture and harmony, every treasure gathered through two milleniums, all will be lost or wrecked or utterly destroyed. There will be no safety in arms, no help from authority, no answer in science. The storm will rage until every flower of culture is trampled, and all human beings are leveled in a vast chaos." We almost did it last time; in fact we did it very well over large parts of the world. Next time we shall do it... next time we shall achieve that picture of the world in ruins which J. Hilton painted so many years ago.

Now these are hard things to say. Presumably we, by and large, as a people, and the Russians, prefer peace to war; presumably we prefer to have a war that can be fought as a war; if we must have a war, we prefer a war which can be won to a war which cannot be won. And yet here I stand madly before you and say madly that the war for which we are preparing, and towards which we are moving, cannot and will not be waged as a war, but only as an orgy of wholesale murder, and that nobody can win and that nobody will win. Those judgements are not derived, I assure you, from astrology, or a crystal ball, or from wishful thinking. They are derived from what I hope is a perfectly matter-of-fact, hard, realistic analysis of the inescapable facts of today and the almost inevitable probabilities of tomorrow. Now it would take much too long to try to go through such an analysis here. Let me speak of it, however, briefly and simply, and I think it can be spoken of simply because the central elements which we need to be thinking about are really simple.

We must ask ourselves a few simple questions to which answers are available and then give the answers and then think a bit.

How do our military leaders and experts expect to win their war with Russia? There's no mystery about that. We all know the answer. We're still living in a democracy, more or less, where everybody talks or writes more or less freely, and our military experts have made their answer to this question particularly clear, partly as a means of reassuring us and giving us confidence in our military leaders and partly, I take it, as a means of frightening the Russians. We are not reassured or comforted, and the Russians, while frightened no doubt, are all the more determined not to yield and not to run away from danger. We're going to win the war, to take two recent statements of the experts, as reported in "Newsweek" last May on behalf of Gen. George C. Kenney and the statement in "Life" Magazine last July of Gen. Carl Spaatz, by having our long range strategic air force drop atomic bombs on Russian cities. Each bomb, even if as crude and inefficient as the Hiroshima bomb, will kill at least 100,000 people; ten bombs then would kill 1 million people; 100 bombs would kill 10 million people, etc. This is the answer of our military authorities as to how we're going to win the war. There's only one thing wrong with the answer, and that is that it's false... It's untrue... it will not win the war... it will not bring victory... it will bring some other things however, if it's ever done. It will bring the barbarization of America; it will bring barbarization to the world and a reduction of much of the human race among the survivors to a kind of insane savagery. And what this will do to America will be infinitely more hideous than what it will do to Russia.

If you'll permit me, I'd like to quote very briefly from what seems to me a pertinent and striking editorial of last September in the "Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists," published in Chicago. The editors wrote in an editorial entitled "Previews of Armageddon": "The first atomic bomb dropped on Moscow will create a hatred of America that will not be extinguished in generations. Previews of this event in American magazines can only be welcomed by the Soviet propagandists and make it easier for them to fan previously non-existent anti-American feeling in the Russian people. Even more tragic can be the impact of such articles on the American mind. We often hear complaints of the brutalizing effect on American youth of the elaborate torture and murder stories in so-called comic magazines. We do not suggest that the matter of fact discussions of the programme of atomic bomb attacks on Russian cities spring from a deliberate desire on the part of the military to condition American public opinion to the indiscriminate killing and maiming of millions of civilians, but is not their actual effect to make the American people accept the possibility of atomic slaughter as something deplorable but nevertheless actual and necessary in this imperfect world?... But the American people must not permit themselves the smug satisfaction that all we have to do is remain tough, since if need be they can win another war by slaughtering, through remote control as it were, millions of Russian civilians. By holding out the hope that destruction of industrial centres of Russia will lead to collapse of the Soviet will to fight and win without heavy losses in land fighting and before the Russians will get a chance to retaliate on American cities, our aerial strategists appeal, without intent, to that great pacifier of uneasy consciences, the hope for immunity. The American conscience must refuse to be passified; instead we hope that reading the articles of Kenney and Spaatz will awaken us to the realization that if no way is found to organize the world for peace, they, the American people, will

become responsible for the most gigantic and indiscriminate mass murder in history, so that even while preserving their bodies they may lose their souls... It is not meant by this that we should retreat and sacrifice more nations to totalitarian rule; we cannot save our souls by refusing to stand by our friends and our principles; but the alternative to peace is not, or not merely, to sacrifice the lives of Americans. The alternative is to force Americans, in the name of self-preservation, to deeds of surpassing brutality." The justification for these deeds that are contemplated, and being elaborately and most expensively prepared for, is that they will win the war. I say to you that they will not win the war. This war will not be won.

How do the Russian military leaders expect to win the war? They don't talk so much about it as our leaders do, nor write so much about it, but there's also not so very much mystery about how they expect to win the war, if and when it comes. They expect to win the war by virtue of the circumstance that there is not now in existence, and cannot conceivably be brought into existence within five years or more, any military force on the European or Asiatic continents which could resist the Soviet army. And indeed I think I reveal no secrets if I say that some of our top military planners agree that all talk of twenty divisions on the Rhine or fifty divisions on the Rhine, to be expensively equipped and maintained by American military lend-lease next spring, is a gesture that has symbolic significance only... it has no military significance. Adolf Hitler, in the summer of 1942, had 240 divisions on the Volga, but he and his generals could hold no line at all. Russian land armies throughout Europe and Asia, if Asia need be involved here, cannot be held in any war that may come within any predictable future. They would sweep to the Channel, they would sweep to the Atlantic, they would occupy all of the European continent, and if need be all of the Asiatic continent, while their cities were being vaporized at home. They couldn't do this alone, but they shan't be alone. 200 million Chinese are already living under Communist rule and finding it better than American supported Kuomintang rule. One out of every three Frenchmen is a Communist. One out of every three Italians is a Communist. So the Russians will not be alone. They do not expect to be alone. They expect to win their war by effective military occupation and organization in all of Europe and Asia while U.S. long range bombing squadrons seek to vaporize their cities and incinerate their inhabitants. And I take it the Soviet Army General Staff supposes that these operations will in the end win the war for them. I think they are wrong. I think these operations will not at all win the war for them, any more than our operations will win the war for us. All these operations will do is ensure a thirty year international combat of mutual extermination and exhaustion. No one can or will win this war.

Why do I dwell on this? Because I think it's hopeful. I think it is true beyond any peradventure of a doubt, and to the degree to which people can be made to see that it is true, it is hopeful. The idea may dawn, slowly, on more and more Americans and on more and more Russians, as it has already dawned on a good many other peoples elsewhere, that in the atomic age no war will be won, and that war itself is obsolete if mankind is to survive. The idea may dawn that, under these circumstances, an armaments race is not only highly dangerous but really senseless. The idea may dawn that it really isn't very bright to pursue political objectives which can never be achieved by methods which insure disastrous failure and total death. The idea may even dawn that efforts should be made for reviving the lost art of diplomacy which, whatever its weaknesses, may yet seem preferable to universal barbarism and savagery. Should anything like that happen, and I think it is our job to see that it does happen, then I think we may be sure that political leaders and diplomats on both sides may be moved by public opinion to end the cold war and negotiate a peace. All of which presupposes that all this is in the range of the possible if enough people regard it as desirable and imperative. Such a peace might take the form, to begin with, of some kind of an agreement about disarmament; some kind of an agreement sought by both sides, and entered into by both sides in good faith, and not put forth for purely propagandistic reasons or rejected for purely propagandistic reasons. One of its essential elements, to begin with, might take the form of an agreement on armaments. It might ultimately eventuate in some kind of an agreement to establish a limited world federal government: a world federation to control first perhaps atomic energy for peaceful purposes and later to contribute through ever broadening function, to the common defense and general welfare of all mankind. More immediately, it seems to me, that such a peace, if we want such a peace, would inevitably and necessarily involve American-Soviet accord at the highest level to withdraw from, to demilitarize and to neutralize all of Western Europe and Eastern Asia, because by then men and women, would have come to realize, as they do not now that there can be no security, there can be no economic recovery, there can be no tolerable life at all for the people of Western Europe and Eastern Asia or, in the end, for the people of America or Russia so long as Washington and Moscow are trying to use these centres of great and ancient civilizations as weapons of war against one another. There can be no peace, there can be no tolerate life for the people involved, without an ultimate American-Russian agreement to neutralize all of Western Europe and Eastern Asia, so that these communities, no longer imperiled by cold war, no longer impoverished by armaments, no longer torn asunder by the struggle of the giants, may be able, as they are not now able, to resume the arts of peace, to re-establish

ties of trade with the rest of mankind, to contribute anew to human civilization.

And beyond all of that, Americans and Russians, once they have freed themselves from the tyranny of fear and the worry of war, might begin again anew to examine critically and constructively and creatively their own consciences their own practices and institutions, as we cannot now do—to the end that Americans might learn whatever good is to be learned from Russia (and much good is to be learned) about equality and brotherhood of all races and nationalities and about the possible benefits of social-economic planning; in order that Russians might learn whatever good is to be learned from America (and much good is to be learned) about political democracy and civil rights and individual liberty and human dignity and may be even the economic benefits of private property, regulated under the rule of law to serve the public interest. All these things must be learned if we are to build a world of peace. Beyond that, all mankind together, it seems to me, might seriously begin to dream and plan and act to bring into being a Golden Age of sanity and happiness and work and play for all men and women everywhere—an age in which all men and women, at last united and equipped for the labours of the world with the creative power of atomic energy, might not only make all the earth a garden, but might for once begin to take their Christianity seriously and might for once lift their eyes toward the stars.

Is this an idle dream? I don't think you would be here if you thought so. Perhaps it is—that, however, is for us to say, together. What we are saying now, most of us all over the world, is the voice of death and the Devil. What we can say—what we must say—could be the voice of life and the voice of God. Because it seems to me now more than ever true, that man "does" have the power to degenerate into the lower forms of life, which are animal. And he does have the power, out of his soul's judgment, to be reborn into the higher forms of life, which are divine.

WOMEN IN THE SOVIET UNION

Noted U.S. newspaper-woman Malvina Lindsay recently devoted her Washington "Post" column to a discussion of the position of women in the Soviet Union. Asserting that of late the Russians have been protesting "almost too loudly" their concern for women, she points out that "Mrs. Oksana Kasenkina, school teacher, who plunged out of a window rather than return to Russia, told a different story." Miss Lindsay wrote:

"The Soviet's recent 'cold war' offensive on the feminine front began when Alexei Pavlov told the United Nations that Soviet women were not used to the rigours of housework (including 'dishpan hands') demanded of women in capitalist countries, and therefore, would not be permitted to join their foreign husbands. Next, Soviet newspapers reported that American women were cowed and deprived of elementary rights.

"Then the Central Committee of the Communist Party issued a well-publicized decree ordering all Party, government, trade union and youth organizations to advance women to leading posts in a 'more daring' fashion.

"The Iron Curtain and a haze of propaganda obscure any comprehensive picture of the Soviet woman today. Her position differs in localities and among classes, as peasant, industrial, professional, party elite. Yet from the most recent authoritative information on the subject this may be said:

"Virtually all types of jobs are open to Soviet women on equal terms with men, and no discrimination exists in many of the professions.

"Attempts are made to provide for the children of working mothers, and maternity leaves and benefits are granted.

"Women are still absent from positions of real power in the Party, government and the economy. As in this country, there is a tendency to include them in the ceremonial organs of government but keep them out of places of real power.

"Despite an occasional feminine ambassador, women are restricted in the diplomatic service. It is reported that medical and law schools now limit the number of women students, although women still form a majority in the medical profession.

"Soviet equality has created better opportunities for some women, notably farm women and women in the Asiatic republics. But generally, the low living standard works special hardships on women.

"In manual labour, Soviet women are the victims of a technique similar to that of Tom Sawyer in getting his fence painted. The 'privilege' of working on equal terms with men has been forced on them, since the five-year plans required the mobilization of every possible worker. Thus, women work as blacksmiths, coal miners, stevedores, lumberjacks, railroad track tenders, street cleaners, farm labourers — usually with men supervisors.

"Meanwhile, the new Soviet emphasis on motherhood, childbearing and home life makes women's double job a grueling one. A high percentage of miscarriages and abortions among married women workers are reported in the larger cities.

"The Soviet woman labourer, on a six-day week, must do her housework and her standing in a market queue after she gets home. Her husband rarely helps.

"The typical city woman worker comes home to a one-room existence with her family. A three or four-room apartment is usually shared by three or four families. Women on collective farms have separate dwellings with primitive accommodation. Women make up 60 per cent of agricultural workers and have full 'equality' in the heavy field tasks.

"Soviet women are constantly reminded of

their 'privilege of sharing in the great work of socialist reconstruction.' Whether their equality will extend to more power and honours now seems doubtful, despite the Central Committee's recent statement. The present trend is believed to be away from, rather than toward, more equality, especially for city women whose choice in careers is becoming more circumscribed.

"Chief criteria of equality for women are the right to decide freely on the work they will do, and the right to a voice in government policy. Any nation boasting of its gallantry or justice to them should test itself on these."—USIS.

FREEDOM OF INFORMATION

(By DEVERE ALLEN)

Most ticklish of all jobs faced by a United Nations body is the one tackled recently by the Social Committee of the Assembly—the task of bringing to the dissemination of international news both greater freedom and increased responsibility. A draft treaty is in the making, and the International Court of Justice is to settle disputes arising under its provisions.

On paper it sounds pretty good. Considering the hardships found by press correspondents in getting at news and facts, it seems promising when the draft treaty declares: "Each contracting state shall, within the limits compatible with national security, permit and facilitate access to news for all correspondents of other contracting states so far as possible on the same basis as for the correspondents employed by its own domestic information agencies, and shall not discriminate among correspondents of other contracting states as regards such access."

A bit tricky, though, that wording. "National security" can be made to cover a lot of territory. And "so far as possible" could give an excuse for a stubborn government to discover more obstacles than the most pessimistic correspondent ever dreamed of. Besides, a rule now applicable to telecommunications gives any government the right to halt messages it thinks indecent, harmful to its security, or contrary to national laws. There is no assurance that the U.S. Senate would ratify a pact which gives decisive authority to the World Court, concerning which it has always insisted upon reservations; in the U.N. debates, the American delegates opposed the move to make the Court a final recourse, but they were overridden.

One thing came out in the discussions that is worthy of note. It was not only the spokesmen of Russia and East Europe who brought in restrictive ideas. This was especially the case when it came to the problem of securing a correction of statements thought untrue and hurtful by one country or another. Delegates from Mexico and other states wanted to make the publishing of correction mandatory. Finally, Mexico withdrew its proposal so that governments would be required merely to "accept and distribute" such corrections. Again the United States delegates opposed this idea, on the ground that it might let loose a war of propaganda. It probably would; yet the Mexicans had a case.

The Mexican experience is one which would justify that country in wanting a right to get corrections before the people of other nations. Twice, they suffered so much continuous misrepresentation by a New York reporter in Mexico City that he was taken to the border and firmly, if gently, pushed across. Such a step might be a violation of the new treaty, yet everyone who had watched the case was giving three cheers for Mexico. During the campaign of President Miguel Aleman in 1946, a large U.S. magazine published scurrilous attacks on the candidate, whom it did not favour. Then in Mexico covering the campaign the present writer was asked by a Cabinet Minister: "What can we do about this sort of lying?" The answer had to be, "Nothing, for the more it is bandied about, the worse it will be."

A chance to correct this kind of attack would naturally appeal to the Mexicans, who can hardly be blamed for not forgetting. But the complexity of the whole problem can be seen from the fact that Mexico itself has sometimes unfairly prevented the distribution of news. The late Maximino Camacho, brother of the former President Manuel Avila Camacho, when Minister of Communications, stopped a news report filed with the telegraph office in Mexico City, for the sole reason that he believed it damaging to his personal prestige. Thus in the long run, the best rule is that of freedom, no matter how in some cases it is likely to be abused. The French now propose that a country which feels it has been harmed by dispatches sent out from its own soil can at least submit its version to the country in which such allegedly distorted news has been published.

Russian spokesmen didn't like the idea of giving countries the right to correct mis-statements. No wonder, in the light of their persistent twisting and distortion of the simplest facts! But although their case against western newspapers for "war-mongering" is often exaggerated, it is not without foundation. Here is an instance, if ever there was one, of the pot calling the kettle sooty. The so-called "freedom of the press" in the imperfect western democracies often leads to hysteria and money-making sensationalism; while the tight controls applied by totalitarian rule in Russia result in a denial to the masses of any genuine knowledge.

Some advantages would gradually be found in a good treaty, even if it were ratified by only a section of the world's governments. But the whole [illegible] more tangled than most with the political [illegible] ological conflicts that harass the seeker [illegible]h in such a time as this.

—*Worldover Press*

THE MEANING OF CULTURE.

NOTES TOWARDS THE DEFINITION OF CULTURE by T. S. Eliot, published by Faber and Faber; Price 10sh. 6d.

Mr. Eliot's aim in writing his book is 'to help to define a word, the word culture.' Whether he will succeed in this is doubtful. A few readers only will be provoked to think about the meaning of culture, the habit of clarifying one's ideas, leave alone of defining words having ceased to be a virtue. The many will be busy either in quoting him in support of their political doctrines or in decrying him as a reactionary, a bourgeois intellectual, a poet living in his ivory tower. Mr. Eliot is too accustomed to select audiences to worry about these responses. Indeed the distinction of this book, its charm as it were, lies in its impressing upon the reader the personality of the author—a thinker pursuing his ideas to their logical conclusion without fear or prejudice. Mr. Eliot in fact has anticipated these reactions of his for he observes with quiet humour: "If the reader says: 'the state of affairs which I wish to bring about is right (or is just...); and if this must lead to a further deterioration of culture, we must accept that deterioration' then I can have no quarrel with him. I might, even, in some circumstances feel obliged to support him." Mr. Eliot's book bristles with controversial issues, rather ideas. There are no ready-made solutions and some of his statements on the surface at least seem contradictory. Yet few would quarrel with his definition of culture as 'the way of life of a particular people living together in one place ..... made visible in their arts, in their social system, in their habits, and customs, in their religion." And so too most would agree that contemporary societies are divided into levels of culture, the degree of decadence in each case being determined by the degree of isolation in which different elites live their lives. Controversy arises when Mr. Eliot elaborates his views on the three important conditions for a flourishing culture :—the persistence of social classes for "the hereditary transmission of culture"; the necessity that a culture be analysable, geographically, into local cultures; and the need of balance of unity and diversity in religion. He does not claim, of course, that these are the only necessary conditions, but observes that he discusses them because his attention has been specially occupied with them. The two first obviously impinge upon two ideas now becoming popular—the classless society and world culture. If Mr. Eliot's first two conditions are essential to the existence of culture, then it follows that world culture is a meaningless ideal and a classless society is incapable of attaining a high degree of culture. Mr. Eliot ventures to make this guess about the classless society. "Its elites..... will consist solely of individuals whose common bond will be their professional interests: with no social cohesion, with no social continuity. They will be united only by a part, and that the most conscious part of their personalities; they will meet like committees." Mr. Eliot's fears arise from two basic assumptions—one the increasing control of power in the hands of a bureaucracy, who will decide who is the right individual for the right place; and the second the belief that what the family will be able to transmit will be limited to the minimum. For according to Mr. Elliot the family is the primary vehicle for the transmission of culture. To retort that Mr. Eliot is basing his surmises of the future on the confusions inherent in contemporary societies—both democratic and communistic is not to refute his fears. The future can only be gauged in terms of the present and the past. Much of what he says is incontrovertible. For instance, "A democracy in which everybody had an equal responsibility in everything would be oppressive for the conscientious and licentious for the rest." And again: "If our purpose is only to get the best people to the top, we lack a criterion of who are the best people; or if we impose a criterion, it will have an oppressive effect upon novelty. The new work of genius..... frequently meets with opposition..... ....." But his plea "on behalf of a form of society in which an aristocracy should have a peculiar and essential function,..... representing a more conscious culture and a greater specialization of culture" is fraught with its own dangers. A hereditary aristocracy in the course of generations becomes incapable of fulfilling the function, for which Mr. Eliot considers it necessary, unless it is constantly revitalized by fresh streams drawn from the other classes. And the only possible way of ensuring new blood is the provision of equal educational opportunity. But Mr. Eliot is sceptical about this too. His observations on modern educational ideals are provocative, "To aim to make everyone share in the appreciation of the fruits of the more conscious part of culture is to adulterate and cheapen what you give." The many popular expositions of scientific thought of philosophy or art-history, certainly do not disprove Mr. Eliot's contention. If good-factually and in presentation-they appeal only to a specialized or highly selective audience. If scrappy, they reinforce the fear that a little learning is dangerous. Nor can it be denied that the ideal of learning for its own sake, because there is adventure in ideas is fast disappearing from the minds of the more recent University graduates. "There is no doubt that in our headlong rush to educate everybody, we are lowering our standards," must be accepted as correct. But it is difficult to agree that we are thereby "destroying our ancient edifices to make ready the ground upon which the barbarian nomads of the future will encamp in their mechanised caravans." If the ancient edifices can collapse so easily, then perhaps there is something radically wrong with them. Dark Ages in the past did not destroy the cultural products worth preserving. There may still survive to revitalize a society, the contours of which we can't yet discern, but which may be evolving already.

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"I will be as harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard"*.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the LIBERATOR.

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NOTES

Provincialism and Disruption: — Indian public figures have discovered a good stick to beat their opponents with. When one of their cherished ideas fails to win approval they endeavour to make their point by insinuating that vested interests are ranged against them. Dr. Gadgil, Director of the Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, has done so only this week. He declared that he was optimistic about the formation of Maharashtra including Bombay in the near future. Admitting that the 'dominant forces' were opposed to the idea he found solace in the promised support of Socialists and Communists. It is not unfair to assume that Dr. Gadgil was throwing a challenge to the Congress; 'support a separate Maharashtra or lose the Maharashtrian votes', was not directly said but forcefully implied. These tactics do Dr. Gadgil little credit. As one who is familiar with political science, Dr. Gadgil must know why Communists are wedded to supporting movements for development of regional culture. He cannot be unaware of the fact that cultural autonomy is the sugar-coated pill whereby Russia makes her centralized economic control of non-Russian areas palatable. If Dr. Gadgil had but thought closely over the very point he made—that the principle of linguistic redistribution is being followed in the merging of Indian States territories into larger units —he need not have indulged in veiled threats. It is obvious that the principle itself is not being revoked, since it is adhered to in the formation of new administrative units. Therefore, if it is not being conceded immediately in the case of redistributing existing provincial areas, the reason is not indifference to providing ideal conditions for the growth of regional cultures. Equally absurd is the reference to vested interests influences, to throw ignominy on the Congress. How useful it is to have small states, independent of the Indian Government, has been demonstrated by the British during their rule. Surely the Congress would not have failed to learn an obvious lesson, if it merely wanted to consolidate the power of vested interests. Dr. Gadgil, one fears, has over-reached himself in his persuasiveness. All thinking Indians acknowledge that the richness of Indian culture derives from the diversity inherent in its pattern. But no thinking Indian is willing to sacrifice Indian unity to misguided local patriotism. The bitterness of the controversy necessarily grows as cultural considerations are confused with political and economic issues.

News and Censorship:—The Social Committee of the U.N., it is reported, has adopted a draft convention aimed at ensuring the free flow of news across national frontiers. Its main merits are that the right of correction by Governments against false and misleading reports is to be recognized internationally, and that foreign correspondents are to enjoy in all countries the same facilities that its national newsmen are accorded. The draft was approved, the report adds, by 27 votes to 4 with 12 abstentions; and it has been sent to the General Assembly 'where it is virtually assured of passage this week.' Admirable as the draft is in its intention, it is difficult to be anything but sceptical about its actual operation, even if it is adopted in its complete form. Everything hinges on the interpretation of the standards regulating peacetime censorship which is permitted on grounds of national defence. With one-half of the world considering the other half as threatening its national security and way of life the ingenuity of governments will no doubt succeed in retaining existing practices for controlling news. The principle of sovereignty being recognized by the U.N. no government wanting to ignore the clauses of this convention, for that matter any U.N. convention, need be deterred from its purpose. For the final authority to determine the conditions endangering 'national security' in any country remains the established government. So long as there is no International Court of Justice recognized

by all nations as competent to pass judgment on their individual actions, it is futile to consider these conventions as having any significance beyond that of satisfying the vague aspirations of their drafters. It is conceivable that even the right of correction accorded to governments may lead to suppression of domestic truths in certain cases. A foreign correspondent reporting on a particular aspect of national life in a foreign country will not have the bulk of statistical data to corroborate his findings, which the government of the country commands. His report, if inconvenient, can always be characterised as false and misleading and proved to be so by 'facts and figures', which could be manufactured!

Basic Education:—It is a pity that Dr. Zakir Hussain has re-opened the controversy about self-sufficient basic schools. There is nothing wrong in the idea itself—under ideal conditions such schools could impart splendid education. But basic schools in India will not be working in ideal circumstances — unless the scheme is post-poned indefinitely until such time as there are a large number of suitably trained, intelligent teachers to teach in the new way. At the moment, there is a shortage of trained teachers even in the orthodox methods. For some time at least the basic scheme will have to rely on a quickly and inadequately trained personnel. The havoc that can be wrought in basic schools by them can be imagined without one's imagination being strained. To impart general education through a craft, where the emphasis is placed on the teaching of craft, is a task which will strain the resources of even the most intelligent and able teachers. When in addition the method is associated with the idea of self-sufficiency, the temptation to turn children into skilled craftsmen primarily will be resisted only by a very few teachers, since the 'good school' will be the school which is most adept in finding its resources without external aid. It is painful to find enthusiasts for 'self-sufficient schools' thinking in terms 'of productive labour' being the concern of basic schools. Dr. Zakir Hussain's criticism of the attempts to reduce basic education to five years from the originally specified eight would have sounded more convincing had he not added that basic education would be "a waste" if reduced to five years as it could provide productive labour only in the "higher grades". One wonders why an educationist of Dr. Zakir Hussain's eminence never stresses the importance of general knowledge for its own sake. The Russian decision to confine the teaching of crafts to organized leisure hours should give Dr. Zakir Hussain food for thought. Originally Soviet educationists were quite as enthusiastic about teaching through a craft as Dr. Zakir Hussain still is.

Kashmir Surprise:—The interview which Sheikh Abdulla of Kashmir is supposed to have given to Davidson of the "Observer", published in the "Scotsman", makes astonishing reading. The Sheikh Saheb seems to have declared for the "Independence of Kashmir", pleading that accession to either India or Pakistan would perpetuate trouble. To all appearances, there seems to nothing more than an analogy to the North-West Frontier Province where Pathanistan was sought vainly to be raised in the plebiscite and led to the Province being voted into Pakistan. Whether this is due to the originality of Mr. Davidson or the lack of originality of Sheikh Abdullah remains to be seen. The "Independence" of Kashmir is a political impossibility. It can only mean accession to Pakistan. It is strange that in the "interview" Sheikh Abdullah expressed willingness to pass Poonch over to Pakistan if the Poonchis so desired but had nothing to say about India. This seems hardly believable. Only two days earlier Sheikh Abdullah had spoken enthusiastically of accession to India. There is, however, one possibility that cannot be ruled out: Sheikh Abdullah has often said that the Kashmir National Conference would hold fast to the ideal of a secular State even if India should give it up. Even in this "interview" he is quoted as saying that religious distinctions do not matter to his followers. Only if he has been persuaded that India's professions are not from the heart can one understand the reason for the kind of volte face revealed in the "interview." If this is the case, it would be interesting to know who has influenced the Sheikh Saheb on this and what the evidence is of Indian communalism; possibly it may be the disquieting rumours that a partition of Kashmir is impending. It is funny that the first inkling should come from a foreign correspondent when the Sheikh Saheb has been in close touch with the Government of India all the time. The puzzle must be solved as soon as possible. The mischief that an interview of this nature can do is incalculable and the sooner it is brought to the Sheikh Saheb's attention for confirmation or rebuttal, the better it will be.

Indian Error:—It is an unfortunate fact that in India whilst there has been general restraint, there has been a tendency on the part of sections of the press and of publicists to make Kashmir an internal issue. On the one side, it has been asserted that the Sheikh Saheb on his visits to India has not received sufficient welcome and political capital has been sought to be made of this with many distortions, plausible enough to cause trouble. On the other, it has been retorted that the Kashmir Leader is not dependable which is completely irrelevant and wholly mischievous. The attitude of the Indian Government has been one of the fullest confidence in Sheikh Abdullah and everything has been done to support him in the difficult crisis that he faces. If there have been shortcomings on our side, the answer to those who point them out is not abuse of the Sheikh Saheb but steady effort to remove real grievances and dispel illusory ones. The Kashmir Leader who has been getting involved in the wrong set, has so far kept a balanced head through it all. And he is not likely to have succumbed to the propaganda of interested parties. But the "interview" might well warn us of the dangerous path we are treading and turn us away from it in time.

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POLITICAL REACTIONS

Reactions to the Commonwealth Formula in India make an interesting study. Broadly they may be described as falling into three categories: Firstly, those who welcome the outcome of the negotiations whilst not feeling quite happy about the manner in which they were conducted and the way in which the continuation of relations with the Commonwealth is being minimised; secondly, those who feel that the outcome has been wholly bad and regret the failure to break away from the British connection; and thirdly those who somehow regard the formula as a triumph for India and for Pandit Jawaharlal, in that it has secured the republican status while still continuing to be one of the Commonwealth members. The first group consists of all those—not necessarily non-Congressmen—who had a lurking fear that India had moved a bit too rapidly to her present position and who would welcome anything that will mean continued tutelage to Britain whose political genius is unquestioned among all parties. These leaders do not desire to say too much because they fear that the present ruling class may be rubbed the wrong way but they do regard the British connection as a safeguard against the Congress Government indulging in excesses. There is a great deal to be said for this point of view, especially when it is remembered that it is held by men who believe in the possibilities of the Commonwealth. They naturally feel that the attempt to minimise the meaning of the formula by asserting that it implies no commitments at all, is not calculated to secure the best results from the connection. The less restrained among them tend to be highly critical of Pandit Jawaharlal's insistence after the Conference talks on the negative side of the formula and attribute it to a certain apprehension of public reaction to a reversal of Congress traditional policy. They refer to two other attempts to change policies indirectly which have been so far frustrated — linguistic provinces and adult suffrage. They are inclined to attribute the timidity behind this interpretation, contrasted with the courage with which partition was put through, to the fact that Gandhiji's moral weight is no longer available for convincing an over-propagandised public. If this is true, it would mean a lack of confidence in themselves on the part of Congress leaders and, in our opinion, a misreading of the position today. Congress leaders can still carry the public if they themselves are free from vacillation and doubt.

The second group has also an attitude which can be readily understood. Pandit Jawaharlal referred to the leaders of this section as still tethered to the past and incapable of looking beyond the slogans of an earlier day. It would be a mistake to think that this group is composed of leftists and other political opponents who desire to exploit the old Congress propaganda against the present Congress attitude. These are no doubt the most vociferous but there are also some genuine persons who are inclined to condemn the present accommodating spirit as cheap diplomacy and furtive politics. They are in agreement with the first group as to the methods of the leadership but in extreme opposition to it in their estimate of the objective. They have no hopes of progress within the British system and to them the formula represents the consummate skill of British diplomats. They are the men who will provide the raw material for the political opposition in its efforts to move the public against the formula. They provide sincerity to the opportunists and it is their opinion which the leadership will have to win over. Incidentally, they also represent the forces which have so far stopped the Congress from altering radical policies on linguistic provinces and will be a serious barrier to any move to give up adult suffrage.

The third group is the most illogical and, therefore, the most interesting of the three. Their attitude is determined by a blind faith in the present leaders and an anxiety to present them in the most favourable light. The formula to these men appears as a great triumph for India, establishing both the principle of independent republicanism and the continuance of membership in the Commonwealth. Stress is laid on the first and membership is represented as nominal and entirely dependent on India's will. For obvious reasons, this emphasis is likely if insisted on to create difficulties for the Indian Government but that contingency is negligible since the protagonists are not so anxious to separate from the Commonwealth as to assert the right to separate at will. Moreover, the enthusiasts in this group being men of personal loyalty to the Congress leaders, and particularly to Pandit Jawaharlal, it can safely be taken that there will be necessary adaptations as the lead from above varies. On the other hand, they are the only group which may be looked to to advocate the Formula before the public and to work towards changing an adverse opinion to acceptance of Commonwealth relations, if they can be persuaded to come out publicly.

What emerges from this is the fact that there is no section of opinion in the country which is prepared to say that the Commonwealth relation is desirable and can be developed into something of benefit to world peace. This cannot but be regarded as a blow to the formula and a set-back to those who looked to a developing Commonwealth, in which India would play a leading role. Pandit Jawaharlal himself seems to feel the handicap in the situation as illustrated by his appeal to the public to end bickering and settle down to constructive work. But he lacks the necessary strength in himself to give the lead. A great deal depends on the timely emergence of a Commonwealth Party" as it were but today the omens are not very favourable. And the fault lies largely with a hesitant leadership which appears to the observer to face one way while moving in the directly opposite direction.

THE EDITORS' CONFERENCE

The eighth annual meeting of the All India Newspaper Editors Conference meets next week at Bangalore under the Presidentship of Mr. C. R. Srinivasan, Editor of the "Swadesimitram", and one of the architects of the organisation. The session will not do very much beyond electing its Standing Committee and passing a few directive resolutions for the coming year. It will be left to the President, the continuing executive during the year, to put through the changes that are needed for vitalising the Conference. And the Conference is fortunate in having Mr. Srinivasan who has had a continuous connection with the A. I. N. E. C. and is familiar with its record of work. Incidentally, the election of Mr. Srinivasan to the presidentship marks the recognition of the Indian language press and it might be expected that much will be done to level up the distinctions which exist today between working conditions in the English language press and those in the rest. At least, the first initial move will be coming.

The topics which will be up for discussion, relate to Government-Press relations, the building up of the A. I. N E. C. as a representative press organisation, the cultivation of definite standards of journalism and the recommendations of the Press Laws Enquiry Committee which seem to have been left unnoticed. It is too early yet for the problems of a press which is hovering between big business and the missionary zeal of its pioneers to be even raised at Bangalore but it is gradually coming to the forefront and will in the near future be a very real issue for the A. I. N. E. C. Last year the Editor's Conference made the mistake of setting up a Committee to look Into the question of sensational journalism with an extremely doubtful membership and the Committee never functioned. The only result was a certain amount of discredit for the Conference since two of its Committee members were generally regarded as sensation-mongers of the worst type. It was a Committee which, even if it was meant to function, could not be expected to get together and it has only created much ill-will within the profession. The circumstances in which the sensational press functions are beyond the control of the A. I N. E. C. Mainly, they are a noisy section of the public which distrusts the government, any government; and a government which is not in live contact with the public; the emphasis laid by authority on a puritancial code which attempts almost totalitarian regulation of private life and the social unreadiness for enforcement of such regulation; and a free press. The problem is not peculiar to India, Geoffrey Gorer in his book "The Americans" describes in passing this kind of journalism in restrained language which is worth quoting:

> A special branch of journalism has sprung up which purports to give "the truth behind the news." Its two most notorious practitioners, Winchell and Drew Pearson, have the biggest reading public of any regular writers in the U. S. A., considerably greater than any writer who uses the public sources of news. Their technique is to write as though they were hidden under the desk, or the bed, while important decisions, political or marital, were being made, and then revealing to their audiences what the principals refuse to divulge. "Reveal" is the key word with which they introduce their rumours, guesses and facts. As gossips they help to reduce to the most human status figures who might otherwise evoke feelings of awe and respect; as political commentators they pose as champions of the public against the anonymous, authoritarian "they" in the government, daringly acquiring and republishing secret papers, thwarting the sinister plots which governments invariably indulge in. They do get some information not available to the ordinary run of journalists; besides their regular informants, disgruntled officials and civil servants pass to them damaging information about their rivals, or details of political activities of which they diaapprove. But their batting average is not high.....the harm they do to Americans would appear to be considerable, less on account of the rumours they float, for they are mostly forgotten, than in the encouragement and enhancement of scepti cism.

There is nothing that can be done with this state of affairs because nothing useful can be accomplished. To ban this kind of writing would be to place too much importance on it. To ignore it seems impossible. And the worst ways of all is to seek to book the offenders on some trivial charge for some offence which does not touch the conscience of the public. Fortunately, the men in the sensational press are not Walter Winchells and Drew Pearsons, and they are singularly lacking in convictions.

CANADIAN ANTI-SEMITISM ??

Long considered the hotbed of anti-Semitism, Quebec Province can now be compared favourably with any other Canadian section in this respect, according to Samuel D. Cohen, public relations committee chairman of the Canadian Jewish Congress. Much of the credit is assigned to efforts of Protestant and Catholic clergymen in fighting prejudice.

From the other end of Canada in Vancouver, however, comes a less favourable judgment from Rabbi David Kogen, of Beth-Israel Congregation. "University clubs and fraternities bar Jews," he asserts, "by 'gentlemen's agreement,' and medical schools admit only a small number of Jews on quota."

Jews have been barred from golf clubs in Vancouver and from a Ski Club in Winnipeg, said the Rabbi, and a separate hut for Jews has had to be built on the University of British Columbia camps because of the students' exclusion policies.

—*Worldover Press.*

BOLD NEW PROGRAMME—OR IMPERIALISM?

(By RAYFORD W. LOGAN)
Professor of History, Howard University; Contributing Editor, Worldover Press.

President Truman's Point Four, his "bold new programme" for improving conditions in underdeveloped areas, remains something of an enigma. Is the programme to be primarily for the welfare of the peoples? Or is it to be primarily for the strategic interests of the Western Powers? Or, perhaps, primarily for the purpose of making the underdeveloped areas more profitable for private capital?

Despite the assurance in the President's Inaugural Address that Point Four does not mean the old imperialism, considerable scepticism prevails in diverse quarters. There is, indeed, little evidence that, as far as the dependent underdeveloped areas are concerned, a bright new day has dawned. On the contrary, the colonial powers seem determined to hold on to their possessions. The latest aggression of the Dutch in Indonesia is, of course, the most striking example.

The haggling of the major colonial powers over the distribution of the former Italian colonies is prompted by practically all considerations except those based upon the well-being of the native peoples. Italy's claim to a trusteeship over all her former colonies, a claim supported by France, is interpreted as a reward to be expected for adherence to the North Atlantic Security Treaty. The fact that six of the signatories to this Treaty possess at least nine-tenths of all the dependent underdeveloped areas has caused some critics to contend that even indirectly the Pact would strengthen the signers' colonial empires. Nor should one overlook the fact that the Treaty was Point Three in President Truman's challenge to communism, just as his bold new programme was Point Four.

To be sure, Point Four is by no means limited to dependent underdeveloped areas. But they are certainly those that most need technical assistance, and capital for economic improvement. It has been made plain, however, that the programme can operate only in those countries that ask for it. Independent underdeveloped regions are therefore free to request aid and capital investment. But the dependent underdeveloped areas, obviously, may receive help and private capital only if the metropolitan, or possessing, countries make the request.

It is precisely for this reason that some spokesmen for dependent territories are insisting that they be given an opportunity to participate in the formulation and execution of plans for improving conditions in their areas. The writer would therefore like to submit two proposals by which this highly necessary sharing may be achieved.

The first is that dependent areas be given associate membership on the specialized agencies of the United Nations. This proposal is all the more important because spokesmen for the State Department have emphasized that these agencies will play a significant role in the carrying out of the programme. One, the World Health Organization, already has a provision in its constitution for associate memberships for non-self-governing territories. Unfortunately, a resolution introduced by the United States delegation at the Beirut Conference of UNESCO, that non-self-governing territories be granted associate membership, was not approved.

A spokesman for the United Kingdom explained at the Cleveland meeting of the U.S. National Commission for UNESCO that, while his government looked with favour upon the suggestion, it raised the delicate question of associate membership for non-self-governing territories in the United Nations itself. One must doubt, then the likelihood that they will be given associate membership in the near future in UNESCO, WHO, or in the International Labour Organization or the Food and Agriculture Organization, the other two specialized agencies which could most effectively help in putting through the programme.

If, however, dependent areas should be granted associate membership, it should be definitely stipulated that the majority of their delegates should be representatives of the native peoples. It would be better, for example, that Kenya should not have an associate membership if it were to be represented chiefly by spokesmen for Europeans who flagrantly oppress the native peoples.

The second proposal may, therefore, have more merit. It is based upon the fact that at the annual conference of the Caribbean Commission there are native spokesmen for the peoples of the colonies. In view of the obvious pride that the State Department takes in this participation, it should be willing to encourage a similar annual conference for Africa, Asia and the islands of the Pacific. The writer has also seen a few, all too few, native experts among the technical advisers to the official delegates at the ILO Conference.

Unless these or other proposals for participation by spokesmen of the native peoples in the dependent underdeveloped areas are adopted in the near future, no one need be surprised if there is increased scepticism about the real objectives of Point Four. Quick action is all the more necessary because the UN and the United States have already taken the initial steps for carrying out the programme. The Economic and Social Council has called for a comprehensive report to be submitted in July.

Within the week after the President's Inaugural Address, an inter-departmental committee representing some 25 agencies engaged in pertinent activities was established. The Secretary of State was designated as the responsible official and the Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs as the executive officer. The most important of the agencies already at work on relevant questions is the Institute of Inter-American Affairs. A legislative draft for converting Point Four into

working form will be placed before Congress within a few weeks. A proposed first year budget of about 50 million dollars makes clear that this its no Marshall Plan for underdeveloped areas, but for self-help through technical aid.

The writer would like to see in this legislation a provision that no one should be denied an opportunity for service because of race, sex, language or religion. Administrative regulations should place as much emphasis upon racial attitudes held by the technical experts as upon their knowledge.

There remains the thorny question of the guarantees that should be given private capital. In this space one can only point to the two basic problems. Private capital will be invested in those regions where it expects not only a profit but also protection from what it considers hostile legislation or judicial action. But these guarantees should not permit interference or intervention in the domestic affairs of the countries involved.

Private capital must be willing to pay a wage that will permit the workers to buy in the world market instead of solely in their own market. Otherwise, Point Four will indeed mean making imperialism more profitable than it has been in the past. Among the technical skills to be made available there should be experts in trade unionism without which little real economic improvement in the underdeveloped areas is likely.

Finally, the end result of Point Four should be the independence or self-government of those dependent underdeveloped areas that would benefit thereby. Short of this, Point Four will mean the old imperialism in the guise of a Fair Deal.

—*Worldover Press*

PAKISTAN'S CURTAIN OF PRIDE

(By ELSIE THOMAS CULVER)

Like most Westerners who have recently visited the sub-continent of India, Pakistan and Ceylon, this reporter was wholly unprepared for the overwhelming reality of partition. Even the United Nations Commission on Kashmir admitted that it was in the same boat. Partition was ardently desired by the people of Pakistan, yet now they have it, it has not softened their animosity towards India. Many still are resentful of "those Hindus of India, with their smooth talk and ingratiating ways." Rather than be like that, friends in Pakistan declared, they would go on being misunderstood forever.

Sharing neither their contempt nor their dislike for Indian leaders, the outsider may press the argument that some day, perhaps not far removed, economics will bring the two countries together. For example, Pakistan urgently needs India's cloth, while India needs just as much the food that can be supplied from Pakistan. But such reasoning cannot prevail while Pakistan is so sensitive over its world position.

Pakistan is a great new country, situated in a critical part of a troubled world. If it has withdrawn behind what appears to be a curtain of pride, this must be understood as a defence against a series of slights Pakistan feels have been levelled against it ever since its birth. Here are some of the nation's grievances:

1. The press through the world gave little space to the creation of Pakistan or its entry into the United Nations—a membership in which the people take more pride than is the case with other lands.

2. Though Karachi has a large number of incoming passengers by ship and especially by air, few travellers seem aware that Pakistan is a separate nation, and the majority hasten by the next plane to Delhi or Calcutta or elsewhere, without the faintest notion that they are by-passing one of the most interesting spots, politically, on the globe.

3. Pakistan's "Great Leader," Jinnah, was a good symbol; he possessed the same faults and virtues as the people. His memory is adored. Yet he, too, as Pakistan sees it, always received a comparatively poor press, while Indian leaders like Gandhi and Nehru have been given endless recognition. It is partly because Jinnah was so western in habits and interests that Pakistan now so deeply desires a greater understanding by the West. Westerners living in the country are keenly alive to the guarantee of their future welfare in the white stripe on the Pakistan flag. This symbolizes the rights of minority groups, and it was included at Jinnah's request.

Pakistan has present leaders of considerable calibre, but in the days ahead, the wisest leadership will be needed. There is always the problem of a popular loyalty which can compensate for the fact that Pakistan is a geographically divided state. It will take great skill to work out a sound relationship with the Western democracies whose material progress the nation wishes to share, and retain a position as "the greatest Moslem state," a status to which it aspires.

Only a leadership of the greatest competence can meet the grave test of Kashmir. In view of the coming plebiscite, it will be important for Pakistan's future standing with the West that "incidents" do not occur, and especially that none be due to army connivance. Thousands of refugees have been living on the border ever since the days of the riots, waiting to return. Pakistan has provided food, a semblance of shelter. These people, many of them grieving for wives and daughters carried away, or other relatives killed, are suffering both from physical and from psychological wounds.

The difficulty for the leaders of Pakistan may be appreciated when it is realized that some of these people may return in certain cases to find their farms occupied by Indians they can connect with the murder of their loved ones. Kashmir will be a tremendous test for the new nation It would be a test for any government in the world. If Pakistan can meet it, the country will go far toward taking the place its people crave in world opinion.—*Worldover Press.*

WILL SIR STAFFORD BE THE ISSUE?

(By MAURICE CRANSTON)

On the front page of The Observer, London's moderate Right-wing intellectual Sunday paper, there has appeared a large and handsome portrait of the Labour Government's Chancellor and Economic Minister, Sir Stafford Cripps. There is no caption. But this tribute to Sir Stafford Cripps is none the less sincere for being silent; like an ikon or a holy image it requires no explanation.

There is no doubt in any Tory mind that Sir Stafford is the man they have to thank for the success of their candidates in the county elections which began in London and Middlesex the day after Budget Day, and which have followed at intervals in other countries. Indeed, it seems to be acknowledged in Labour circles also that Labour's usual supporters stayed away from the polls because they did not like the budget.

Yet the Iron Budget was inevitable. Before he drafted it, Sir Stafford must have sized up his predicament. He knew that if he played down austerity, Americans might think the European Recovery Programme was no longer needed in Britain; and the fuss that followed Chris Mayhew's mildly boastful speech abont British recovery was a warning that Cripps is known to have taken much to heart. Stressing continued austerity, Sir Stafford surely knew he ran the risk of losing Labour votes. But the successes of Labour in every parliamentary by-election must have reassured him on that score and not unreasonably.

After the Tory landslide, many Labour men are pressing for a relaxation in austerity. Another budget in 1950—which is general election year—like the 1949 budget, and they fear that the House of Commons may go the way of the London County Council. Or worse, for Parliament has not the aldermanic bench which has enabled Labour to keep control of London though it won no more seats than the Tories.

Cripps, however, is not visibly perturbed. If the budget alone is going to decide the issue, an Iron Budget this year may actually help Labour to win the general election next year. All the concessions that Sir Stafford might have granted in 1949 can be saved up for a really bumper Santa Claus budget in April, 1950, with the general election, no doubt, in May. Conditions then may warrant such a budget.

There is another important consideration. The British public is notoriously apathetic to county elections. Only the enthusiastic bother to vote. And the enthusiastic more often than not belong to the opposition. There can be no doubt that enthusiasm for the Labour Government has diminished recently, but this does not mean that support for it has gone. The Conservatives won the counties on small polls. In a general election polling is almost always heavy, so the outcome in 1950 cannot be predicted from what has happened in the counties.

Sir Stafford remains the Iron Chancellor. He is fitted neither by conviction nor by temperament for a vote-catching strategy. He relies on people thinking thus: "With him it is pretty bad, but without him it would be a lot worse." This is not a recipe for devotion, perhaps, or even for a moderate popularity. But it is Sir Stafford's key to power, and it may yet work out successfully.

—*Worldover Press.*

THE AMERICAN SCENE

(By DEVERE ALLEN)

Assistant Secretary of Defence Stephen Early had to have a new flag created for his use, since no such position previously existed. A design was chosen which emphasized the unity of the armed forces, an end toward which the ship of state, not without creaking under the bow, has slowly been journeying. It would have been more realistic, perhaps, if on the back of the banner appeared a snickersnee, to symbolise the sharp determination with which the Army, Navy and Air Force continue the struggle for mastery instead of unification.

Don't imagine that Secretary of Defence Louis Johnson's decision to abandon the building of that 65,000—ton super-carrier is being taken lying down. There have been few surface bombardments, but any number of depth charges have been dropped in Congress. The fight for the carrier is still going on, and some of the multiple-stripers believe that if it can be made a "cause celebre", it may at least avoid or delay further so-called victories by the Air Force.

A Washington senator told Worldover Press last week how deeply the internal battle among the defence arms engrosses legislators on Capitol Hill. This Senator was elected last fall and took his seat in the 81st Congress, to find that the first question fired at him from all sides was, "Which are you for? Army, Navy, or Air?" "What," he expostulated, "must it be one against the others?" Such, he ruefully discovered, was the case. He reported further: "I have been well entertained by all!"

The fight extends not only through the three rivals and in Congress, but to many a big industrial power back in various sections of the coutry. This Senator was a trifle sore about the pressures put upon him, which may excuse his semi-angry, semi-whimsical comment: "We'll solve the problem somehow. After all, as someone has said, we have a lot of highly keepable lawmakers."

Negotiations with Russia for a settlement of the German problem or at least an approach to a settlement, will be a test of good faith for the Moscow Politburo, and also for American commentators. After all, you can lambast the Russians for unwillingness to be reasonable, but you can't equally lambast them when they do the very thing you have been asking. Several of the leading news

analysts have somehow been able to perform this neat trick, or try it, anyhow.

Watchfulness is desirable because of sad experiences in the past. But it can't be too often repeated that the issue is not a fundamental change in Russia's ideological conflict with the West; that struggle is to go on for many a year. The issue is whether or not that type of contest is to proceed without war.

Speculation is universal over what has caused a partial change in the Kremlin's attitude. No one can yet be sure. But those who attribute it solely to the North Atlantic Pact or to the atom bomb might wisely look back a little. The Marshall Plan was not beaten; East Europe began to suffer in comparison to West Europe. Though Moscow does not ignore the West, its major concern is always the stability of its ideological and economic East European empire. All through this area there have arisen weakness, schisms, and threats, Historians may one day pronounce this a major reason for the shift.

Back in December at the United Nations Assembly in Paris some of the attempts to get the Berlin blockade lifted almost succeeded. And be it noted that secret talks began as far back as March, with some approaches, it appears, even in February, Through the U. N. session and through subsequent talks, one American figure persistently talked—Dr. Philip C. Jessup, long known to Worldover Press and all specialists in world affairs as able, sincere, and technically well-informed. If anyone could succeed at such a hard diplomatic task, Jessup is the man. In capturing his services, the State Department made one of the brightest moves of recent years.

x x x

Point Four in President Truman's Inaugural Address dealt with the vast need for building up the economic standards and productivity of the world's underdeveloped areas. Appropriations from Congress will be sought for a modest self-help programme, mainly to be forwarded through the granting of technical aid. The funds will not remotely approach those required for the Marshall Plan, but in some instances promise as much in peaceful development and world security. Nor will the idea be truly one of charity.

With Europe on its feet an acute problem will still face that Continent and the world. European productivity will be kept going, after the end of the Marshall Plan, only if it can find new markets. If one country like India, for example, with technical assistance can be brought up to advanced living standards, its purchases from Eruope will be substantial—and the same thing applies to many underdeveloped regions. One of tke State Department's ablest officials told this writer recently that the plans as they grew might offer new opportunities to Americans, and young people in particular. "In former times," he said, "young people trained themselves to be missionaries and went out to live with foreign peoples for their welfare, Under Point Four, there will be fresh challenges to youth, only this time the emphasis will be on technical skills, though the same sympathetic spirit will be demanded."

—*Worldover Press.*

FAROE ISLANDERS' FREEDOM

(By HAROLD BUTCHER)

More often than not, the granting of freedom to a former dependency is accompanied by temporary upheavals, but this is not true of the Faroe Islands, whose inhabitants are quietly enjoying the independence they received from Denmark last year.

The Faroes lie 300 miles to northwest of the Shetlands. During World War II Britain established a protectorate over the Islands, which are so close to her shores. The consent of Denmark's King Frederik IX to the granting of home rule made the Faroese independent in finances and local administration. Foreign affairs continue to be handled by the Danes. The scheme appears to be working to mutual satisfaction.

Total area of the Faroes is 540 square miles, and the principal islands are Stromo, Ostero, Sudero, Sando, Vaago (two islands) and Bordo. On these islands live approximately 30,000 people.

The capital of this self-governing community in the North Atlantic is Thorshavn on Stromo, largest of the islands, which number 21 in all. Thor's Harbour is a pleasant city. On your way to the open country-side you climb the main street, past neat frame houses, past a soccer football field, a walk of perhaps two miles, until you find youself overlooking the sea.

Often the sun is obscured by summer clouds or the heavy fogs of the mild winters. In midsummer the sun is above the horizon more than 19 hours a day, but overcast skies deprive the Faroese of its benefits. Major occupations of the people are fishing, whaling and catching sea birds, which in great numbers build nests in the cliffs.

The achievement of home rule came as the successful result of 42 years' agitation on the part of the Home Rule party, organized in 1906. Self-government had been an issue since 1911. Even to the last moment there was not complete unanimity over what the people really wanted. Some were willing to stay under Danish rule; others were ready to join Britain, Iceland or Norway. Some even favoured linking up to the United States. The solution, a limited independence, is in practice hardly less than complete freedom.

Not least of the advantages of home rule is the freedom for people to speak their native language, though the educated are inclined to hold to Danish and will not drop it altogether.

Olaf Trygvason, King of Norway, took possession of the islands in the 11th century and introduced Christianity. Norwegian supremacy was maintained until 1386, when Denmark took over. Meanwhile the Faroese deveveloped their own literature, including the "Faereyinga Saga."

—*Worldover Press.*

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"I will be as harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard".

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the LIBERATOR.

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NOTES

Commonwealth Decision Ratified: — The Constituent Assembly, as was expected, ratified the London Formula, and, as was also expected, there was just the slight element of opposition that adds zest to the continuance of Commonwealth relations. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was in much better form than he has hitherto been and adopted a far more positive attitude to the Commonwealth than he has done so far. He said that he felt India's role in the world could be better discharged or fulfilled by her staying on in the Commonwealth. He frankly admitted the obstacles to full association —racial inequalities and colonialism. But he was not inclined to hold them up as insurmountable. More, he openly remarked that he could have secured a better Formula by sticking out for a word here and a word there but that was not the spirit in which the Dominion Premiers had approached the entire question. This is undoubtedly a far more promising attitude than the rather apologetic language of his press conferences. Pandit Jawaharlal had even thought it necessary to dwell on the economic and military benefits that promised to flow from the Formula. He has, it would appear, a certain measure of confidence in the Constituent Assembly which he lacks outside before the general public, even when it is the unseen public of radio audiences. Incidentally, we must confess that we have not been able to follow his argument at a press conference that the English King, though accepted by India, a member of the Commonwealth, as the Head of the Commonwealth, will on any visit to India be treated just like a foreign representative. The way out of this confusion will probably be by the British King not coming to India. Why should this be necessary when the Indian Prime Minister is prepared to pay his devoirs in London? All this hair-splitting is unworthy of one who has attained Pandit Jawaharlal's reputation in the world for integrity and statesmanship. We are glad that a more adult attitude was adopted in the Constituent Assembly.

The Davidson Interview Explained: — Sheikh Abdullah of Kashmir has expressed in a statement from New Delhi his attitude on the future of Kashmir. He is a strong advocate of accession and fiercely opposed to any division of that State. Independence is a charming but meaningless concept as applied to Kashmir and Indians should have more confidence in the Kashmir National Conference. As he often utters these sentiments in the presence of journalists, he fears that at times his views are distorted. We are glad to have so categoric a repudiation of the Davidson interview. The mischief of that report was intensified by a meant-to-be-helpful interpretative article in the "Blitz" whose editor Karanjia had been active in Kashmir not very long ago, saying that the Sheikh Saheb had only said he would declare for independence if India accepted partition. Whenever the plebiscite is held, Kashmir leaders have to stand firm by the accession to India without confusing the voters with ifs and buts. Meanwhile rumours of partition are growing and Pakistan has come down drastically on the "Civil and Military Gazette" of Lahore for publishing a Delhi message to the effect that partition had been agreed on in London; the newspaper has suffered a three-month suspension. What the actual position is is a mystery but in the next few days the truth will be made known.

Loot-Sharers: — Because of disagreement amongst themselves on their different proportions, the question of Italian colonies was referred from Committee to the UN General Assembly where, on the issue of Italy's being given Tripolitania, the whole share-out was postponed. The set-back was due more to failure to secure the necessary two-thirds support than to any defeat and at any moment the whole position might be reversed. The whole question is perplexing: On the one hand if there is to be perpetuation of the colonial

system, then the only test of Italy's eligibility is her ability to make the grade with the Big Powers of the day, and she seems to have succeeded by a combination of alternately persuading the Americans of her democratic intentions and frightening them by edging up to Soviet Russia. But if, as it has been often suggested, the idea is to eliminate the colonial system, then it is difficult to see how this deal can be justified. Not very long ago, the Allies were congratulating the Arabs on seeing through Fascist Italy's game of championing the Islamic nations and they were engaged in countering it. Now they are as busy in trying to put the Arabs once again under Italian rule. This is a political deal of the old discredited type.

Ministers and Corruption: — Dr. Rajendra Prasad has issued a statement denying having asserted in a recent interview that there was corruption on a large scale among ministers and officials. But he admits that a question on corruption in the various administrations had been asked him on this as on other occasions. He also acknowledges that one paragraph bearing on this question had been reported accurately in the offending interview. An issue of the "Hindu" publishes it in full though unfortunately the exact words of the particular question are not reported. The paragraph reads: "There is no means of improving general administration unless the character of the people improves. A country can have only the kind of government it deserves. If we are not good enough, we cannot have a better Government. The effort should be to improve the individual." The rest of the paragraph concerns the manner in which this improvement is to be brought about according to Dr. Rajendra Prasad. Apparently, if each of us were to 'turn the searchlight inwards and to find out whether he himself is wrong', a lot of bickering and bad blood would be avoided and the situation brightened appreciably. Now whilst the phrase "a country can have only the kind of Government it deserves" may be ambiguous, the rest of the paragraph is clear. That the administration requires improvement is admitted. The people are held responsible for its defects but its officials and necessarily also the Ministers are not absolved from blame. Ministers, let us not forget, are also individuals. Dr. Prasad in fact holds both the people and their administrators responsible for the situation in the country. And considering the nature of the question the situation is one which includes a corrupt administration. Dr. Prasad,one may readily admit, would not have said that "there is corruption on a large scale among Ministers and Government officials", for he is a leading Congressman and not a Minister only because he chooses not to be one. But Dr. Prasad, forgetting to be precise, may easily have implied this. The actual words of the opening sentence of the interview were probably not used by him. But their sense was surely not fabricated. The incident has a lesson for both politicians and newspapermen. Indian politicians too often forget that journalists interviewing them are in duty bound to report what is said as fully as possible, leaving out only what they are explicitly asked to keep confidential. The politician must exercise more restraint and be more precise. The press owes it to the public not to condone the indiscretions of leaders or the errors of governments, however popular. For power can corrupt even the best. Indian newspapermen, on the other hand, could improve upon their standard of accuracy with profit. They have yet to appreciate that notes are a more reliable standby than memory. Memory is fallible, and the best of memories can play the most astounding tricks. Above all let politicians cease trading on their past sacrifices and journalists stop courting their favours.

The Way of the Ostrich:—It is a pity that Hyderabad Muslims, under the guidance of Dr. Syed Abdul Latif, have resolved to abstain from participation in the political life of the state. Sitting on the fence never did anyone much good-in the end; and it certainly can't do much good to a people who constitute the minority that lorded it in a feudal manner over the majority. Hyderabad Muslims have claimed to be the more educationally advanced section of the Hyderabadis; only a year ago their preponderance in the services was justified on this ground by the Nizam's Government in their negotiations with the Government of India. If this is so, then it is surprising that in the interest of the state, they should not want to step into its political life, attempting to give it the stability it so sorely needs. This attitude of the ostrich, though understandable psychologically, inspires neither respect nor goodwill for the leaders of community. To some extent it is derived from fear of retribution, but it certainly also finds its origin in self-interest. The fact that the Muslim Convention felt it necessary to declare that 'the setting up of any sort of so-called "Popular Government" in Hyderabad will not be in the interest of the state' does not fool anyone. Rather,the declaration gives the show away blatantly. The Military Government set up by the Central Government has been more interested in preserving continuity than a popular government would be. And whilst a gradual break from old ways secures a stable administration, it incidentally also prolongs the privileges of established interests. The desire of Muslims, therefore, to see the Military Administration continued is natural, originating as it does in the sense of relative security they derive from its existence. But seeing that it necessarily cannot last indefinitely—one should have thought that the Muslims would have grasped the point—the resolution of their Convenion seems puerile. To abstain from state politics, and to wait until a party powerful enough to support has emerged is to commit political suicide. That would not matter, but for the fact that a whole community will suffer for the pusillanimity of the entrenched few.

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BOMBAY, May 21, 1949.

EDITORS' CONFERENCE

If the editors who met in conference in Bangalore, are willing that others should view their performance with the same critical objectivity with which they assess achievements at other conferences, they will find little reason to be proud of themselves. To all outward appearances, it was an impressive session blessed with high level inauguration, a presidential address of sound commonsense and the usual pattern of resolutions of condolence, protest against government encroachment on the rights of newspapers, a reaffirmation of ideals and condemnation of those who had fallen palpably short of them. In reality, however, discussion on the resolutions were superficial and perfunctory and showed that those who give much space to the critical examination of the problems of others had given very little thought to their own. A possible remedy for the future would be provision for verbatim reporting of proceedings and their annual publication. There is danger of the All India Newspaper Editors' Conference degenerating into an annual gathering of outgoing and aspiring office-bearers with a sprinkling of vocal and silent dissenters. Many feel that that point has already been reached and passed.

Every session of the conference is marked by heated discussion on matters of procedure. Last year objections were raised to the election of the President and this year, to the nomination of the A.I.N.E.C.'s representative to the U. N. sub-commission on Freedom of Information, Mr. Devadas Gandhi, who later secured the largest number of votes in international election. The objection raised was that 'neither the Standing Committee nor the Conference was consulted when the nomination was made and it was explained that the President was given a bare two hours to submit a name and he gave his own. The procedure was sought to be justified on the ground of the subsequent triumph for India of her nominee having topped the list of elected members of the sub-commission. It was arguable, though it was not argued, that the person who was elected President of the A.I.N.E.C. could be deemed to be fit for nomination to represent India on an international body. As there was much discussion on the propriety of Mr. Devadas Gandhi nominating himself, there was no discussion on the part India was to play on the Commission, and the resolution itself refers vaguely to the "opportunity afforded to the Indian Press to render its contribution to the cause entrusted to the care of the sub-commission by U.N.O." It would be correct to say that none who participated in the discussion knew anything about either the "cause entrusted" or the contribution India was to make. It is significant that no sub-committee was set up to help Mr. Devadas Gandhi in the discharge of his onerous undertaking. In short there was debate on how the honour to represent India on an international body was acquired but no discussion on how the responsibility which went with the honour was to be discharged. Equal acrimony was imported in the discussion of the measures to be adopted to curb "scurrilous writing," with the result that a brief, quiet and pertinent voice failed to register any impression. It was pointed out that the A.I.N.E.C. could not appropriate to itself the function of the police, that it could record disapprobation but not prescribe penalties. The argument had no appeal because the A.I.N.E C. has, in recent years, become "more loyal than the king" and has shown greater anxiety to inspire the infliction of penalties than to raise by patient and sustained effort the standards of the profession. The fundamental fallacy lies in the presumption that scurrilous writing can be eradicated completely and by repeating, in tones of pious horror, the obscenities perpetrated in a not very significant section of the press. Mr. Devadas Gandhi, unwisely and unwittingly, gave countrywide currency to two succulent pieces of scurrilous writing which, we have no doubt, will be passed on from mouth to mouth among those who had no previous knowledge of them. It is a fact that objectionable and obscene books are sold out the morning after the ban is imposed and thereafter run into several editions. Those who have been loudest in condemning scurrilous writing must derive little satisfaction from the knowledge that they have in fact helped to stimulate the trade. "The newspaper press," Mahatma Gandhi wrote in his autobiography, "is a great power... even so an uncontrolled pen serves but to destroy. If control is from without, it proves more poisonous than want of control. It can be profitable only when practised from within. If this line of reasoning is correct, how many of the journals in the world would stand the test? But who would stop those that are useless? And who should be the judge? The useful and the useless must, like good and evil, go on together and man must make his choice." If these words curb the overzealous reformer something will have been achieved.

The A.I.N.E.C. will achieve results if it puts forward sustained effort during the year in studying the problems of the Indian press and the manner in which similar problems have been solved, or their solution attempted in other countries. They will find, in this as in other aspects of life, that continuous vigilance and striving will ensure that those who make a minimum living in conformity with professional standards are more numerous than those who prosper from peddling shoddy wares.

INTERPRETING THE AMERICANS

A book which has created a great deal of stir in England and America but has been slow in coming out to India, Geoffrey Gorer's "The Americans" (The Cresset Press: Price 10s. 6d) makes fascinating reading. Gorer's purpose in writing this is not quite clear. In an earlier publication,

"Nobody Talks Politics", he said that he was interested in seeking out what for a group constitutes happiness. He had sought it in Africa and in Bali and in Sikkim. He had come nearest the answer in Bali but under conditions which did not hold good for European societies. He felt that so far as modifying the environment to give the people security and freedom from care went, the Communist system offered the best result. But he intended to pursue his inquiry immediately in the United States of America. But this book is not the fruit of this inquiry although he does speak of California with a little hope. In his foreword, Gorer says at the outset that he has applied the methods of cultural anthropology to a modern community; and ends by claiming that he has intended to promote better understanding between England and America. If this is his purpose, then the claims of anthropology seem to have overcome his desire for goodwill. "The Americans" is not a book which Americans can read with pleasure or non-Americans with profit although it is an amusing performance. What does emerge is the cleverness of Gorer who has certainly not kept back any smart observation that struck him. Edmund Burke has commented on the folly of condemning an entire people. The modern writer does not condemn people, he analyses them. This is what Gorer has attempted and the American character that has emerged, is a distorted image. The fact that he has been seven years in intimate contact with the people—and the best of them at that—gives authority to what he has to say.

The central theme of this book is that the Americans with their tradition of migration from Europe have rejected authority. The "rejected father" theory is worked out with great detail and Gorer settles on the assertion that Americans have an essentially feminine conscience. Europe which is greatly under obligation to America today, will doubtless draw much solace from this thesis. It is always so natural to explain away the character of one's benefactor. But the real interest lies in Gorer's development of the American attitude towards the next generation. What our author has picked upon as a special American trait is largely shared by all humanity. The realisation that one cannot leave the world better than one finds it, leads inevitably to a desire to equip the next generation for meeting existing conditions. Gorer has a lot to say of the American insistence on breakfast foods. "A neurotic development of the mother's fears that her children will not have enough to eat of the magical health-giving foods can be found in the obese children who are relatively common in the United States and practically unknown elsewhere." But Gorer does not mention the other side which in fairness ought to be stressed. In the last Olympics the American performance was startlingly outstanding which does suggest that interest in diet is not quite so foolish after all.

It would be wrong to assume that Gorer is consistently unkind. In one particular matter, he has given a rational explanation of why the American is different which is quite convincing. He says, that the difficulties of communication between first generation Americans whose familiarity with English is poor, and their children have led to an elimination of the niceties of the language and to a louder tone in talking than is ordinarily found. It is because of the U.S.A.'s present supremacy and departure from traditional isolation which has brought this so prominently to the front. Gorer's remarks about American behaviour ought to be modified by the statement that all nations newly risen to pre-eminence display bad manners and overweening conduct to start with, and maturity only comes with time and assurance. The Italians after Abyssinia showed very similar qualities, only more offensively as anyone who had occasion to use Italian ships can bear out. The older imperialisms fortunately had no one to record their behaviour. But there is enough evidence to show that for the peoples among whom their lives were cast, conditions were not dissimilar to those which Europeans face vis-a-vis the Americans. The point Gorer makes which is significant, is that Americans in their own country behave very much in the same manner as they do abroad. This certainly is to their credit and might be traced in part to the familiarity of Americans with people of differing nationalities in the U.S.A. itself and partly to American lack of inhibition. The only chapter of the book where Gorer exercises some restraint is significantly the chapter headed "Success and the Dollar". He observes that the American is greatly interested in acquisition of money but very little concerned with accumulating it. Here there is a similarity to the Wolofs of Senegal, described by Gorer in his "Africa Dances", but Gorer does not refer to this. Possibly the subject called for some tact in handling. Gorer whose observations have told him that American generosity can be unlimited if the American is tactfully handled, shows that he possesses this quality in abundance. The following parallels will be read with interest:

> The Wolof are much preoccupied with money: it is one of the most constant words in their conversation. They do not value it for its own sake however: as soon as they have paid their taxes and their debts they will employ whatever money they possess in gifts and ostentation. ...As soon as they were paid, they would ransack the shops for the most expensive perfumes, clothes, cigars: They would flaunt these till they had been seen by everyone...The idea of hoarding or saving is quite alien to them. They have very high traditions of generosity and hospitality,—"Africa Dances".

> Americans talk far more about money than Europeans and generally value it less . the easiest method of evaluating a strange article and putting it into relationship with other articles is to know what it costs As a result money and prices figure greatly and consistently in American writing and conversation...It is a great mistake, however, to deduce from the fact that Americans pay so much verbal attention to money the supposition that they give corresponding importance to the possession of the money, as such;...though in theory a certified pay-cheque would be adequate as a sign of one's relative success, in practice one can only demonstrate the fact that one has made good by conspicuous expenditure—competitive conspicuous expenditure...Saving is not laudable; saving

as an aim in itself is not regarded as praiseworthy... American generosity and hospitality are rightly famous. —"The Americans".

Perhaps Gorer has matured in the fourteen years that passed between the two books. Possibly too, there is a natural and very human difference between the eyes with which an anthropologist looks at an African tribe and those he turns towards "a great modern community". But the difference in presenting and evaluating the same qualities is marked.

THE COMMONWEALTH LINK

(By J. M. GANGULI)

The technique of propaganda has obviously no limitations and, in the hands of politicians, it has immense possibilities, particularly when it is directed towards impressing and converting the common people. But, one still wonders if the propagandists never feel a hesitation when studiedly they twist, distort, or cover up points, issues and facts for getting support to their moves and doings. In respect of the present controversial settlement of India's position and relation vis-a-vis the *British* Commonwealth, the efforts of the publicists and the politicians have also been not exceptional. Through the press, from the platform and over the air, all imaginable advantages of remaining inside the Commonwealth have been incessantly put forth; the other side of the shield being, with equal care and insistence, left masked, so that doubts may not arise in the public mind. But, such propaganda cannot hold the ground very long, for all masks and covers wear and fall off in the course of time. Wise propaganda must be based on a frank and clear exposition of both sides of a case; only then are the merits of one side convincingly driven home.

The participants in the Premiers Conference in London have, however, launched a vigorous one-sided propaganda. The other parties to the London settlement may congratulate themselves on keeping India rivetted as before to their own frame-work, though Indians are not given the same racial status which they jealously preserve for themselves. But the Indian who sponsored and accepted the settlement cannot have as spacious grounds for self-satisfaction as others. He may try to console his conscience by explaining that it is possible to make India a Republic and yet keep her in a corner inside the British Commonwealth presided over by a monarch. There is not much in a name and so, that may not much matter; but the stark fact remains that her association with the British Commonwealth means India's acceptance of most offending racial discriminations against Indians and Asiatics by the Commonwealth people, her tacit support of the British colonial policy, her connivance of Australia's arrogant and dangerous white policy even in the eastern hemisphere and her indifference to the behind-the-screen patronage of England to other imperial and colonial powers. Were those not the main points of agitation by the Congress in the British era?

Congressmen listening to Pandit Nehru's broadcasts may well put that question. But another question which arises in the minds of many others is: Does not the fear and nervousness shown by the Government in taking an independent stand out of the old niche in the Commonwealth reflect adversely on the mass mind? National confidence can best be revived by putting the nation on its own legs clear away from the old demoralising environment and relationships. Till white policies of racial discriminations are not thoroughly and effectively abolished, inferiority is bound to remain attached to any coloured race seeking a place in a Commonwealth dominated by whitepeople.

JAPAN AND INDUSTRIAL EFFICIENCY

Japanese industrialists are engaged in an efficiency drive to help stabilize their shaky businesses. It is a task of the foremost importance to the future of the country, for regardless of the merits or demerits of the occupation, in the long run the nation must depend upon its own productive skills.

The new effort has come about partly through a White Paper issued by the Japanese Economic Stabilization Board. Both Japanese and American industrial and management engineers are cooperating in a search for basic weaknesses that must be corrected if Japan is to become economically self-sufficient.

Illustrative of the problems being faced is the situation in one of the country's large industrial plants. Starting at the top, a survey disclosed that the officers of the company were devoting their attention chiefly to procuring materials, and hunting for ways either to avoid paying the excessive taxes levied on the firm, or if this could not be done, means of arranging government subsidies to fill the void created when taxes were paid. So preoccupied were management officials with these questions that they neglected actual operations.

Until the exchange rate for the yen was made more stable, this company went through serious problems in its sales division. Foreign buyers hesitated to push the firm's goods so long as they feared a devaluation of the yen which might increase dollar prices. There is some discontent even now, but at least sales agents know more clearly where they stand.

Foremen and other supervisors were found to be spending too much time in the smoking rooms and neglecting their actual jobs; they complained that the less contact they had with their workers the better, because employees refused to obey orders. Trade unions, according to the foremen, had put up posters instructing members to disobey and saying, in effect, "Join the union and you wo'nt have to work." The union had invaded the realm of management so far that the simplest

orders had to be taken to union-management negotiation.

Union spokesmen, however, explained that their refusal to follow orders was due to the undemocratic, feudalistic character of the supervisory system. The foremen, they complained, knew little about the jobs with which they were dealing. Wages were low, and on them it was impossible to maintain even a minimum standard of living—a difficulty that had been accentuated by the inflationary trend. To make ends meet, most of the workers were obliged to sell clothing or other possessions. If they did not take off several days a month to forage for food in the country, they could hardly survive.

Absenteeism, upon investigation, proved to be more complicated. The foraging frequently consisted of trips into the country to buy food from farmers which was brought back into the city, not to eat, but to sell at black market prices. Many workers also stayed at home to catch up on household tasks, such as laundering, mending and gardening.

It became clear as the inquiry proceeded that the unions had no real understanding of their relations with management. With the occupation, they had been given freedom, but had not learned where their own responsibilities stopped and those of management began. It was assumed by a good many workers that the right of unionism carried with it the right to disregard the orders of foremen. Workers' charges that supervisors often did not understand the basic details of the jobs at hand were found to be frequently true. One reason was that the skilled foremen of pre-war days had been dispersed, some going into the armed services during the conflict, others taking work in different industries. The number of trained supervisors available was only 10 per cent of the firm's requirements, and few men were to be found who were capable of teaching new foremen.

Modern cost control systems were wanting. Management's policy had been to charge as much as the traffic could bear, in the belief that a profit would thus be certain. Taxes were regarded as unjust, and business management resorted to the ancient practice of wining and dining government officials, or lavishing gifts upon them, in the hope of tax relief. Clergical workers reported these outlays to left-wing unionists, and posters appeared in the plant showing the huge sums spent at the elaborate parties for tax and other officials.

Japanese businessmen of the more open-minded type are beginning to see that there is a long way to go before the full effectiveness of industry can be devoted to recovery. One important essential is for government management, foremen and trade unionists to acquire a deeper understanding, get closer together, and agree on a programme of reform.

—*Worldover Press.*

ANGLO-AMERICAN PRODUCTIVITY COUNCIL

(By HERBERT TRACEY)

Member of the British T. U. C. and Editor of its Official Journal "Labour".

More useful information and significant plans for the future work of the Anglo-American Productivity Council—consisting of representatives of Trades Unions and employers in Britain and America—have been brought back by British members of the Council who have spent three weeks in the U.S.A.

During their visit they went over a number of American industrial plants and had discussions with representatives of management and labour in Detroit, Chicago, Dayton, Boston and some 10 other places. In the course of their visit, too, they met and talked with the first British productivity team now making the round of American plants.

The entire Council, moreover, had the opportunity of meeting this team, drawn from British steel foundries, and received a report from its leader. He said the team was getting a great deal of experience out of their visit, and it was bound to have an influence on their practice when they returned home.

This productivity team, composed of 16 members chosen by a joint committee of the industry's trade association, employers' federation and the trade unions concerned, will return home shortly, having accomplished a tour of the steel foundries in Milwaukee, Chicago, Detroit, Columbus and Philadelphia to see at first hand American production methods and techniques in all phases.

A detailed report of the meetings of the Anglo-American Productivity Council in New York and Washington has been brought back by its British members.

The report emphasises that the sole objective of the Anglo-American Council is to recommend and take all practicable measures to assist the programme in the U.K. which aims at raising the level of productivity in British industry. The Council places on record in this Report its conviction that only through an increasing rate of industrial productivity can economic stability and a higher standard of living be achieved. It recognises that great progress has been made in Britain during the past 12 months. The trade gap is narrowing.

But it is clear, says the Report, that continued all-out effort is necessary to enable Britain to attain self-sufficiency by 1952. Higher productivity and lower costs, it says, are indispensable elements of the answer. Meantime, the Council is concentrating on those particular phases of the problem where it believes that in a short turn the maximum benefit can be gained.

From discussions that have already taken place within the Council and in the five committees it has established in London for the supervision and execution of the separate parts of the Council's programme, a framework for future activities has

been created which will lead to practical results within individual British factories.

The British section of the Council will devote itself to the task of spreading industrial methods and techniques about which they and the productivity teams have acquired knowledge in the U.S.A. Applications for visits by more than 30 productivity teams from British industries are now under the active consideration of the Anglo-American Council. Additional teams will go over to the U.S.A. as rapidly as possible.

They will follow a normal programme involving a stay of six weeks in America, with a preliminary period of study of the overall conditions of their industry before they leave home, and a further period on their return which will be concentrated on the dissemination through their industry of the experience they have gained.

It is an essential feature of the visits of the productivity teams to American plants that a full report of their experience will be prepared and imparted to all sections of their industry when they return home. But the Council does not regard these visits as running along a "one-way street". British teams will give as well as receive knowledge. The experience of the first team now on its way around the American steel foundries proves that. And in order to perfect the mechanism of the flow of teams between the U.K. and the U.S.A. return visits are being planned.

The exchange of visits, the Council's report explains, is based primarily upon teams from a U.K. industry visiting the same industry in the U.S.A. This is accepted as the best method of studying those features which are peculiar to each industry. But it is recognised that some specialised subjects are common to a range of industries. Such matters as the mechanical handling of materials, packaging and factory lay-out, for example, can be more effectively examined by specialist teams; while other aspects of the problem are likely to be disclosed by the reports of industrial teams.

The British section of the Council are asking that facilities be given for a few teams of specialists to study in the U.S.A. more general aids to productivity. Arrangements will be made for these specialist teams to report their experience for the benefit of British industry as a whole.

Arrangements are also being made for the Council's consultants and experts to study two censuses for manufacture which will soon be available—the 1947 census of manufacture for the U.S.A. will be available this year, and the U.K. census is shortly to be completed. These data are to be studied by the Council's experts to see what comparisons can be drawn from the respective productivity indices in the two countries.

Moreover the co-operation of 18 companies in the U.K. and the U.S.A., which produce similar products and which are drawn from widely different industries, is being sought for collaboration, in supplying productivity data. By these and other methods of working out comparisons in productivity standards as between the two countries, the Council aims at providing more reliable knowledge than now exists about the extent and causes of the differences between them.

Comparative studies of productivity between plants in the same industry of the same country are also to be made. Consideration is also being given to sending a small British group to study methods of standardisation practised in the U.S.A. All this justifies the Council's view that a sound and promising foundation has been laid for the work it has undertaken to do.

ASIATIC NATIONS AND THE PACIFIC PACT

(By RICHARD HAUSER)

Though a Pacific Pact has been discouraged at Washington, there are many who continue to hope that such an alliance may follow the North Atlantic Security Treaty. "An Atlantic Pact plus a Pacific Pact," they argue, "would mean global safety." Such talk, however, ignores profound differences between the two areas at virtually every point.

In the Atlantic area are sovereign countries with long traditions of government. In the Pacific, there is a mixture of Sovereign Dominions, over-populated ex-colonies, dependencies smoldering with hatred of their white masters, colossal nations like India and China with a myriad problems in every region.

The Japanese lost the war, but even in defeat they destroyed the ancient blind faith in the magic greatness of white rulers. Millions in the coloured races came to see that, after all, the fabulous whites were human beings like themselves, capable of suffering, not able to escape indignity. In countless minds today a belief exists that the white man, if need be, can at long last be thrown out. It is highly probable that any war action on a substantial scale would mean the end of all white rule in Asia.

Even Japan, which has suddenly been promoted from the worst boy in the class to the best and become the pride of the teacher, has been converted pretty fast. And throughout the East as a whole, there is a willingness to co-operate with the white West only when the latter shows a spirit of understanding and equality. Asiatics do not forget that the white race gave them historically the same gifts it gave Africa—alcohol, syphilis, modern weapons,—and in the last war, loveless romance for soldiers' cash, Hollywoodiana, and a first-hand look at the atom bomb.

In this part of the globe the word democracy does not have the same glamorous sound as in the Atlantic area, where sometimes the worst offenders against democracy nevertheless call their regimes "democratic" and hope people will believe it. Here the word Communism is beginning to have magic; it is adopted by people who have no idea

what it actually means, apart from getting rid of old masters. For the little man, in much of the whole Pacific area, Communism signifies exactly the contrary of what he has now—or rather of what he lacks now.

With this background, only one kind of pact can succeed. That is a pact to get these young and vigorous peoples on their feet as partners. Only by fighting hunger and illiteracy, by showing Eastern countries how to run their states through running Western ones peacefully, can the West win their support. The peoples of the Pacific are not primarily allies, either of democracy or of Communism. They want, above all, a chance to be themselves. —*Worldover Press.*

PROBLEMS OF THE PRESS.

(By D. V. GUNDAPPA)

Among problems common to the press of India, I should seek permission to mentian just three; (i) an apparatus of correction for the profession from within itself. (ii) a school for new entrants into the profession, and (iii) an agency to harmonize relations between the Press and the Government.

Firstly, I think the need of a written code of professional conduct for the guidance of journalists of all classes has been felt and recognized everywhere. It is only to be expected that such a code would for the most part be nothing but a record of well-known rules and conventions already established in the daily practice of all respected newspaper offices. That parts of such a code must read somewhat like the doubtless well-meant but boringly common-place homilies which Ministers and people of that order sometimes delight in reading to us, is perhaps inevitable. Why, even the scriptures cannot help sounding like commonplaces often. It surely is not reasonable for us to ask that our code of ethics should compete with Zola for liveliness or with Einstein in reconditeness. At least as a quickener of our relish for literature of romance or of philosophy, we may occasionally open the sedate manual of professional etiquette. We must have a code of morals and manners,—one as definite and comprehensive as could possibly be made. It is necessary if we would be fairly judged and rationally respected by our fellow-citizens. The code will be as much for their guidence as for ours. And what is of even greater consequence is the devising of an agency to enforce the code, I think there must be a central board for the whole of India,—a professional court of honour,—set up by the AINEC, to go into cases arising under the code and deliver judgments which will form a body of case-law for our future guidance. There must be sanctions behind the code. The journalist or journal defying the verdict of the board should have consequences to face at the hands of the AINEC. The very existence of such a code with sanctions to support it is sure to exercise a salutary influence upon all.

Secondly, I submit the AINEC is the proper authority to take up the question of having institutions opened under its auspices, in four or five centres of newspaper industry in different parts of India, to impart instruction and practical training to fresh entrants into the profession. I would have the AINEC take the initiative in this matter rather than a Government or a University. Employment for the talent trained is to be provided chiefly by newspaper offices: and it is only proper that they should regulate both the quality and the quantity of the supply. The colloboration of the Universities will of course be indispensable; and the cooperation of independent public institutions will also be invaluable. But the initiative and the direction must rest in a pre-eminent degree in the hands of a professional organization like the AINEC. I may be permitted to mention here that the Gokhale Institute of Public Affairs, Bangalore, with which I am connected, drew up and circulated among newspaper proprietors and editors in the Kannada country a tentative scheme, to be worked on an experimental basis, for putting a dozen selected aspirants through a course of lectures on subjects of importance to a working journalist, side by side with practical work in a newspaper office, for a period of six months. Though opinion was unanimous as to the necessity for such a move, the question of providing the necessary means is taking time; and we are awaiting the response of the leading offices that have been approached by us. I have every confidence the task will not prove a formidable one if the AINEC makes up its mind in that behalf.

Thirdly, there is the question of devising an agency, acceptable both to the Government and the press, to deal with cases in which the Government feels tempted to take executive action against a newspaper without asking for help from the courts. The expedient of an advisory committee was tried during the war years in many Provinces. My information is that its success was not uniform or invariable. So far as Mysore is concerned, I understand that that experiment cannot be counted a success at all. I am not surprised, seeing that the manner of the composition of the committee was so unsuitable. It seems to me a better way is for each Province or State to have a Board made up of three:—(i) the Speaker or President of the local legislature, who will be the Chairman, (ii) a member nominated by the Government, and (iii) a representative of the AINEC. The Board should have power to co-opt. two members from among men who have retired from high judicial office or are distinguishsd in public life. In matters of a non-justiciable nature, it should be for such a board to recommend what course of action the Government should adopt. The finding of such a body would be entitled to respect in all quarters as the word of an impartial and fair-minded judge. The struggle for freedom is one that cannot be presumed to have come to an end with the ending of the war or the ending of foreign rule. So long as there is need for authority to regulate and protect life in human society, there will have to be some to exercise authority and others to suffer its incidence; and conflict between the two will so long be natural in some form or other. That calls for the vigilance of the critic of the ways of authority; and the critic's efficiency must dopend upon the extent of liberty made available to him by society. Thus liberty and authority are always engaged in a duel; and if society is not to suffer between them, it should be earnest about appointing and authorizing a proper umpire.

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"*I will* be as harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard*".

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the LIBERATOR.

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NOTES

Municipal Perplexity:—The strike of the Bombay Municipal sweepers has brought about an extraordinary situation. The attempt of Commissioner to have the work carried out by emergency arrangements has not been very successful and, despite the Home Guards having been called out to do the cleaning work, there is much to be desired. Some enthusiasts have observed that the City is in a vastly better state now then it used to be under normal conditions but this is political optimism in an extreme and exaggerated form. The strikers have not had much sympathy because they were given liberal terms under the last award and their new demands were under consideration when they decided abruptly to go on strike. No corporation can submit itself endlessly to this form of coercion and the Bombay Government has promised its full backing to the Bombay Municipality in its fight against this recurring menace. There have been a certain number of arrests and both sides have declared that they are firm in their stand. But in these determinations rival parties to the Congress see an opportunity to build themselves up. The Socialists have been developing the two-pronged attack of sympathising with the sweepers but not with their demands; of desiring a rapid restoration to normal but not by substitute labour. Meanwhile, questions are being asked about the position of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar whose leadership of the majority of the striking men is unquestioned, and about the possibilities of securing his services to end this trouble. Something has to be done to settle this question once and for all, without suffering a perpetual dread of strikes.

Advertisement Tax:—The press has been greatly agitated over the subject of provincial taxes on advertisement. Mr. C.R. Srinivasan, President of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference, referred to the iniquity of such a tax at length in his presidential address. Mr. Devadas Gandhi replying to a send-off function in Bombay roundly denounced this tax as a tax on knowledge. Several newspapers have condemned it in words which leave no doubt in the readers' minds that this is a most iniquitous exaction which no civilised community can tolerate. All of this shows how rapidly the press is becoming a business and how greatly it is concerned with profits. After all, the question can be decided not by the hurt feelings of the men behind the business but by the general capacity of the industry to bear the burden. When, during the war, the price of the newspaper was raised to double the old rate, no one seems to have thought of tax on knowledge which was none the less because it was put up by the industry and not the Government. Rumour has it that the Madras Government has yielded to the clamour. We hope that one province at least will not succumb as easily. The Finance Minister might well enter into an inquiry on the capacity of the industry to bear this burden, if the protests persist. It should lead to a lot of revelations in all but a very few of the newspapers of the province.

R.S.S. Constitution:—The new R.S.S. Constitution that has been drafted for the organisation by Mr. T.R.Venkatrama Sastri, is, as might have been expected of such a distinguished lawyer, legally without offence. But the record of the R.S.S. is something which cannot be ignored. It is true that the Government cannot be eternally sitting on the R.S.S. or any other organisation, and that it might be found convenient to use Mr. Sastri's new constitution as an excuse for getting out of an awkward situation. If that is the position, no more need be said about a formula that opens the way to a return to constitutionalism. To many the ending of a state of tension will be a relief but it is difficult for the Government which has set its face against communalism, to seek the easy way out. The present is a crucial period and it would be well if the foundations of the State are soundly laid. The Bombay Government has given a clear lead in eradicating communalism and the indi-

cations are that the country is now ripe for a general clearance.

Prohibition in Bombay: — The assent of the Governor-General, himself a pioneer in the cause of Prohibition ond Temperance, has been given to the Bombay Prohibition Act. This has set at rest all the rumours that were floating about, regarding Government's enthusiasm for this reform. It has been urged by those who oppose Prohibition, that a policy of increased taxation would yield better results than total Prohibition. But the experience of the previous Excise policy gives the lie to this contention. Under the British system, increased taxation not ohly did not put down liquor consumption but even added to it. A writer in a local newspaper has urged in defence of Prohibition that the Sales Tax makes up for the revenue from liquor since the people have more money in their pockets to buy other things. There is much force in this argument. As for the objection that Prohibition is an infringement of persoual liberty, today no one expects the State to pursue a policy of non-interference. In the matter of drugs, it has been internationally accepted that there should be control rigidly exercised. Politically, communal and communist propaganda it is widely recognised, needs to be kept down in the interests of the people. There is no reason why drink alone should be allowed. So far, the discussion has been largely round the possibilities of indulging in illicit liquor. That is a small danger. What is more likely is that the acceptance of Prohibition by the people will lead to a greater realisation of conditions around and in turn to greater demonstration of discontent.

Shifting Opposition:—Now that the Prohibition Bill is only awaiting the Bombay Government's notification bringing it into effect—and since the provisions are drastic enough to keep even mild propaganda down—the likelihood is that agitation and opposition, among the educated and sophisticated, will take the form of pointing out failures and lapses from observance of the laws and ineffective official enforcement. There is already an item on the conditions in Surat which conveys the impression that liquor control has failed and that the Bombay Minister in charge is discouraged and disheartened. This is not the way to shake the Prohibition policy of the Government. After all, no Minister in this portfolio can be regarded as indispensable and if one man is discouraged there will be others to take up the work. As for failure of the Act, such a thing is administratively inconceivable. Up to a point, loopholes and defects will be corrected and the liquor laws made more drastic still. The Congress administration has made it abundantly clear that Prohibition is a creed with its members; even that the leaders are being pushed forward by the enthusiasm of the second-rank leadership. It will gather momentum and nothing can impede its progress. So far as Bombay is concerned, Prohibition has ceased to be a controversial issue.

Congress Machinery: — A well-placed, if not exactly prominent, Congressman of this province remarked the other day that he was surprised at the general ignorance of the party platform among Congress workers themselves. It is probable that a vast campaign of "political re-education" will be taken up in the near future by the Congress, and an effort made to grow roots amongst the people once again. Meanwhile, serious questions are being asked about the party machine which at times has all the appearance of a ramshackle thing, put together somehow. How are the relations to be decided between Congress Ministry and Congress Provincial Committee? This is a recurring problem for Congressmen. In the selection of Dr. Mhaskar as Congress candidate for the Legislative Assembly, it is fair to infer that the Congress Parliamentary Party in the province had as much responsibility as the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee. There is in private a great deal of distributing the blame on to other shoulders. But Dr. Mhaskar, estimable though he may be as an individual, has no experience of party politics and even less of Congress party politics. We understand that he lost the election as it were without uttering a single speech. It has been suggested that the Congress should encourage younger men and get in new blood. This is not a light thing. The dividing line between Congress and the Socialists is so thin that young men who fret under the wisdom and eccentricity of their elders usually tend to go out of one party into the other. Nor should it be forgotten that it takes time to build up a political figure in the public eye. The defection-and-expulsion of the Socialists has left a gap in the Congress which cannot be filled without some apparent injustice to the less gifted faithful who did not quit the Congress.

The Moscow Ambassador:—It seems now definite that Dr. S. Radhakrishnan had been asked to assume charge of the Ambassadorship at Moscow and he is considering the offer. Though the language problem will be there, the appointment is a good one as Dr. Radhakrishnan is the best-known Indian non-political figure outside this country and he will be able to do India justice at Moscow. There is a great deal of explaining to be done with Russia and the indications are that they are likely to increase in the immediate future. Incidentally, the Moscow Embassy at New Delhi, according to all accounts, is a well-manned office and several of the Russian staff have, it is said, picked up Hindustani effectively. Usually when any leftist meetings are held in any part of the country, it is remoured that members of the Embassy in sherwani or other suitable local dress attend in good number in the audience. It would be too much to expect a similar energy among Indian members of the staff at Moscow but the Russian example is well worth understudying. Soviet Russia is bound to appreciate the regard which prompts the Indian selection and Dr. Radhakrishnan himself may well consider the importance of the Capital assigned to him as adequate compensation for his adventure into a country where he does not understand the language.

THE INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, May 28, 1949.

ENDING COMMUNAL REPRESENTATION

The Constituent Assembly took a big step forward when it adopted a resolution doing away with all reservation of seats—except seats reserved for Scheduled Castes of the Hindu and Sikh communities for a limited period of ten years. The special inclusion of Sikh Scheduled Classes is a curious concession to the Sikh community and the argument which was put forward and accepted is even more curious. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel said in the House that the Scheduled Castes privilege was extended to those of them who had been converted to the Sikh faith, because the Sikhs were afraid that these converts who still suffered from caste disabilities, would revert to Hinduism if they were not included. The logic of this is elusive. The conversion to the Sikh faith was effected with the promise of getting rid of their untouchability. Now to say that they have not been benefitted in this way and might, therefore, be attracted by the efforts of the Hindu community to cure the disease within itself, is surely a fallacy. The Scheduled Castes demand for reservation of seats is on the plea that they are a neglected section of the Hindus. In other words, the special treatment provided for the Scheduled Castes is the relief which society extends last to those under-privileged in the Hindu community who did not leave the fold; and it is not very edifying for their brothers who had sought other reliefs, to try to cash in on this also. It will be remembered that Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, when he was leading his party in the Madras Assembly as its Prime Minister, facing a similar problem when the Christian community demanded an extension of educational facilites for Harijans to Scheduled Castes in their own fold, regretted that this could not be done but was willing to provide for the backward section of that community separately. There is a difference between facilities and reservation in the sense that the later does not involve any financial commitment. In his speech initiating the discussion Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel frankly observed that the inclusion of the Scheduled Castes Sikhs in the reservation was not a very happy arrangement but he added that the Sikhs had asked for it and he pleaded that it should be conceded, in view of their past sufferings, until they themselves realised its inadequacy. The position now is that Hindu and Sikh Scheduled Castes will be granted reservation for a period of ten years, that is the underprivileged of both communities will vote in general electorates and will be assured a certain proportion of the seats on a population basis. Apparently, there will be no distinction between Hindu and Sikh in this category but as the question affects only East Punjab there will be some internal adjustment between the two communities so that the Sikh reservation within Scheduled Castes reservation will not be inoperative. It remains to be seen how the system works in actual practice though there is every reason to fear that it will lead to dissensions between the two classes of Scheduled Castes. The Scheduled Castes themselves have protested against the inclusion of the Sikh section on the ground that this will lead to an impetus in conversion among those who would like to have the advantages of both Sikh conversion and Scheduled Caste reservation. It is a condition which might well work both ways, and in ten years create much mischief. Therefore, the Deputy Prime Minister appealed to the country to approach the problem in a large way.

Considering the general achievement of abolishing communal reservation, this concession to the Sikh Scheduled Castes can well be set aside as an act of realism. To a certain extent it has been rendered necessary by the Hindu-Sikh differences in East Punjab, and by a natural anxiety on the part of the Central Goverenment not to get involved in the politics of that province. With the improvement in the position of the Scheduled Castes generally and the restoration of peace and stability in the Punjab, this reservation can be expected to exhaust its attraction. So far as the other communities are concerned, all special provisions have been dropped. There is for the Tribal population and Anglo-Indians, the safeguard that the Governor or Governor-General (President later) can redress any omission in the elections but this will naturally come into effect only if the electorates fail to give these sections sufficient and adequate representation. In so far as these powers are not exercised because they are not necessary, they will fall into disuse. The advantage in these arrangements lies in the fact that they are mainly meant as a balance to national sentiment. If by ten years we can develop a sufficient amount of freedom from caste and communal bias, then the reservation will go; and the special powers need never come into action if political parties exert themselves sufficiently to retain in their candidates for elections a just proportion of the two protected communities. The danger here is that there might be too strict an adherence to population ratios and too little desire to encourage merit, but that danger has to be faced in any system of mechanical representation. And at any rate, when this stage comes about, we take it that the protected communities will themselves agitate for the abolition of reserved seats. It is a great achievement in every way to break the stalemate of the Lucknow Pact which fixed separate electorates and weightage on Indian politics, and was unchangeable because it had been achieved by agreement among Indian parties. We have a political structure now which favours the growth of nationalism, and the opportunity must be utilised to the full.

PROBLEMS OF DEMOCRACY

Arthur C. Baldwin in an article in "Crozier's Quarterly," covers extensive ground. He considers the problems of democracy in "We believe in Liberty,—" but in the modern world and, with a single exception, his remarks have a bearing on conditions in Modern India. That exception is in the fact that, whilst the U.S.A. has something to show as Democracy's record of achievement, in India we are on the threshold of experiment. Particularly is this a handicap in the modern argument with Russian Communism. As Geoffrey Gorer points out in "Nobody Talks Politics", the Communist's proud reference to Russian achievement makes little impression on America where it has been outstripped. And it has little relevance even to Britain where conditions are vastly different. But in China, South-East Asia and India where colonialism and Western exploitation have left the economic system in a state of retarded development, the Russian example is to be countered by hope rather than past achievement. This apart, Baldwin's analysis will be read with interest in India. The three factors that he dwells on are: The growing extension of authority, the loss of faith in democratic liberties and the widespread realisation that "in a free country, society has not given up the right to protect itself." Baldwin is not by any means the first to call attention to the new stress on responsibility. Henry Hamilton in the concluding paragraph of his "History of the Homeland" (the fourth of Lancelot Hogben's Primers for the Age of Plenty) states that "the time is over-ripe for a statutory assertion both of the inalienable rights and of the indispensable restrictions of free expression in a free society," and the United Nations Charter of Fundamental Rights attempts just this kind of assertion. Where Baldwin differs is not in the objective but in his stress on restraint and responsibility which are from within. "In their freedom, a people can ban certain ways just as a person of high moral character will not permit himself to touch an unclean thing."

The extension of authority and its tendency to "speak in a growing widening censorship" have a different history in India but the result is the same. Under the British, there was a censorship, fairly loosely applied except in emergencies of external danger and internal unrest, concerning itself mainly with politics. This had intruded into religions and communal spheres and moral issues, and it is possible to argue led to the breakdown of the Empire. We take over from there. As things are here, it would be futile to seek for people to exercise self-discipline in their exercise of their profession because "paternalism" in the government is expected by the people and accepted, despite disclaimers uttered by embarrassed Ministers, by the Congress Governments. The Indian trouble is not that the people are unhappy under authoritarian rule and object to the very idea of government, but that a wide difference of opinion is growing within the elite of the British period. The men in government, "the limited nobodies who sit in swivel chairs" plus the heroes of the Congress revolution, do not give the people what the even more deeply "western-influenced" intelligentzia and the "westernized" cosmopolitans think is good for them. That would not matter. What is growing awkward is that things which the people urgently and desperately want are being postponed for what the Government thinks they need. And the opposition elite, to coin a phrase for brevity's sake, are not interested in people's wants so much as in averting the Government's implementation of its paternal solicitude; and since they are in a fading minority, it can be assumed safely that the struggle lies in the Government's ability to "educate" the public into acceptance of its "controls." If Communism in Russia can manage after a generation to bring up a people who have no knowledge of outside conditions and are deeply impressed with the achievement of Soviet Russia, there is no reason why the lesson should not be repeated in reverse gear as it were. Particularly in Prohibition, two or three decades should see the completion of the education and the ending of the feeling of deprivation.

On the economic side, Baldwin points out:

> "Individualism is giving way to collectivism. Controls in transport, the utilities, and monopolistic business are accepted as matters of course. The common man is no longer free to hire out at a rate agreeable to him and his employer. His hours and the tempo of his work are determined for him. He must join the union and every day be a man under authority. No longer can he, like the pioneer, go where he wills and hew out a living according to his ability and desire... A recent decision of the Supreme Court declared it to be unlawful for a firm at the end of a year to give a bonus or merit raise above the union scale to outstanding employees. Only after consultation and with the consent of the union (and we know how hard that would be to get) can such a reward be given. This applies to non-union as well as union labour if the union is the bargaining agent for all employees."

Here in India, the problem will be very different because the Congress Governments have taken Labour and the Unions in a fairly raw stage and are remoulding them—with all the deliberation and compulsion of non-violence—into pro-government institutions. Yet the danger of rousing an opposition in Labour is greater because Communism is more deeply entrenched in this sphere, and it has had a flying start over the Congress. Nevertheless, in either event, the worker has little hope of preserving his liberty because the struggle is not for freedom but for power. In a way, trade union organisation makes this kind of individual surrender inevitable and, when governments dominate the organisation, then new problems are posed. In this India would appear to be approximating nearer to Russian practice.

On two points, Baldwin strikes a note that might be taken as a warning to public opinion in this country: The dangers of sloth in asserting Truth, and the pitfalls in the modern craze for security. He contrasts the modern tendency to indulge in political heresy-hunts with Jefferson's

famous words: "If there be any among us who wish to dissolve this union or to change its republican form, let them stand undisturbed as monuments to the safety with which errors of opinion can be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it"; and he says that the belief that men would quickly rise to defend the truth and that in the clarifying light of debate the issue would be made plain, is belied by experience. "Instead of active debate, appear public inertia and indifference." Moreover, — what Baldwin forgets—the modern technique of radio, party press and Government influence makes debate impossible. The perils of the modern world are illustrated in the words of the "New York Times", "If a lie is believed for only an hour it has done its work and there is no more occasion for it; falsehood flies and truth comes limping after; the jest is over and the tale is told." How this kind of situation can be attributed to public sloth it is difficult to understand. Baldwin, however, gets home a point when he says that "liberties do not walk alone and truth needs its advocates." His quotation from George Adam Smith is telling; "God's causes are never destroyed by being blown up but by being sat upon. It is not the violent and anarchical whom we have to fear in the war for human progress, but the slow, the staid and the respectable." To which might be added the words of Ignazio Silone: "The noisy and ineffectual revolutionism of the left-wingers imperilled nothing but public street-lamps and occasionally the bones of an unlucky policeman, but the patient, methodical and legal work of the reformists threatened some things far more sacred."

Baldwin denounces the search for security as the greatest menace to liberty. If liberties are preserved, he says, the people are secured. Unearned security is a mark of weakness, a danger signal. Security comes only when it is treated as a by-product to independence and self-reliance. To quote,

> Perhaps the most disappointing and dangerous trend today is the increasing emphasis on security. For those who have been educated to believe in freedom and to accept our liberties with attendant risks as the highest goal, it is a shocking thing to hear them derided by multitudes who deny their worth and set up another goal, security, as their ideal of worship.
>
> In explanation they tell us that our liberties have been weighed in the balances and found wanting. They are ineffective and only a protection for the privileged. The poor man knows he is not free when he bargains with industry. His freedom gets him nothing, whether the authority over him is an industry or a union. His freedom is freedom to starve. He has the same right as a rich man to sleep under a bridge, but woe to him if, as a labourer, a neighbour, a voter, he gets out of step with the powers that be. He must march in lockstep with his fellows and obey the orders of his union, and if because of a depression or technological change or advancing age he loses his job, it will be too bad.
>
> What he wants, therefore, is security, to feel safe in his job, to know his family will be provided for if anything happens to him. If an overruling power will see to this, provide social insurance for sickness and a retiring allowance, then he is in a mood to grant such a power all the authority it wants. You can have your liberty, give me security, he cries, and is happy with the exchange.
>
> However reasonable this may sound, there is dynamite in it. Never have men gone far when they were thinking first of security.

It is here that Baldwin comes to the core of the problem of modern man in modern society and leaves it untouched. Nevertheless his peroration gives some remarkable thoughts on liberty and the individual which are worth reproducing:

> We know that the freedom we seek is right and that nothing less can ever satisfy us.
>
> The highest value we know is personality. Therefore, it is everlastingly right for that spirit to have liberty to realize itself.
>
> No efficiency of operation in the material world can make up for the deprivation of the dignity, values, and potentialities of the individual man.
>
> These liberties, then, must have constant exercise. Like the mercies of God, they should be new every morning. Because they belong to the growing man they cannot be finally formulated.
>
> Our constitution has to be amended because free humanity will find the old forms of liberty, the hand-me-downs of another generation, insufficient to protect them.
>
> Liberties are not mounted in some finished form like jewels in a case. They are a spirit to be used as we face the problems that added power, housing deficiency, the frictions of the races, and the industrial world have created for us.
>
> These liberties are costly. Self-government, like establishing a home, demands constant attention. As Thomas Paine wrote, "Those who expect to reap the blessings of freedom must like men undergo the fatigue of supporting it." At times it seems that people fall down on mundane jobs like carpentering, painting, repairing our home, and bringing home the bacon. They must not go to sleep who govern themselves.
>
> If the western idea of liberty has grown out of faith in the dignity and worth of the individual, then that faith is a critical thing and should be renewed when its light grows dim.
>
> The expressions of liberty are varied. Liberty itself is the promise of endless diversity.

TOWARDS A NEW TRADE UNION INTERNATIONAL

(By HERBERT TRACEY)

Member of the British T. U. C. and Editor of its Official Journal "Labour".

Widespread interest throughout the Trade Union Movement awaits the announcement of the next steps to be taken in developing the international relationships of the non-Communist Trade Union organisations that are not prepared to continue their association with the World Federation of Trade Unions.

National Centres of the Trade Union Movement in Britain, Holland and the U.S.A. that withdrew from the W.F.T.U. are certain to be supported by the disaffiliation of other National Centres where a free and democratic Trade Union Movement exists.

As a result of the consultations between representatives of the British T. U. C. with the American Federation of Labour and the Congress of Industrial Organisations, it has been decided to convene a meeting for preliminary discussions in Geneva in mid-June. British T.U.C. leadership, after further consultations with representatives of the European Trade Union Movement, has undertaken to convene this preliminary conference.

the renunciation of war in the Japanese constitution but which goes a long way for a land as militaristic as Germany has usually been. That clause may yet produce uneasiness at Moscow, London, Paris or Washington. Article Four, Clause Three (about which hardly a word has been said in the non-German press) asserts: "No one may be compelled against his conscience to perform war service as a combatant. Details will be regulated by a federal law."

What reply will the Western diplomats make to the almost certain Soviet accusations that in Western Germany the big cartels have not been broken up, as was pledged, and as will be necessary for a truly democratic German state? Directives have been issued, but the actual dissolution of cartels has been inexcusably delayed. A recent report to Washington Congressmen, by a special commission, has emphasized the sad record on cartels. Russian charges about the retention of former Nazis in administrative and industrial posts will be easier to answer, because there have been as many used in the Soviet Zone as anywhere else. And, if Russian representatives criticize the West for a failure to carry dismantling of non-military plants far enough, the same reply is simply that it went too far, and, for the sake of European recuperation as a whole, was wisely halted.

Until more is known through the actual negotiations, it may be hoped that commentators in press and radio will rise to the grave significance of coming events, and throttle down, by self-discipline, all wild speculation, sensationalism, and over-emotional discussion. Neither rosy-hued expectations nor defeatism will help build the kind of public opinion which eventually will be vital. Probably the most to be hoped for is a cold peace, actually a truce, instead of the cold war. Even that, in the world's present political climate, would be exhilarating.

THE USA AND FRANCO

On the very day when the United Nations Assembly stood pat on its refusal to approve the Spanish government of Francisco Franco, a rumour stirred art circles in New York—a report that next winter, at the Metropolitan Museum, there might be an exhibition of paintings from the Prado Museum in Madrid.

Nothing may come of it, but if such a loan exhibit could be made, it would give Americans a chance to see many of the finest master-pieces in the world, some of them Spanish, some of them from the hand of artists in many European countries. Better yet, it would be a testimony to the fact that art can rise above political considerations. And although Franco might not like it, if his professions of loyalty to Spanish institutions have the remotest basis in reality, he should be glad to see the reverence for Spanish cultural traditions such an exhibition would be certain to inspire.

Among European museums the Prado is of course well known, but to many American travellers it is less appreciated than others of less outstanding merit; fewer tourists have visited Spain than other countries, and still fewer since the Civil War of 1936 to 1939. As you enter the doorway between two wings, you keep straight on into a great room where the genius of Spanish artistry overwhelms you with its abundance. If the craftsmanship of Velazquez does not appeal to you—and his repetitious, stuffy horses can be a trifle boresome—Goya alone would be sufficiently rewarding.

The legend persists that the Spanish character is gloomy, sombre, even downright cruel. The legend has its foundation in stories of the Inquisition, tho love of bull-fighting, more recently the brutalities on both sides in the civil conflict which wrecked the nation. But it is only a legend, for there are no shrewder, more subtly humorous caricaturists in the world than Spanish newspaper cartoonists, none more deft at combining swiftness of line with delightful satire. Goya himself took advantage of the stupidity of Philip IV and his family, and painted them as a group with comically ugly and empty faces. No diatribe against heavy-handed rulers could do half the damage. It is unlikely that Franco, if he should send the pictures, would be cheerful about letting that one come to American shores.

The arguments advanced in favour of accepting Franco as a worthy member of international society were rather specious, but one in particular contradicted obvious facts. It was said by many people who ought to know better that after all, Franco has not tried to use his dictatorial powers to expand into other parts of the world. Those who fancied there was a grain of truth in this plea must have overlooked what Franco's agents have been trying to do in Latin America all the time for the last ten years. Indoctrinated Falangists have been shipped to Latin American countries to worm their way into schools and to carry on missionary work for a modernized version of "Hispanidad"

For generations there has been a kind of mystical movement known by that name, the aim of which was to bring under a common banner of spirit all those peoples who had Spanish origins. Through the years, this conception has varied from nobility to chicanery. Under Franco it meant the building of bridges from dictatorship in Spain to reactionary, anti-social elements in the Latin American republics. The move to take Franco to the bosom of the U.N. was engineered by the same elements, basically, in a group of Latin American states.

—*Worldover Press.*

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"I will be as harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard".*

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the LIBERATOR.

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NOTES

Election Omens: — Results of Municipal by-elections and by-elections to Provincial Legislatures, one may agree, do not signify serious disapproval of existing regimes. They certainly do not mean that the people are so fed up with the party in power that they will not vote again for its representatives at the next general election. But when election failures are coupled with constant criticisms of the government in most conversations between members of various economic groups, when they are reflected in the editorials of papers representing varied views, one is justified in holding that the results of elections even to minor civic bodies indicate the mood of the people. In Bombay, the Socialists are winning increasing support. Their strength in the Bombay Municipality has increased appreciatively since the last Municipal elections. Three by-elections to the Assembly have been won by them—in the one instance the Congress candidate having had to withdraw ignominously before the elections. The most recent Socialist gain has occured in the suburbs—in the Bandra civic elections. There can be no denying that the Congress is losing its prestige, in the cities at any rate. Congress members are themselves aware of this. Their constant moral exhortations to the people, their invocation of Gandhiji's name to justify every little action of theirs are dubious devices to stem the tide. But moral lectures can prove of avail only when the people have something to look forward to besides stinting themselves. To preach of the virtues of goodness and truth, to hungry men is rather like offering stones! And when these moral exhortations go hand in hand with stories of corruption prevailing in business circles and in government offices, their effect is to incense rather than elevate. "Physician heal theyself" is the reply of not only the rank and file Congressmen but of the public in general. The Congress leaders, if they are not to lose their hold on the people, necessarily will have to turn their attention to real problems. To decide to fight inflation on the one hand and to allow some provinces, on the other, to increase prices for procuring foodgrains are self-contradictory actions!

Corruption and Brass Tacks:—There are few other nations—none we should say—where so much is talked about corruption and so little done about it. Nothing delights our public figures so much as to indulge in loud and lengthy harangues on the state of our morals and depths to which we have sunk. But, strange to say, in comparison to the general hue and cry, there are remarkably few instances of specific corruption being tackled in a concrete way. The time has definitely come when general good intentions should give way to effective individual action. There is periodically great show with one or two petty culprits who transgress the law but the bigger fish manage to keep well out of harm's way. Corruption can only end, to put it bluntly, when it ceases to be profitable—at any rate, this is the only consideration which ought to matter for Governments and organisations which are concerning themselves with the subject. It is useless to appeal for a higher moral attitude because this kind of thing breeds nothing but hypocrisy, and fault-finding and blaming the other fellow. On the other hand, Congressmen of distinction tend to demand self-improvement in a specious attempt to divert attention from corruption in high places where it is most in need of eradication. All these are natural consequences of talk without action.

Crack in Prohibition:—The Madras Government's extraordinary conduct in relaxing Prohibition in the Nilgiris for the sake of visitors from other Provinces is an omen of sinister portent. If we may venture a prediction, it is from this small crack that the entire edifice of Prohibition will be brought not very far from now to debris and rubble. For some time, there has been a whispering

campaign that tourist traffic must be encouraged to attract foreign capital; that tourists will not come unless there are gallons and gallons of liquor waiting to be consumed; that, therefore, Prohibition must be relaxed. And by relaxed nothing less is meant than dropped completely. For, it is contended, if liquor is allowed only to visiting persons, then hospitality on the Indian side becomes negligible and that will drive away others. All this could have been considered before rushing in as the provinces did and as even the Constituent Assembly has done. Now having struck a high moral tone, the Madras Government is allowing its cupidity to get the better of its morals. Nor is this the whole story. To make up for the loss from Excise revenue, the Governments of Prohibition areas have launched taxation in other directions. These taxes remain and Prohibition is being relaxed as well. A great social reform cannot be well served by this kind of rake's progress. There is far too much dashing forward without preparing for "attacks on advanced position and the threat to lengthened communications" to use the military phrase, in the Congress Governments to inspire the public with confidence as to their stability and determination. It would be far better if they did their "second thinking" before instead of after acting on their first thoughts. We say this not so much in the interests of the Congress which should be well able to look after itself if it has to be looked after at all, as in the interests of causes which are taken up and dropped with equal enthusiasm. Bombay has since followed the Madras example.

An Industrial Question:—A question which is being increasingly discussed in the several disputes which are coming up before industrial tribunals, is the capacity of a particular industry to pay. All these disputes come for adjudication after a long and protracted tussle with Labour. All of them are argued before the Tribunal by heavily paid counsel on the employer's side and by generally more or less public-spirited union lawyers on the other. It should be a point with tribunals to ask that legal expenses on both sides be placed, before the proceedings are completed naturally in estimate and after in actuals, so that the public might be able to assess the amount which industry denies to its workers at the first instance with the amount it pays to the lawyers as well as with the amount it does pay as a result of the award to the workers. Indians have, it has been frequently stated, a passion for litigation. But this seems to be carrying it too far. It is worth an investigation why Business is more kindly disposed towards the legal profession than towards its own employees—in the interests of healthy business and industrial relations. A great deal of bitterness at present is being caused by this attitude of industry, and Labour has its own subtle ways of getting its own back. Without attending to these psychological matters, the adjusting of Capital-Labour disputes becomes mechanical and mere patchwork.

Kashmir Developments:—Following on the Delhi Conferences with Sheikh Abdullah, necessitated presumably by press reports of the Kashmir Leader's attitude, the Kashmir situation has developed rapidly. The Maharaja has made way by absenting himself from the State for his son though he has not strictly speaking abdicated. And Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is concentrating during a visit to Kashmir on telling the people that India and Kashmir have identical ideas and interests. Meanwhile, the Constituent Assembly has been made to implement the accession by admitting Kashmir representatives to its deliberations. On the other side, Pakistan has changed its Ministry without portfolio to a Kashmir Ministry and it is evidently preparing to get into the controversy with all its strength. Whilst these developments are marked in the two Dominions, the U.N. Commission is moving at snail's pace to work out some solution which will not be unpleasant to any of the parties concerned; as this is almost impossible, the action of the Dominions will be far more decisive than anything else. So far as India is concerned, she has shifted from the ideological to the constitutional. This will be a practical move to convince Kashmiris of the force of the accession.

Bhopal Under a Chief Commissioner:— The last difficult piece of States territory has been merged with the Indian Union. The constitution of Bhopal into a Chief Commissionership brings to an end the political integration of the States. And only the fierceness of the controversy over Bhopal between the Union of Madhya Bharat and the Central Provinces prevented its absorption with either of these units. The Nawab of Bhopal who had put up a long struggle involving not only his own State but other States as well, withdrew from the scene and is undergoing medical treatment in Paris. The Chief Commissionership device is not a very advisable method for replacing the autocracy of a ruler since it means placing the State under a Delhi official. It can be regarded at best as a temporary arrangement which will have to be guided closely by the Government of India. It should not be forgotten that, in any merger with other States or with an Indian Province, the people have an opportunity to develop in cooperation with others and there is a balanced development of political consciousness. Under the present set-up, Bhopal is in a danger of continuing in isolation and every precaution must be taken to see that this danger is mitigated as far as possible. It is atso an important factor in present-day politics that the men in the Government are depending a great deal on their administative services whose personnel is being entrusted with more power and responsibility than it has been trained to manage. It would be very surprising if the whole structure topples over from sheer over-weight and on that ground it might be asked whether the removal of the rulers so suddenly was altogether wise.

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BOMBAY, June 4, 1949.

FOREIGN TRADE IN A MESS

Try as much as one might to get a brief respite from the subject of corruption, one cannot; there is at least one news item every day that focuses one's attention on the depressing topic of the day. The latest is the Commerce Minister's address to the Advisory Council, asking its members to consider three 'basic problems': the need for devising ways to increase India's export trade, for improving the quality of Indian exports and for finding a way of ensuring that India's overseas buyers are not made to pay "an unduly high price." Mr. Neogy has made several observations in his address which do not come as a surprise to the Indian public. One of them is that, due to partition, the adverse balance of trade figure had risen from Rs. 37.07 crores in 1947-1948 to Rs. 95.25 crores in 1948-1949, when the Standstill Agreement with Pakistan ceased to be effective. Partition, explained Mr. Neogy, had not only reduced India's exports of raw jute, raw cotton and hides and skins, but had turned India into a substantial importer of these commodities. One cannot but wonder that the authors of partition should have been unaware of these and other obvious consequences, and should have been taken by surprise, by them. Political naivete cannot go much farther. That apart, at least the Government could have rigorously controlled the import of luxury goods. The administration should never have placed itself in a position, where foreign countries could dictate its import policy, and then foolishly adopted a high moral tone. Free India began with considerable good-will; if it has lost it in the course of the past two years, the fault does not lie entirely with others.

Mr. Neogy in fact admits this. One of the causes analysed by him as responsible for the present mess, is the bad quality of Indian exports. He explained that he had received reports from Indian commercial representatives that "pebbles were deliberately mixed with decorticated groundnuts, that coir and coir products were shoddy and of inferior quality and that analysis of exported castor oil showed admixture of water and impurities." Why Mr. Neogy did not become alive sooner to these malpractices is a mystery. Indian goods even at home have shown a marked deterioration in many instances for some time past. There will be few who will disagree with Mr. Neogy about the necessity of 'definite action' to see that those "who are anxious to make quick and easy money do not leave the country permanently poorer." A special Committee of the Council is to be appointed evidently to decide on the measures necessary to meet the situation. One hopes that the Commerce Minister's personal interest in the matter will not be exhausted with this action.

Committees of experts are inevitable for the planning of effective measures to initiate, control or coordinate the activities of various departments. But Committee deliberations are invariably prolonged, inevitably to a large extent because the appointing authority and the general run of committee members seem to look upon committees as ends rather than means. Mr. Neogy may by all means have his committees; the country is large enough for all persons to be happily occupied. But, meanwhile, may we suggest that something can be immediately done to correct the evil? So far as we can understand the situation, we have not as a nation yet reached the stage when we can think in terms of producing superior stuff for export and inferior for home markets. It is necessary that certain elementary principles regarding elementary standards of production and common honesty should be driven home to all traders and producers in all markets. A couple of revelations relating to some textile mills during the week throws a lurid light on prevailing business methods and it would do all our Ministers good to understand the tricks of this trade. We are all given to repeating parrotwise what we have read regarding other countries and thinking that this makes us modern, scientific and uptodate. But we forget the simple problems that have been left on our doorstep. What has Mr. Neogy done, or what does he propose to do, to the fraudulent merchants who are ruining India's name very nearly irretrievably? In foreign trade, it should not be difficult to get at the names of the parties and punish them adequately. Other countries confronted with a similar problem have not hesitated to make the punishment sufficiently deterrent to strike terror into the hearts of the business community; and it is not impossible to arrange for official inspection of goods intended for export. The Government of India, however, is functioning under a curious belief that Indian Business needs to be cajoled and coaxed, and is desperately trying to win it over despite much discouragement. Unless this illusion is shed and the Government settles down to serious business, there is no use expecting to be taken seriously either in India or abroad. Unfortunately, Mr. Neogy's whole tone strikes a moral pitch which circumstances far from justify. With pompous unction, Mr. Neogy observes that we must see to it that the overseas buyer is not overcharged, and exhorts the business community to more respectable conduct. It is pathetic to listen to moral appeals when what is needed is better organisation. Why not be a little honest at least about the reasons for wanting more honesty? The overseas buyer can look after himself—a bit too well in fact. What is to be stressed is that, if we do not improve the quality of our products, no foreign country will do business with us. Indian business is more likely to respond to self-interest than to all the ethical principles which public personalities are so fond of indulging in that by now they have become hypnotised by the spell of the words themselves.

JOURNALISM—A WAY OF LIFE?

(By DEVERE ALLEN)

If you criticize a country you expect lively comebacks, but when you defend your own from unfair charges, you anticipate nothing more than silence. Hence it was surprising, when this writer some weeks ago asked foreign critics for fair play and deeper understanding, to find that, few columns had evoked a wider interest abroad. That article did not deny the wrongs committed by the United States, both past and present, but begged critics to be sure of their facts and to express their criticisms with convincing balance.

In San Juan, the energetic Director of Information at the University of Puerto Rico and Worldover Press correspondent, Jose M. Toro-Nazario, took that column, translated it into Spanish, had it mimeographed, and sent it to a considerable number of intelligent people representing different backgrounds. Many sent frank comments. They are worth reproducing here because they show how Uncle Sam, the Big Neighbour to the North, is regarded in a possession which historically has no little right to be resentful.

First woman mayor of San Juan, Senora Felisa Rincon de Gautier, pointed to a recent inter-American conference at San Juan as an illustration of the way in which old ideas persist about the United States. "A majority of the delegates from 20 Spanish-American countries," she recalls, "bluntly admitted they had been victims of extremist bias. The delegates expected to find Puerto Rico a factory where Yankee imperialism was in full swing; they expected to come in contact with dispossessed natives who hadn't the least knowledge of their Spanish background. Instead, they were welcomed by a clear-cut Spanish-American community actually enjoying more civil rights than those held by many of their fellow-citizens back home."

That ageless liberal who is a visting Professor at the University, Dr. Robert M Lovett, singled out journalism as the reason for lack of understanding. "But journalism," he explained, "is a feature of democracy. Even high government officials tend to sensational journalism in statements for the public. That the behaviour of the U. S. with respect to the smaller nations has improved is beyond question. On larger issues arising out of the war, the country has not been able to arrive at a consistent policy. A contrast is to be found in the British Foreign Office, whose permanent officials impose a certain consistency in spite of such a violent change as that, from a Conservative to a Labour Government. Permanence is the last thing to be hoped for in American democracy. Our very way of life is journalism."

Misunderstanding goes back all the way to 1898, in the opinion of Juan B. Huyke, Puerto Rico's first native-born Commissioner of Education. When General Miles landed, he notes, "the island had complete government in the hands of Puerto Ricans. Uncle Sam placed every post in the hands of the newly arrived, but failed to tell the islanders it was a temporary change. He was slow in giving us better government. Finally we had self-government. We used to speak of tyranny. We cannot do so now..."

The island's Auditor and former economics professor, Rafael de J. Cordero, thinks the column "an objective and honest appraisal of the factors which underlie current misunderstanding about the aims and motives of the United States in its dealings with foreign countries and peoples." But J. Enamorado Cuesta, an advocate of independence, says that the column shows the attitude of people in the U. S. towards others by its use of "America" to mean merely the United States. That is a good point! But are there no times when repetitiousness would spoil the force of writing, and when one simply has to change a designation for the sake of literary smoothness? A Latin American, of all people, should be sensitive to that need, and be charitable; and as a matter of fact, Mexicans by the thousands refer all the time to norte americanos as Americans, and other Latin Americans are forced to use a restricted phrasing they object to intellectually, because at times they cannot escape it. Senor Cuesta is fundamentally correct, however, and it is one thing for writers in foreign lands to use "America" for "United States" if they wish, and quite a different thing for a U. S. writer to arrogate such a big territory to hia own country, even in literary desperation!

One of the few native-born Puerto Rican priests, Father Juan Rivera, suggests that this writer missed the best: that "misunderstanding about the United States has one source—a superiority complex. Even missionaries suffer from it." Juan Luis Marquez, new editor of Illustrado, Puerto Rico's oldest weekly, boils the issue down to big stick versus square deal. "Outside the United States it is not often realized that the country has many honest liberals with the cause of a better world deep in their hearts." But there is another side, too; Senor Marquez believes "Italy is becoming a colony of the United States." He quotes Anna Magnani, the great Italian actress, as convinced that the Italian film industry is doomed. "The tragedy is that one of art's media is at Hollywood's mercy."

The movies came in for quite a drubbing at several pairs of hands for their presentation of foreign characters, and American Negroes too, so often, still, in unpleasant roles. But Senor Marquez goes further: "If Uncle Sam is so deeply in love with fair play," he asks, "why does he not honour himself by completely wiping out all traces of colonialism in Puerto Rico?" He criticizes U. S. handling of sugar—"bitter sugar. Mechanization made it possible for the island to achieve progress with which a quota, first on sugar and lately on refined sugar, is at odds."

In subsequent articles, as in the past, the foreign policy of the United States will be frankly criticized; but no criticisms are helpful which do

not carefully balance debits against credits. That is why the reactions of these Puerto Ricans are worth the study of people on the mainland; they are restrained and fair. One anonymous radio commentator in Puerto Rico made a point few people of the United States have probably thought of—the fact that "the U. S. is the only country of its size without actual need of a second language for everyday use. By and large, the net result has been chauvinism at home and abroad."

NOMINATED GOVERNORS

By a tortuous process, the Constituent Assembly has been brought to accept nomination of governors by the President. The distance from August 15, 1947 varies directly with the Congress leadership's distaste of elections and suspicion of popular decisions. Responsibility has sobered the party. Several reasons for having nomination were put forward and Mr. B. G. Kher was the staunchest advocate of the retreat from the elective principle. The Governor is a figure-head and it does not matter who puts him in office but this particular amendment to the Constitution is a feeler and the leaders will pass from this to further reversals of "democratic processes." There is nothing unusual in this:. The American framers of the Constitution were equally distrustful of Democracy but they at least had the saving grace to safeguard the individual against the excesses of popular government. The Congress intention seems to be self-preservation above all else. Nothing could be more preposterous than the argument that an elected governor and an elected Premier will be involved in friction and bickering. Those who advanced it, did not fully appreciate its implications. The "people"—a vague, indeterminate entity of which politicians speak often and secretly fear might be turned against them—should not have any other guardian to challenge the pretensions of the popular ministry. A people's governor and the people, together, will, according to these fears, function as a sort of upper and nether millstone to crush the initiative and free actions of the popular ministry. In other words, much that is being passed off as in the people's interest today by ministries, might be challenged by a governor who has also the popular vote. Therefore, much better have a nominated man from the Centre whose power to appeal to the "people" will be a political cipher. Evidently this is the way the reasoning—and it can be clearly traced in Mr. Kher—goes. But there is another argument with far greater validity which could not have been missed because it formed Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's reason for the same amendment: It was necessary to build a strong centre and, therefore, the governors had best be nominated; besides the existence of provincial groups makes it undesirable to permit the possibility of a governor being influenced by one of the groups. On the following day, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Law Minister, himself no Congressman made the matter even clearer. "Provincial Governments" he said, "must work in subordination to the Central Government." The occasion for the categoric assertion was the discussion on the article of the Constitution relating to the Council of Ministers to advise the Governor of a province. The article provides for consultation, "except in so far as he is by or under this Constitution required to exercise his functions in his discretion." Some members of the Constituent Assembly desired to eliminate this saving clause because they felt that in all contingencies the Governor should be required to consult his Chief Minister. Dr. Ambedkar, however, availed himself of the opportunity to emphasise the change in the Congress leadership's political ideas. It has been made clear beyond doubt that the Governor's discretion means the President's direction. And it has been accepted generally with satisfaction. This is the direction in which the development of the States integration has proceeded—from surrender of three subjects to acceptance of Central control; and it might be said that the lack of interest of rulers in their States after the States Ministry has dealt with them is largely responsible for the advance of Central control. So far as the Provinces go, the brief interlude during which the historic fact of the Provinces being parts of the Union was disturbed, has ended. It is a remarkable development and the country stands to gain as a whole from this change. As a matter of fact, what is freely admitted in the States holds true of a number of our Provinces as well—that we have not men of ability and integrity to run the administration. In these circumstances, it is best to have a strong Centre which can keep a check on the provincial administrations. It is also necessary to be express about the Centre exercising the right to interfere even more than it did in the pre-Independence past. It would be difficult to understand the enthusiasm of some provincial ministers and ministerialists for this skilled denuding of provincial powers but for the simple explanation that the existing provinces are looked upon as half-way houses which will be replaced by linguistic divisions at a not too distant future. Those who are used to multi-lingual provinces, naturally seek some retention of the tradition of broader vision, some check on the narrowness of the linguists.

The issue will once again be joined, for the last time, when the Governor's discretionary powers are considered (Article 188 of the Draft Constitution). As this will be the third occasion when the question will be discussed, the advocates of provincial autonomy will be better prepared and might be expected to put up a more determined stand. In a way, this is to be welcomed since it would have the subject well threshed out before the principle of a strong Centre is accepted finally. The Congress Party's conversion is a good omen. As it has an overwhelming majority in the Consti-

tuent Assembly, the issue is not in doubt. But the necessity for securing this firmly must not be forgotten lest strong provincial forces assert themselves later.

INDUSTRIAL COOPERATIVES FOR DISCHARGED PRISONERS

(By Shri P. N. SAXENA)
(Chief Probation Officer, U. P.)

A prisoner who comes out from a jail after serving his term of imprisonment, suffers from great social handicaps and is not in a position unaided to earn an honest livelihood. His condition is worse than that of a discharged patient from a hospital who is in danger of having a relapse of illness, if he is not properly looked after during the convalescent period. A prisoner often gains a few pounds in weight in jail as he leads a regular life and all his physical wants are looked after. But mentally he comes out worse. An ordered life inside the prison creates loss of initiative. When he comes out of jail, he is like a man on crutches and needs help. The stigma of conviction is on him. He is not welcome in his home or in his neighbourhood. People do not trust him and are reluctant to employ him. If he is not helped at this stage, he will mix with his old jail companions and drift into crime and find his way back to jail.

Also important is the after-conduct of the discharged prisoner from the point of view of the state. The Government spends money and energy on the detection and arrest of the criminal, on his prosecution, on his upkeep in jail. If after all this, the result is that the discharged prisoner again takes to crime, all the money and energy spent on him has not only gone waste but the Government is asked to incur the same expenditure over again. It is therefore in the interest of the Government to see that the discharged prisoner earns an honest livelihood and does not revert to crime. It is thus necessary to provide help and aid to discharged prisoners. It is also necessary that some restrictions should be placed on discharged prisoners who are prematurely released either through the remission system or under the Prisoners' Release on Probation Act (Act VIII of 1938) or on the recommendation of the Revising Board or under Section 401 of the Criminal Procedure Code. A condition should be inserted in the release order that such a prisoner shall remain under the supervision of the District Discharged Prisoners' Aid Committee of the district to which he belongs or in which he is likely to live and that he shall obey the instructions of the District Committee or any person authorized by it regarding residence, employment and abstinence from intoxicating drugs. This will give sufficient control and authority over discharged prisoners which does not exist at the moment.

One of the best ways of helping discharged prisoners is through Multipurpose Cooperative Schemes, which should function in each district under the general supervision of Probation Officers. To begin with they may be started in the districts which have full-fledged Homes for Discharged Prisoners sponsored by Discharged Prisoners Aid Committees, as there will be facilities for giving food and shelter to discharged prisoners. These Multipurpose Cooperative Societies could give training in cottage industries to such discharged prisoners as may need them and could also carry on certain cottage industries in which they could be employed. The Director of Industries should also extend his help to give training to discharged prisoners in suitable cottage industries. He may further help in giving technical assistance and advice about starting suitable cottage industries when these Cooperative Societies commence functioning. Those cottage industries will be selected generally which the prisoners have learnt in the jail or which they knew from outside. Other cottage industries can also be selected in which a discharged prisoner can be trained easily either through the classes which are being run by the Industries Department or by the proposed Cooperative Societies themselves. The cottage industries that may be started are cloth weaving, newar making, shoe making, tailoring, duree or carpet weaving, wooden toy making, soap making, mat weaving and oil pressing. It should be decided on the advice of the Industries Department as to which cottage industry be started in which district.

A few months back the United Provinces Discharged Prisoners Aid Society on a requisition by the Government have supplied to the Government of United Provinces a detailed scheme (including By-Laws) for a discharged Prisoners' Cooperative Multipurpose Society, which the Government intend setting up in each district. The jail authorities should be asked to popularise the scheme amongst the prisoners, who may, by intensive propaganda inside, be persuaded and prepared to take the fullest advantage of these schemes. The Prison Programme should be so modified and the prisoners may be taught such industries in jails as may fit them most suitably for work in these Cooperative Societies.

If the Government implements its intention, it may have initially to incur a sum of Rs.3,000/- per district for formation of the Multipurpose Cooperative Society and for the starting of cottage industries.

It can be said with confidence that, if the necessary help and cooperation is extended by the Government and Jail, Industries and Cooperative departments, the formation of these Multipurpose Cooperative Societies will be justified. They will help in a real and effective reformation and rehabilitation of discharged prisoners, apart from being an economic gain in a province—wide industrial development.

—*The Penal Reformer.*

LABOUR YEAR

The Indian Labour Year Book...1947-48, prepared by the Labour Bureau of the Government of India, Price Rs. 5-13-0, Foreign 9 shillings.

The first issue of the Indian Labour Year Book 1946 was issued by the Labour Bureau of the Government of India in November 1948 and this is the second issue. It has not been possible, because statistical returns have not been received from the Provincial Governments under the various Labour Laws till October, to relate the Year Book either to a calendar year or to a financial year. In the circumstances, it has been decided to relate it to a composite period from October of one year to September of the next year and to bring it out about March of the following year. The present issue has, therefore, been styled the Indian Labour Year Book 1947-48.

Some of the new features of this issue are: (1) A classified summary of the awards of adjudication, Industrial Tribunals, etc. (2) A Select Bibliography of publications relating to Labour and (3) a list of Labour Laws enacted by the Central, Provincial and State Governments.

The Year Book comprises fourteen chapters and five appendices. The chapter on employment deals with the employment of Labour in various sections of Industry and with the problems of their recruitment, training, migration, absenteeism and exchange. It contains a number of statistical tables, but many of them are not uptodate, mainly because of the unsettled conditions and difficulties that followed the partition. The treatise on Labour Legislation contains a brief account of the background to the important pieces of Labour Legislation (Central Provincial and Indian States) at present in force and gives a summary of their main provisions. During 1948, the Central Government enacted such important measures as the Factories Act 1948, the Minimum Wages Act 1948, the Employees' State Insurance Act 1948, the Coal Mines Provident Fund and Bonus Schemes Act 1948, all of which aim at improved conditions of work for Indian Labour and giving it a certain amount of social security. It would enhance the value of the Year Book as a book of reference, if, in addition to the summaries, it were to contain the full text of at least the Central Acts enacted during the year under review. The subject of wages and earnings has been dealt with, with reference to the prevailing systems of wage-payment and the wages and earnings in principal industries such as Factories, Railways, Posts & Telegraphs, Municipalities, Mines and Plantations. In pursuance of its Labour Policy, the Government further utilised the Tripartite Labour machinery as, "an arena for discussion of proposals for labour legislation, and other matters connected with labour policy and administration." Accepting the principle of setting up Industrial Committees on the model of the International Labour Organisation's Industrial Committee, for important industries in India, the Government has during the year set up Industrial Committees for cotton textiles, coal-mining and cement and proposes shortly to set up committees for Tanneries and Leather-goods manufacturers and the Jute industry. The chapter also mentions the action taken during the year to implement the Government's Five years' programme of Legislative and administrative measures for the amelioration of conditions of labour. Other important subjects dealt with in the Year Book are Labour administration (Central, Provincial and Indian States), Industrial Relations cost and standard of living; Health and safety; Education, Housing and Welfare, agricultural labour, Indian Labour over-seas; India and the I.L.O., etc.

The Year Book is a useful reference book containing necessary information and factual and statistical matters necessary for the proper understanding of at least some of the various problems relating to Indian Labour. However, if this publication is to circulate as widely as it deserves to do, its price of Rs. 5-12-0 will have to be reduced.

The Year Book can be obtained from the Manager of Publications, Civil Lines, Delhi.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA MUNITIONS

Having long shipped arms to Israeli forces for use against the Arabs, Czechoslovakia has more recently been selling armament to Moslem Pakistan. Exact figures on total shipments are difficult to obtain, but it is believed that Pakistan wants at least 100,000 rifles and some heavier field equipment. Czechoslovakia hopes to build up its market in Pakistan, and is considering the establishment of a small arms factory and repair shop in the country.

British insurance companies refused to issue policies to cover one recent substantial shipment. Major Western powers cannot openly criticize the Czechs, however, for many countries roam the world seeking arms markets, and some sell indiscriminately also. In the case of Czechoslovakia, nevertheless, European critics point out that owing to rigorous state controls, the salesman in this sort of transaction is actually the Prague government, which has been condemning the West for "war-mongering." —*Worldover Press.*

HOT POLL AND THE COLD WAR

European observers, who have been more optimistic than Americans about the outcome of the Four-Power talks on Germany at Paris, report a widespread belief that, whatever the result of the discussions, the Moscow Politburo intends to continue its emphasis on peace, as against "war mongering," for a propaganda instrument. They cite an unpublicized poll being circulated in several European countries west of the Soviet orbit, which asks extremely blunt questions.

The poll is being used by lower-rank Communist officials and has been directed at influential bodies such as trade unions and international organizations. Instead of laying down a dogmatic proposal and pushing it regardless of popular opinion, the poll now being quietly taken appears to probe popular reactions. Three queries are put before those being interrogated: Are you against all wars; are you opposed to war particularly against the Soviet Union; are you against all wars except one waged on Russia?

—*Worldover Press*

HAWAII COMPLEX ISSUES

(By MINEO KATAGIRI)

The Hawaiian legislature ended its 60-day deliberations with a score of almost zero. Two proposals engrossed the interest of the lawmakers and aroused excitement among the people, but both measures were killed. One bill dealt with pari-mutual horse racing, the other with the creation of an Un-American Activities Committee. The pari-mutual bill was opposed largely by church, school and small business elements. The Un-American Activities Committee bill was defeated because members feared that the broad powers it sanctioned would harm innocent people. Both bills have overwhelmingly passed the Senate

Unemployment has increased through lay-offs in military establishments and is becoming a real problem. Approximately 12,000 jobless are now registered with employment offices. This has brought about a total depletion of public welfare funds. The only reward the Director of the Public Welfare Department has received is a resolution by both legislative houses asking his replacement. The Director, Newton Holcomb, is respected and loved by all except the legislators who have the headache of getting funds for the Department.

The biggest issue confronting the people of Hawaii was and his taxation. The territory needs more funds for various projects, but is burdened with an antiquated tax system which requires that the poor must pay the highest percentage of taxes. Every attempt at a more progressive tax system has been killed by tremendous pressure from business interests. A bill for modernized taxes died in the present session of the legislature.

Hawaiian legislators appear quite unaware of the changes taking place in the world, and of the sharpening problems Hawaii now faces. The Hawaiian idyll is in many respects a thing of the past, but the legislators can dream, cannot they?

They are doing little to meet the issues stemming from overpopulation. Overpopulation itself would create difficulties, but it is being accompanied by mechanization of industry and agriculture. The sugar plantations are producing more than they were 10 years ago, yet with only half as many workers. Pineapple interests are looking to Cuba and Mexico as possible areas for growing their crops, since labour costs are higher in Hawaii.

The tourist trade is receiving a lot of attention in the hope that it will offset the loss of jobs on the plantations and in the military posts. But this it cannot do to any extent. Very little thinking about new industries is being done. Representative Kido has introduced bills in the last two sessions to create an Industrial Research Bureau, but has met with defeat each time. An economic crisis for Hawaii is around the corner, unless the concern increasingly shown by thoughtful citizens bears more legislative fruit.

—*Worldover Press*.

SOCIAL CREDIT RULE

(By W. S. EDGAR)

With a federal general election looming, the rift between "orthodox" and "reformed" Social Credit adherents in Alberta, Canada, is widening. The appearance of rival Social Credit nominees in sections of the province is working greatly to advantage of the Liberal government party, which appears certain to capture seats from the divided, though currently dominant, Social Credit organization.

A Liberal victory is predicted in East Edmonton, provincial capital, where the Social Credit nominating convention refused to endorse the candidacy of the present member, F.H.Ashby. Instead, the local Social Credit League named Ambrose Holawach, an Edmonton businessman. Thereupon Ashby promptly announced his candidacy as a simon-pure Social Credit advocate, opposing those who, he charges, are departing from the gospel of the famous Social Credit originator, Major C. H. Douglas.

The Social Credit movement also suffers from trends which enable critics to charge it with a degree of totalitarianism. Although the Party lost its leading Jew-baiter in the recent death of Norman Jacquays (one of its members in the Dominion Parliament), there is still considerable anti-Semitism in the ranks. And a recent publication put out by the Alberta Social Credit Board, an official body, suggested abolition of the secret ballot in the interest of "efficient government."

—*Worldover Press*.

IN THE GERMAN CONSTITUTION

Not only does the Bonn Constitution adopted for Western Germany make it illegal to draft a citizen for combatant military service if it violates his conscience, but Article 26 asserts: "Acts performed with a view to disturbing the peaceful living together of peoples and aiming especially at the preparation of an aggressive war are unconstitutional and subject to penal prosecution."

German peace movement leaders are not satisfied with the wording of the clause, but consider it a marked advance. Dr. Theoder Michaltscheff of Hamburg, one of the devoted postwar peace workers, declares that "this provision does not repudiate all kinds of war, and it does not outlaw war altogether. But it marks a great gain over previous German constitutions and over those adopted by most other peoples." —*Worldover Press*.

"ATOM BOMB WILL NOT BE USED"–G. B. S.

George Bernard Shaw does not believe the atom bomb will ever be used in war again. In a letter to "The Economist," well known British weekly, the venerable author says: "In 1914-18 poison gas was introduced and used. But it proved as dangerous to its users as to its victims. In 1938-45 it was, therefore, tacitly ruled out. It is not yet certain that the Hiroshima disintegration is not still proceeding. It will, therefore, be ruled out in the next war. Both the American confidence in its possession and the fear it inspires in the other Powers and populaces, though imaginatively operative, are groundless."

—*Worldover Press*.

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"I will be as harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice: I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard".

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the LIBERATOR.

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NOTES

Smuts and Attlee:—Two utterances on the same day, June 7, call for notice: General Smuts' observations at a press conference in London and Mr. Attlee's speech to the Labour Party Convention at Blackpool. General Smuts was pessimistic about the Commonwealth; Mr. Attlee was very optimistic. The South African statesman deplored the passing of European influence in Asia and regarded it as more important in its significance than the East-West conflict which was claiming more attention. The glory of the Commonwealth, he said, was gone; the hope still remained. It was the nostalgic utterance of one who stands primarily for White supremacy and sees that supremacy disappearing in the world and in the Commonwealth. Mr. Attlee, on the other hand, spoke for the world that is in the making and for the developing Commonwealth. He welcomed the Asian members of the Commonwealth being accepted by the rest as free and equal members. The implications of this attitude are not often appreciated but it is clear that colonialism as a policy is abandoned and the ideal of race equality accepted. The Commonwealth cannot stay where it is today without creating dissatisfaction amongst all its members—Asian and non-Asian. It has to grow and General Smuts must realise that his is a losing cause.

Indians in South Africa:—Questioned at his press conference about the condition of Indians there, General Smuts sought refuge in an evasion: Indians in the South African Union, he said, were happier than Indians in India; in fact, several Indians of South Africa were very much out of place when they came to India and desired to return. General Smuts omitted to add that they were prevented from doing so by the South African Government which for some mysterious reason is very disturbed by the happy condition of this section of its population and persists in placing on India the responsibility of continuous interference in the affairs of the South African Union in the interests of the Indian community there. If the South African Government would only say that it assumes full responsibility for the South African Indians most of whom, over eighty per cent, are born in that country, and will do its best by them, the Government of India would gladly withdraw from the scene. But every obstacle is placed in their path, elementary rights are denied to them, and everything is done to force Indians to seek refuge in India. All this is done in furtherance of racial prejudice of the worst and most blatant type. South Africa is unfit to be part of the Commonwealth so long as she pursues apartheid. General Smuts desires that the Commonwealth should adopt the South African attitude but that, as Mr. Attlee sees it and rightly, would mean nothing short of the collapse of Britain as a major power.

Integration and Democratisation: — The political adjustments consequent on the Indian States being merged with India are tremendous. The difficulties are enhanced by the lack of political consciousness in the States and the sudden withdrawal of the Rulers who, even when they acquiesce in surrendering their absolute power, might be excused for not being desirous of continuing as constitutional heads. The popular leaders who have so far drawn their strength from India, have neither the perspective nor the vision nor even the sense of expediency to behave with restraint, and things have been very difficult for the rulers who had decided to stay on. Sikkim has provided an object lesson which cannot be passed over. The State Ministry there brought about a state of chaos which had to be redeemed by the intervention of the Centre. In several other States Unions there have been complaints of maladministration and misgovernment of the most flagrant type. Democratisation is a much more difficult process and the Union itself has not the men to undertake direct administration, even if it were inclined to do it. In the circumstances, it is inevitable that most of the States will have to be merged with provinces where some standard of administration exists. The future, so far as one can forecast it, lies in the

immediate expansion of provinces rather than in any linguistic redistribution. As details of the political structure of India are becoming clearer, the reasons for seeking a postponement of the redistribution of provinces are becoming obvious.

Civic Sense:—We publish this week an interesting article, contributed to the "Calcutta Municipal Gazette" on Hindu Civic Sense. The subject is topical in Bombay today when public attention has been forcibly drawn to the problems of civic sanitation because of the sweepers' strike. Whatever the conditions in ancient India—and the passages cited by the author indicate that they must have been fairly high—in modern times there is a serious lack of social conscience. Burton in his Arabian Nights refers to the Arab practice of the wealthiest householder in a street being held responsible for the cleanliness of the whole street—a rough and ready method of providing for the observance of ordinary sanitation which led to complications when neighbours, envious of the prosperous, dumped their garbage before their houses. Municipal corporations today are expected to perform the function of keeping the streets clean and well-lit but these are riddled with party bickerings and prolonged debates. In India, we are lagging far behind Western cities in municipal work and something has to be done to bring civic affairs up to some standard. Although committees take time to report and are often resorted to to delay decisions, it would be a step in the right direction if a committee is set up to investigate the working of municipalities. Some province must give the lead and we should very much like Bombay which has a record of progressive work, to undertake the task."

Kashmir and the UN Commission:— The UN Commission on Kashmir has reached deadlock again. The difficulty now lies in arriving at an arrangement acceptable to both India and Pakistan regarding the withdrawal of Pakistan forces from Azad Kashmir territory and the disbanding of the forces of Azad Kashmir. The Indian attitude is crystal clear: There can be no appreciable reduction of Indian forces in Kashmir so long as the raiders continue. Pakistan has admitted that the Azad forces are under the overall control of the Pakistan Army and, this being the case, there is no justification for their continued incitement in the State. The United Nations is now obliged to see that its own recommendations are carried out; it seems disposed to change its proposals to meet Pakistan's objections. India cannot be always giving in to these exactions and she has rightly rejected the new proposals. It is the United Nations which is on trial and so far it has failed to establish its authority. But there is no reason for India to suffer because of the weakness of the United Nations. The United Nations has accepted the sovereignty of the established Government of Kashmir, the government of Sheikh Abdulla functioning under a constitutional monarchy, and that recognition cannot be withdrawn, even if only for the territory held by the Azad Kashmiris. In the last analysis, the whole question resolves itself to this single issue.

Cutting Down Costs:—The Economy Committee set up by the Government of India has submitted its report and the retrenchment suggested is one-twentieth of the civil expenditure of Rs. 145 crores. The first proposals cover cultural and labour appointments abroad and a ban on any new foreign mission. There are suggestions that Government should not experiment with State industries and research centres beyond the commitments already entered into. There are other suggestions regarding reduction in Secretariat staff. On the whole the recommendations are conservative and their value will lie not so much on the actual cuts but on the restraining effect they might be expected to have on future spending. The work of rehabilitation and rescue which followed on partition was no doubt stupendous; the food situation and the taking over of several States under the integration policy have added burdens to administration. But in spite of all this, the Secretariat staff has assumed unnecessarily huge proportions and, if it had not got even larger, the cause must be set down to lack of men who might be regarded as even vaguely suitable. Special mention is made of the Ministries of Education, Food, and Works, Mines and Power, where officers have received fantastic rise in salaries. "Recruitment became haphazard." This leaves a very bad taste in the mouth and it might be desirable to look a little closer into the running of these Ministries where there seems so much scope for favouritism and patronage that it would be surprising if nothing is found for weeding out. In the old days, it used to be difficult to get the Finance Department's sanction for additional appointments in the other departments. Has that useful system of checking been done away with? The Economy Committee's proposals indicate that the Ministries have been acting independently of one another. If that is so, much is explained.

Sir Mirza's Warning:—Writing in the "Spectator," Sir Mirza Ismail warns both Dominions on the need for a close understanding between India and Pakistan if the dangers of war are to be averted. Sir Mirza has been the most reticent of Indian leaders and his speaking in this manner must be regarded as caused by grave provocation. Obviously, the first requisite for peace between India and Pakistan is a settlement of the Kashmir controversy over which the United Nations has been delaying. It would be a step towards settling outstanding issues if the United Nations Commission realised the need for quick action and ended its vacillations. We print this week Sir Mirza's analysis of the Indian situation published in the London "Times" and in the *Statesman* of Calcutta, exclusively for India, Burma and Ceylon. The reprinting in this issue was due to a misunderstanding, as the copy came direct to us and was in print in the earlier pages before the mistake could be corrected. We offer our apologies to the *Statesman* for infringing their copyright.

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BOMBAY, June 11, 1949.

FAIR WAGES AND PROFIT-SHARING

The Fair Wages Committee was set up by the Central Government with equal representation for Labour, Capital and the Government. Reports from Delhi during the week indicate that the Committee is ending its work and that the report on fair wages has been signed by all except two employer-members who are away from the capital. There are differences on the report on profit-sharing. The Fair Wages recommendations will be adopted by Parliament at its next session, replacing the Minimum Wages Act of 1948. It is not an easy matter to arrive at an agreement on what constitutes fair wages. The usual governing considerations are the prevailing standard of living, the prevailing wages in the industry and the amenities provided by the employers and the security services. It should be a mean between what is necessary to keep the worker efficient and at his economic best—the minimum wage—and what the industry itself can be burdened with without pinning it down to utter stagnation—the maximum. Above all, it is necessary that whatever standard is arrived at it will be a working arrangement which will help production and create an atmosphere of cooperation between Labour and Capital in place of the present distrust and conflict. The presence of Government representatives on the Committee suggests that the larger responsibilities of both employer and worker as citizens have to be considered as well.

There are the conditions prevailing in industry today which are very relevant to an inquiry into "fair wages"; it might even be said that the Committee has come into existence in order to remedy a situation in which Labour is unmanageable and Capital is described as shy. There are many ideas almost conventional in Indian industrial life which need to be questioned before a correct appreciation of the present condition can be arrived at. The most important of these is the general impression that Labour is disorganised and helpless against Capital, and that Capital stands united in its battle to extract maximum profits from business. Labour, it is true, has much to achieve by way of organisation but it has realised its strength and it has devised a technique of agitation which holds Capital at bay. It is sufficiently organised to resist the petty pin-pricks of employers. And the weapon of the slow-down strike has been exploited to the full. As for Capital, it is far from united. It is hag-ridden by competition which is the accompaniment of free enterprise, and in the internal rivalry there are substantial gains for Labour. It has lost initiative in many cases and much of its energies are devoted to evading its responsibilities. Thus, we have a situation in which Labour and Capital are principally engaged in outwitting each other; and, since the Government has come to play an increasing part in industrial life, the two parties are interested in securing the sympathy of the Government. An agreement between Labour and Capital must result in a compromise and "fair wages" will be naturally an adjustment between the demands of Labour and the resistance of Capital. It cannot be satisfactory to either but it must be acceptable as the most practicable arrangement. The "fair wages" arrived at must be, as we have said, workable. It is for the Government members on the Committee to ensure that it is enforceable as well. Otherwise, the recommendations will not be worth the paper on which they are printed.

The question of profit-sharing is on a different footing. It has been contended that profit-sharing will give the worker the needed incentive to put forward his best. The opposition of Capital to profit-sharing is not due to cupidity, nor can it be ascribed to a feeling that, since the burden of loss is wholly borne by it, it is entitled to all the profits. It is much more fundamental in that it opposes a step which must entitle workers to inspect profits, to be told the exact financial position of the concern in which they are working, and ultimately to suggest more efficient and economic ways of working the business. However well disguised these matters might be, profit-sharing does involve all of them and there is no use trying to get away from the fact. If any plan of profit sharing is to work, trade unions will have to engage auditors and to secure the right to inspect the books of the company. As matters stand today, there will be serious danger of the real management shifting from the hands of business to the workers, and with it will arise political labour disputes intensified far beyond the present state of affairs. The only form of profit-sharing which does not involve a direct interest in management, is the bonus. Even that has been greatly resented by business interests in the spectacular award of four months' bonus to textile workers by the Industrial Court of Bombay.

Reports indicate that the wage scales prevailing in the textile, jute and steel industries will not be affected by the "fair wages" recommendations, which suggests that these scales will be accepted as the standard. This should reassure Capital since it indicates that the "fair wages" are related to something already in existence—though all industries cannot be placed on a par with the three which provide the "standard" and though even within the three there are variations.

HUMAN KNOWLEDGE

"Human Knowledge"—Its Scope and Limit by Bertand Russel (Published by George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London.)

This is a difficult book for the reader who is interested in philosophical questions without 'being willing or able to devote more than a limited amount of time to considering them.' Russell would have it otherwise. He claims to be addressing a wider public with a general education

rather than a limited audience of professional philosophers. But possibly, Russell, who at the age of fifteen recorded in his diary that no fact seemed indubitable except conciousness, is not aware of the limitations of the average man with a liberal education. As knowledge becomes more precise, as mathematical concepts are introduced into its various branches, the number of people capable of understanding wholly any one subject in which they have not specialized, becomes more and more limited. Perhaps the aristocracy of talent, so dear to the heart of many philosophers since Plato, is only round the corner. Philosophy is no exception to the trend of specialization shown in modern knowledge. The absolute idealist who even at the beginning of the century introduced ethical concepts into his philosophical thinking, and the pragmatist for whom the truth of thought had to be demonstrated in practice, presents little difficulty for those whose interest in philosophy is confined to occasional reading of philosophical literature. But Russell and the logical positivist, at whose expense Russell's brilliant caustic wit is exercised devastatingly, have turned philosophy into a study for the specialised elite. Russell's absorption with mathematics and logic makes it difficult for the amateur to follow his reasoning. The first reading of 'Human Knowledge' leaves one baffled. The chapters on Probability, and a whole section of this book is devoted to it besides constant references throughout its latter part, are beyond the ken of most of the 'general educated public.' Except in the first section, where Russell presents a lucid exposition of what the various sciences have discovered about our universe and ourselves, the non-specialist reader will find himself at sea in the rest of the book, unless by a deliberate effort of will he determines to master Russell's reasoning. If he does, he will be amply rewarded. There is a peculiar pleasure in finding oneself able to grasp at last an argument, which at first defied one's understanding. And Russell is helpful. Just when one is despairing he introduces a brilliantly vivid illustration, written in his own masterly prose, which makes one want to go on reading what he has to say. He has one irritating habit, however. Just when you feel that you have understood his argument, he cuts himself short and observes that he will not dilate further as he has dealt with it sufficiently in a previous book. Not only is the reader expected to have read his previous philosphical works, but to remember them sufficiently to understand him *now*. Surely this is somewhat unreasonable on the part of an author who is writing for the 'general educated public.'

About Russell's philosophical views, the general reader will not venture a critical opinion, unless he has kept in day-to-day touch with contemporary philosophical problems. But he is likely to feel that Russell is right. And that is natural, for Russell's philosophy seems based on what he conceives to be the function of reason. 'Reason', he says in one of his earlier work, 'is a harmonizing and controlling force'; and 'since the true objects of philosophy, and the habit of thought demanded for their apprehension, are strange, unusual, and remote, it is here.....that intellect proves superior to intuition.' In Russell's system there is no division between mind and matter, there is no forced unity, and only the minimum of verbal quibbling. His philosophy seems essentially one of compromise where there is no room for either extreme idealism or naive realism. All the ideas elaborated in this book have been explained by him in his previous works. There is little, therefore, that is new except his main purpose: To discover the main principles required to justify scientific inferences. Consequently, this work, is more ambitious than all his earlier ones. For whilst previously in any one book he confined himself to specific philosophical problems, in this instance he covers a more comprehensive field. Russell's readers, familiar with his earlier works such as "An Analysis of Matter," or "Our Knowledge of the External World," will miss the lucidity and clarity that characterised his reasoning in them. Indeed in many ways HUMAN KNOWLEDGE seems less profound than these, though more solid than his popular dissertations on "Marriage and Morals" or "On Education."

LIBERTY BUT—

Rajan's father was broad-minded. He did not believe in telling his son what not to read. Sometimes he forgot to tell him even what to read. But at that age—Rajan was nearing eleven years—the distinction was not noticed. The method worked well. It would have worked very well but for the fact that Rajan's school was not so tolerant. A succession of teachers who believed in their students reading only what was good for them—goodness being decided by the teachers, of course—had brought on a conflict in Rajan. And the other boys who carried Burton's Arabian Nights in brown paper wrapping and furtively read Victoria Cross and Reynolds, added to his bewilderment. Sometimes these books were discovered in a student's desk, confiscated and the owner sent to detention. But Rajan who was no fool, suspected that his teachers, themselves quite young, found considerable pleasure in reading these confiscated books. At any rate, the attitude of other parents and the teachers convinced Rajan that he had reason to be proud of his father's being different, and he was sufficiently young to give expression to his pride. If he had any doubts, his father's constant advocacy of "no censorship" removed them. An additional reason was the up-to-dateness of his father's circle of friends. They had long hours together in each other's homes where the latest books were read and discussed; they spoke, with a certain touch of belonging, of intellectuals; they started all the study groups that went defunct after three months; and they disdained picnics and jaunts and the social round of parties. Rajan had the run of the library at home and he picked up curious knowledge which did not seem very

helpful at the examinations but which certainly marked him out as unusual and even precocious.

And then happened the incident of Freud, as Rajan always thought of it in later years. One bright morning, one of his father's friends turned up. In the excitement of the previous night's discussion, Professor Dubash had forgotten his umbrella and he had called to retrieve it. Professor Dubash was an elderly gentleman with a venerable beard and a suppressed twinkle in his eye. In fact, it had been so long suppressed that it never did more than peep out at a puzzled and puzzling world. The "Professor", as he was called by all his friends, was an inveterate snuffer and he bore the marks of his one vice on his black coat and on his magnificent coloured handkerchief. (With that intimacy which college students extend to their beloved teachers, they, specially the girls, were in the habit of calling the "Professor" Burjorji which gave him a secret thrill but he was always afraid that his more sedate companions would find this out. Rajan had heard him called Burjorji in the train but naturally he passed it off as not worth reporting at home.) The "Professor" was rather anxious about his umbrella and, until it was produced, little inclined to talk. But Rajan's father brought it out and along with it a few parajata-flowers which he held out to his friend. The Professor smelt them and, raising his head from the little flowers, smiled happily. "How chaste," he said, "how virginal." And tucking his umbrella securely under his right arm he went away, little dreaming of the tumult he had left behind.

Strange words, thought Rajan to himself, "chaste, virginal." What could they mean? The dictionary did not give an adequate explanation. How could you use the words in connection with flowers? And dimly he felt that he could not ask his elders. Of his schoolmates, he had no very high opinion. He pondered the problem. For days his perplexity increased. Then in an idle moment, he picked up a volume which he had seen on his father's table—Freud's "Interpretation of Dreams." The book was an eye-opener. It explained a lot of things that had been meaningless and trivial to him. And he found from the fly-leaf that it had been presented to his father by one of the "Circle." There was another book by the same man; *that* his father had bought. Rajan devoured the two volumes avidly. One night when he was in bed and, it seemed to the others, fast asleep, he heard his mother inquire anxiously whether it was all right for Rajan to read these funny books. "Don't be silly," said the master of the house as he snugly turned his head on the pillow and sought the angle of comfortable repose, "of course it is all right. Why, he will not understand three-fourths of it and he will forget what he has read in an hour. Now if like other foolish fathers I told him not to read it, he will go on thinking of it until he does read it and then he will be more affected by the book." Rajan's mother was satisfied. She accepted the superior wisdom of her husband unquestioningly and, after all, she could always guard against any unpleasant consequences. Rajan was rather hurt by his father's matter-of-fact assumption of his ignorance and worried long over it before he went to sleep. The next day and for many days afterwards he kept his thoughts to himself, watching everything in the light of the new knowledge and making his own deductions.

And then one day, it could be kept hidden no longer. His father was in a particularly good humour and the whole family were sitting around doing nothing in particular. Rajan looked pityingly on his brothers and sisters who seemed smugly concerned with their own college and school worries and never looked around them. His father was commenting amusedly on the eccentric Professor Dubash. Somehow, he seemed very shy and retiring. The day before, they had all met at the house of the scientist, Deodhar, who had just returned from England. He was talking brilliantly, said Rajan's father, of Herbert Spenser. The Professor had joined in the conversation but he had suddenly stopped short. Deodhar's daughter had come in to tell her father she was going out. After she left, everyone else went on just as they were before. But the Professor was very disturbed. "Funny," commented Rajan's mother, "and the girl is so very plain." Rajan could not control himself. Before he thought what he was saying the words were out. "But, father," he exclaimed, "it is so simple. The Professor must be suffering from sex repression." There was a dead silence in the room whilst Rajan's father looked bewildered at his son. Then he glanced at the mother who was looking away out of the window with a half-smile playing on her lips. Then slowly, one by one the others got up, said good night and went to their beds. As she went out, Rajan's eldest sister stuck out her tongue at Rajan; his brother, wiser by three years, hissed out, "Silly ass." All this left Rajan unmoved. He was rather pleased with his indiscretion since he had shot up to the ranks of the elders at one bound. But he was careful to leave the room a little ahead of his mother. Fathers were strange fellows and it was best not to chance a private conversation just then. The ground needed some preliminary testing.

The next day, Rajan looked casually for the Freud books on his father's table. They were not there. This meant, of course, nothing. It was always happening. Rajan made up his mind to look some other time in the usual places where books after reading found themselves. It came when everyone else had to go out for a wedding and he was left alone as too young for these functions. He searched with failing confidence; they were nowhere to be found. They never were. And somehow Rajan's father was not so eager to talk of the advantages of allowing full freedom to the young. Once or twice he came very near it but he always checked himself in time and almost bit the words as they threatened to fall out.

VIPRA.

INDIA SINCE INDEPENDENCE

(By SIR MIRZA ISMAIL)

The partition of the Indian sub-continent was effected nearly two years ago, when India and Pakistan attained their independence with the hearty goodwill of the British people, and the time has come for constructive criticism of the use they are making of their freedom from exterior authority.

In retrospect, life swarms with lost opportunities and disastrous mistakes: and this may truly be said of India during the last decade or two. The first great mistake, made partly by India but mainly by Britain, was the failure to implement fully and promptly the India Act of 1935, over which years of time and thought had been spent. Had federation accompanied or promptly followed the establishment of provincial autonomy in 1937, the tragedy of the division of the country into two more or less hostile camps and the virtual extinction of the princely order would have been avoided.

The decision to grant independence to India was a wise and just one, but unfortunately Britain's hasty withdrawal left the country in a bewildered state, accompanied as it was by the partition, an appalling loss of human life, and the unimaginable suffering of millions. What is almost equally sad is that partition has not fulfilled the expectations it aroused; it has not brought peace to the peninsula but has given rise to grave difficulties between the two divided parts of what is in reality a single geographical and economic unit. These difficulties will persist so long as India and Pakistan are not reunited in essentials.

One of the main problems is that of the minorities, which it was hoped partition would solve. The Muslims in India, for instance, feel that they are not receiving the treatment due to them as citizens of a secular State which is embodying a chapter on fundamental rights in its constitution. Such also, I believe, is the feeling of the Hindus in Pakistan, perhaps in a greater degree and with even more justification.

No far-sighted or fair-minded Government should allow such a feeling of frustration or despondency to take hold of any section of its people, however small or insignificant it may be. It should use every endeavour to make all minorities forget that they are minorities and to rid them of all fear of being suppressed or discriminated against. One cherishes the hope that this is only a passing phase, and that, once the Kashmir issue is settled in a peaceful and satisfactory manner, the relations between Hindus and Muslims and the general attitude of the Governments, both central and provincial, will undergo a change for the better.

Other difficulties of an almost equally serious nature, however, confront the Indian Government. They arise from the growth of antagonism between the various "communities" in the Hindu fold itself. I think more particularly of the insistent demand for a division of the country on a linguistic basis. From a purely administrative point of view—and this is an important consideration—a redistribution of territory on the basis of language would be a convenient arrangement; but in the wider interests of the Indian Union it seems to be fraught with danger. It should at least be postponed for some years to come. Let the country, which is still struggling to find its feet, first free itself of its economic and political difficulties, for these, if not solved expeditiously, might well engulf it in disaster.

Neither in India nor in Pakistan has the system of two strong major parties in Parliament been evolved; there are as yet few signs of the formation of effective oppositions. The Parliament in New Delhi is composed overwhelmingly of Congress adherents, while that of Karachi has a similar preponderance of Muslim League men. By reason of the partition, the old alignments have become obsolete, and in both too much reliance is based on out-worn conceptions. Nor is it likely that the general elections to be held when preparations can be completed will carry either country much farther towards a two-party system. Let it not be forgotten that where there is no opposition there is no democracy.

The great drawback of the illiteracy of the masses remains, and it may be questioned whether from this point of view, the grant of adult suffrage is wise. Given present conditions in India it may be a step fraught with danger for the State. There is much talk about the diffusion of elementary education but little evidence of effective measures to that end.

In some other respects the application of theory has outrun prudence and statesmanship. Thus the prohibition policy is not only depriving the provincial governments in India, which seek in varying degrees to promote it, of substantial revenues but is responsible for a great amount of illicit distillation. Even the advice given by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to the provinces to go slow on this matter has been disregarded, and yet they feel aggrieved because central revenues are not forthcoming to fill the gaps, present or prospective, from the loss of excise revenue.

In the economic field the high hopes of rapid reconstruction after the war years, beneficial alike to employer and employed, are unfulfilled. The great industrialists are slow to embark on new enterprises and fresh capital commitments owing to the uncertainties of Government policy. Public statements of Ministers fail to show a sense of collective responsibility. Assurances given one day by the Prime Minister that there is to be no general nationalization of industries are followed by speeches to the contrary from other Ministers, and Government promotes legislation giving itself the widest powers of control and direction. The expropriation of the "zamindari" (land-owning) classes has added to the uncertainty and despon-

dency so widespread among the leaders of industry.

The process of reducing all parts of the vast area of the Indian Union to one uniform pattern by the virtual elimination of the Indian states has been pursued with ruthless determination. The variety which formerly existed is being replaced by a centralization unsuited to the varying conditions of the country. The policy of merging all states in the Indian Union, with the centre exercising a control far greater..than was ever thought of by the political department of British days, will deprive progressive administrations of their opportunity to continue to ameliorate the condition of the people. Experienced administrators far too often have been replaced by incompetent men, unaccustomed to authority, apparently as a reward for past political service to Congress.

As constitutional heads of their states, the princes could have played a useful part in the development of the country on peaceful and progressive lines, and would have proved useful allies to the central Government, particularly in these days of hazardous world conditions when Communism spreads its tentacles on all sides. The present policy of the Government can only result in neutralizing a stable element and a stabilizing influence in the country. Many of the Indian princes had shown the value of that personal and paternal rule which is, by tradition and habit, so well suited to the mind of the Indian peasantry.

With the departure of English educationists there has been a lowering of the standards (never high enough) of university education, and a tendency to award degrees by concession instead of on strictly uniform assessment of merit. A natural reaction against the English language has jeopardized the great advantages gained through its use. The Government, however, and particularly Pandit Nehru, are well aware of these dangers.

It is a gross misconception to think that India and Pakistan can pursue independent policies in international affairs, for this might mean, in practice, mutually hostile policies with grave injury to both. This also applies to the economic sphere in their customs, currency, and industrial policies. From this as from many other points of view the outcome of the Conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers in London last month is a matter for warm congratulation. The withdrawal of India from the Commonwealth would have been calamitous. Under present world conditions India can no more isolate herself from Western Europe than can the United States.

The outlook I have described for my native land is dark, but it is not hopeless so long as there is at the head of affairs in New Delhi a statesman of the high ideals and ability of the present Prime Minister, who enjoys in a unique measure the confidence and respect of the educated classes as well as the support of the mass of the people.

—*The "Times."*

WHAT IS THE PERSONAL RELIGION?

(By STEPHEN H. FRITCHMAN)

Nowhere do cliches rule the minds of men more than in a discussion of "What is meant by personal religion?" The great difficulty is to get down to realities and honest talk. There is an illusion popularly believed that Unitarians have no personal religious life, that they are entirely preoccupied with social reform and remaking the world. Without minimizing for a moment the importance of prophetic religion with its emphasis upon brotherhood and the challenge of a far from finished world, I would emphasize today the sources of power for making such a brotherly world, sources to be found in personal religion.

Too often the phrase "personal religion" suggests family prayers, Bible reading at the dinner table, conversions at a revival meeting and other activities associated with evangelical Christanity. Without criticizing these disciplines as such, it would be well to remind ourselves that all religion is personal. It is not a monopoly of Christianity. There is no more personal religious statement than Gautama Buddha's "Let us speak the truth, yield not to anger, give when asked even from the little that we have. By these three things shall we enter the presence of the Gods."

There is no point where the differences between a religion of fear and a religion of freedom are more clearly observable than in a discussion of personal religion. I call myself a naturalist or a Humanist in religion and as such would stress the role of the spiritual life in a modern interpretation of religion. There is nothing more intensely personal than the experience of growing out of an infantile dependence upon a personal God into a strong firm self-reliance on one's divine resources as a creature of mind and spirit. The crutches and braces and canes of immature religion are thrown away.

A religion of fear makes demands upon individuals by insisting upon a neurotic preoccupation with their salvation. Will I be saved? What assurance have I that I will enter the gates of heaven? Millions of good men and women have tortured their minds and destroyed their health over such fears and doubts, deliberately and calculatingly engendered by theologians and evangelists. A religion of fear encourages attitudes of alarm, uncertainty, verbal orthodoxy, and urges the believer to look to God for the answers to problems we should solve for ourselves. Fear in religion makes men craven dependents upon a supernatural God instead of mature and forthright creatures of dignity and reason in a world of available knowledge and experience. A religion of fear makes men crawl before an Oriental potentate called God, not walk with pride and joy on this great planet, our unfinished homeland.

A religion of freedom despises the ignominy of the slave mind, which surrenders thought, deflates obligation to one's fellow men, and weakens responsibility to the world around us, by

emphasizing the heavenly destination rather than the present duty. Such religion frustrates the maturity we should rejoice to grasp. It is for these reasons that I despise revivals with their flagrant contempt for reason, with their stimulation of emotionalism in the name of God's grace.

There is no religion but personal religion. The forms may vary and the words be different... but religion is one's personal grasp, understanding, and participation in the life of the spirit. This involves our own ego, our soul, our mind, our emotions. It involves the people near us and people far away whom we may never see. It involves our sentiments toward all mankind and our response to the universe about us so mysterious at times. Personal religion may be superstitious, irrational and even immoral in its contempt for maturity and independence, or it may be reasonable, adult, and responsible. Personal religion need not involve credulity, suspension of intelligence, believing what is not so, surrender to alleged supernatural powers. It need not involve acceptance of the infallibility of Pope or Bible or the parson on Main Street.

Erasmus and Emerson had personal religion with self-respect. Buddha, Maimonides, Hillel, Tagore, Asoka, Tolstoy, Jefferson, and thousands of others have maintained their full powers of humanity and still testified to the strength and inspiration of personal religion. Personal religion for the free mind implies certain postulates which I should at least like to mention. First it assumes we are all ultimately dependent for our existence upon forces and processes of nature not of our own making. We are beings living in nature and dependent upon her. The study and appreciation of this relationship of man to nature is the heart of personal religion. Matthew Arnold sensed it when he wrote: "One lesson Nature let me learn of Thee—of toil unsevered from tranquility. Calm soul of all things, make it mine to feel amid the city's jar that there abides a peace of thine, man did not make and cannot mar."

Second, personal religion provides us with the assurance that there is a meaning to be found on this planet. It is to be found in the flowering plant in scientific research, in struggles for brotherhood across the continents, in the meeting of minds in serious conversation, in the loyality of friends even to the prison cell and gibbet... to be fouud wherever "spirits with spirits meet." The traffic of sensitive minds, the common tasks of families and neighbours, the alerting of conscience, the shaking off of lethargy and cynicism—in these things we find personal religion. Through books and paintings, through symphonies and conversations, through love and controversy and meditation we become refreshed and elevated, in our hopes and possibilities. Whether the means are organized and disciplined or whether they come as the moving of an unexpected wind across the field of grain, it is personal religion for free minds. It is not required that it happen at a prayer meeting or at the Bible class, though it has even happened there again and again, with searching spirits at work.

The third postulate of personal religion is that the human spirit is born to freedom and resists tyranny as a plant resists a stone by surrounding or cracking it. The perverse insistence upon integrity, independent thought, responsibility is the heart of personal religion. This is the sacred thing. The true Shekinah, the holy of holies. It requires no priest to mediate it, no relic to prove its presence, no baptism to assert its achievement. Men will die for the strange but insistent love of freedom, that invisible and undefinable hunger to use the imagination and the power of reason. The employment of this freedom is the heart of personal religion.

The fourth postulate of personal religion is that one's private peace cannot rest without participation in the making of a good community. The ethics of responsibility are inevitably intertwined with the personal values of high religion. Community means justice, fair play, decency; and no personal religion prospers which for long ignores these values as central. This love of community is symbolized in the Good Samaritan, in the prodigal son, in Prometheus the fire-bringer, in Buddha pronouncing the eight-fold path. Personal religion makes us sense the network of relationships that bind men of good will together. Personal religion, contrary to much popular misconception, is not for hermits and anchorites, it is not for Simeon Stylites, not for monks and recluses; it is for men and women in the world of activity. It provides us with the power to evaluate the skill to plan for the future, the method to enjoy the glory of the lighted mind. This kind of personal religion allows for change and growth in customs and mores. It encourages the process of human evolution and resists the temper of the dogmatist and the paralysis of the frightened soul. Traditional personal religion stressed anxiety; natural and humanistic religion stresses hope and confidence. Traditional religion spoke of another world; natural religion accepts this one. It scorns the preoccupation with passports and visas to another world while this one remains so challenging to the powers of humanity. With Walt Whitman we say, "Let your soul stand cool and composed before a million universe." We can live without alarm and without panic, certain that goodness will survive over fear and hate and prejudice. There can be no better society with puny men at the helm, so let us discover the importance of personal religion, the renewing power of the inner life, the sustaining resourcefulness of a mind established and resolved. Such religion will not not be broken when the lightning strikes and the floods come. Its power is written in history and its strength is known to all who choose to find it. Let it be said in trumpet tones, there is no contradiction between progressive living and personal religion. They are two sides of the same coin.

—Unity.

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"*I will* be as harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard*".

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the LIBERATOR.

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NOTES

Securing Efficiency:—The President and Secretary of the Indian National Trade Union Congress have asked the Government to promulgate an ordinance empowering the State to take over a concern on grounds of mismanagement, inefficiency and detrimental running to industrial progress. This might be considered as the workers' reply to the frequent charges of Business that concessions to their demands impose too heavy a burden on industry. It is a legitimate claim since the interest of the Government in the Labour movement and in increased production entails an obligation to ensure that wasteful practices are eradicated from industrial management. There is evidence from several quarters that war years with their profiteering and large profits—profits controlled by a system of "profit-sharing" between Business and Government under the Excess Profits Tax—have led to carelessness in management. Industrialists were more interested, with rare exceptions, in enlarging illegitimate gains than in building up business. From the top, the rest took their cue and a state of near-piracy came into being which persists even though the conditions that favoured it are not in evidence. An effort is called for to restore normal industrial life and the capitalists are likely to set about retrenchment by dropping large numbers of workers without regard to efficiency. An added reason for the Government securing powers of intervention is the talk of a coming depression which is freely indulged in by Business. In all spheres of industry, India suffers from under-production and it is possible to absorb considerable increase in production. This condition does not fit in with depression and, if we do enter into a period of depression, it will be due to man-made bungling and gross mismanagement. Therefore, the case for Government intervention is sound. It is also enforced from the point of view of the small investor who must be encouraged if there is to be a check on extravagant spending. The Fiscal Commission, presided over by Sir V. T. Krishnamachari, is carrying on its investigations. It has declared its policy to be absolute protection. For this also, the Government must see that what it protects is worthy of protection by reason of its own intrinsic worth and efficiency. But there is a serious drawback: Is the Government competent to undertake the task of putting industry on its feet?

Withdrawn Bonus:—By an ordinance, the Government has declared that in awarding bonuses provision might be made for a portion of the amount to be paid in National Savings Certificates. There has been some ventilation in the press of the view that workers, to whom unexpected money comes, are unwise in their spending. One writer in a Bombay newspaper objected to peons wearing watches and using fountain-pens. This is carrying class prejudice too far. There is no reason why anybody should be stopped from buying what he prefers nor need it be assumed that peons should not be able to afford these little things. And, after all, there is a limit to this kind of extravagance as no one wants to own more than one of each. Generally, one should rejoice if amenities only within the income of one section of society become purchasable by several others. That is the material side of progress—the only one that can be easily measured. That apart, however, the National Savings Certificates will help people to provide against bad times which it is not easy normally to do. The Industrial Courts will, of course, apply this permissive ordinance with caution and discretion. It is common knowledge that dearness allowance is not high enough to neutralise the rise in the cost of living, and it is often asserted that it can never be pitched as high as that. Bonuses go some way to redress this inequality and withdrawing them to any appreciable extent will lead to workers' troubles and further agitation for higher wages. However, it is a useful provision where bonuses are awarded on the scale of the textile industry bonus—on the basis of four months' salary.

India, Pakistan and Communism:—Sir Mirza Ismail's article in the "Spectator" of London to which we referred last week, is printed in this issue of *the Reformer*. It is a timely comment appearing as it does just before Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, Prime Minister of Pakistan, visits Russia on Stalin's invitation. Evidently the common front against Communism has been anticipated by the Russian and, though the "Civil and Military Gazette" stresses the difference in ideology between Russia and Pakistan, it is probable that

Russian influence will grow in Pakistan. If the restrictions on Communists there are lifted, it would be a great thing. Sir Mirza's article sets forth that Indo-Pakistan co-operation is necessary for the peace of the world no less than for the two Dominions themselves. The key is Kashmir. The Indian Government has given up the waiting-on-the-UN game and implemented accession by recognising the Kashmiri as equally entitled to Indian army and civil appointments, by taking over the State forces and by admitting four representatives from Kashmir to sit in the Constituent Assembly. For all practical purposes, the accession is now complete. This was the right thing to do and Sheikh Abdullah's recent visit to New Delhi has no doubt hastened action. There is no room now for the misrepresentations, misunderstandings and distortions which were purveyed in obscure British newspapers and circulated in India by what " Pertinax " pertinently called the " circus press ", regarding the attitude of Sheikh Abdullah and the Kashmir National Conference. The accession of Kashmir, it must be remembered, was stayed by the Union Government until the wishes of the Kashmir people could be ascertain freely in a plebiscite. But the persistent thwarting of the plebiscite by Pakistan recalcitrance and the UN Commission's vacillation necessitates prompt action to implement the accession. After the events of the past fortnight it will be possible to upset the accession but extremely difficult. A report in the " Bombay Chronicle " indicates that an understanding has been arrived at between the Indian Government and representative Kashmir leaders regarding the controversial figure of the Maharaja. He is to absent himself from the State, his privy purse is fixed at Rs. 6 lakhs, and the virtual supremacy of the Kashmir National Government, under Sheikh Abdullah, is established. Thus the ground has been cleared for the plebiscite whilst at the same time the non-holding of the plebiscite has also been provided against. From Pakistan there have been significant assertions that Pakistan cannot lose Kashmir, whatever the result of the plebiscite. Events seem to have travelled fast since Sir Mirza Ismail wrote his article. What has to be considered is how to check Communism in spite of strained relations between India and Pakistan. There are people in India and in the West who interpret the Stalin-Liaquat interview as a kind of fellowship of the snubbed.

Convincing Victory:—Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose's success in the South Calcutta by-election did not surprise anyone. But the overwhelming majority with which he won his seat has rudely shocked some and driven others to frenzied ecstasy. Mr. Bose won 19,030 votes whilst the Congress candidate obtained only 5,780 votes. The Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, seems to have consoled the Congress Assembly Party by declaring that the verdict of the South Calcutta constituency was not a mass verdict. A strange consolation; as an electorate of property-holders is more prone to support the powers that be than one based on adult franchise. Mr. Bose's victory is significant in every sense. We are an emotional people and personal loyalties weigh with us more than with almost any other people. Much of the talked about nepotism probably springs from this national failing. But to ascribe Mr. Bose's success entirely to his being Netaji's brother is to live in a fool's paradise. And to consider it as indicating that the Indian people have recorded their preference for the Socialist way is another delusion. There is an easier explanation, one which fits the facts more. Calcutta has been an uneasy place to live in for the past two years. Processions ending in tear-gas being used, acid being thrown about and buses being burned no longer make news in that city. It is little wonder that the people should ascribe the failures of the Congress Government to inherent defects within the party. The Provincial Congress party, it is known, is torn by dissent, personal differences counting for more than party discipline or loyalty. The Congress Secretary has been deputed only recently to settle the quarrels of the provincial leaders.

Power Repels:—Another reason accounting for the failure of the Congress in these elections is the very fact that it has been in power already for two years. The party when in opposition made reckless promises. It has been able to fulfil none of them. And in addition power has had an intoxicating influence. Public grievances until lately have been dismissed curtly. All was to be forgiven, for was not the Government popular? Had Congressmen not sacrificed for the country, winning in the end its freedom? Unfortunately for the Congress the people do not feel that way. A habit of opposition-mindedness has been engendered within the last thirty years. And in any case only a contented people is tolerant of the weaknesses of its government. Those that feel insecure become impatient and long for a change. Whether the voters who preferred Mr. Bose and his party—the Socialist Republican Party—really want to be governed by him and his camp-followers is open to question. It is more than likely that, if and when they get what they want, they will again wish the Congress back in power. In the meantime dissatisfaction with the Congress is leading to a condition in which the business community, on the one side, is doing its best to sabotage the government, and the people, on the other, are becoming willing supporters of the leftist opposition. Whether the Congress can retrieve its position is now becoming doubtful. It is certainly not too late yet for it to do so. But the party will have to re-orient itself psychologically before it can reacquire public confidence. Arrogance and slackness must give way to discipline. A good beginning was made in the resolve to conduct an inquiry into the allegations against corruption made against some Congress Ministers of Madras. If this inquiry is conducted impartially it will do much to re-establish the prestige of the party. But Mr. Deo has made a characteristically unimaginative statement, enjoining on party members loyalty to the party above all and deprecating public ventilation of grievances against party members in power. The tone of Mr. Deo's statement is disquieting. Will this inquiry again lead to hushing up all that was wrong? One wonders. The price paid for party loyalty will certainly be too high a one for the Congress to pay at this stage.

Civic Sense:—We print this week the article from the " Calcutta Municipal Gazette " which was left out last week by oversight. The feelings to which the writer gives expression, will bring an element of realism and practical interest in the problems of sanitation. He is naturally most concerned about Calcutta but the same thing can be observed in other parts of the country.

THE INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER
BOMBAY, June 18, 1949.

THE PRESS IN INDIA

Speaking at Lake Success at a sub-committee meeting on Freedom of Information and the Press, Mr. Devadas Gandhi, after stating that despite certain repressive laws the press in India enjoyed a high degree of freedom of expression, observed that certain enactments of the independence regime in India were a nightmare to the Press. This is rather an exaggeration as can be seen from much of the matter which appears every day in the newspapers. The Press has ceased to be agitated by the strength of repressive legislation because the Press Advisory Committees serve to blunt the edge of a good deal of the emergency legislation. "The Press," said Mr. Gandhi, "did not like to be associated with the Executive's enforcement of repressive laws." This antipathy, coupled with the desire of leading Editors to be associated with the Government, has led to a great deal of confusion regarding the Press Advisory Committees. These Committees occupy a buffer position, between the Government and the Press. They are functioning to mitigate Executive action and to moderate the Press but their ineffectiveness may be gauged by the fact that both sides are dissatisfied and even irritated by them. Very often membership on these committees is sought as a strategy to avoid official attention, and such members are inclined to pursue harsh policies. The secrecy in which they tender their advice to Government, encourages this type of hypocrisy. And the profession as a whole suffers. The reason why there is no serious protest, is because such protest will only attract attention to the objectors and render their task more difficult. Mr. Gandhi's candid avowal of the distaste of the Press to be associated with repressive laws and his admission that in 90 per cent of the cases the Advisory Committees' suggestions are accepted by the Government are revealing. Are we to take it that, in all the ten per cent cases where the Press Advisory Committees are not heeded, the repressive laws of the Government are involved? So far as the Indian Press is concerned, we require fuller details. So far as the Government goes, it is a justifiable question how useful a system is which does not carry the leaders of the Press in emergencies. What use is "press advising" if the Government has to bear the full burden of responsibility for repressive acts? And from this it follows, how much respect does the Press Advisory Committee command? It is time that the All-India Newspaper Editors Conference conducts an inquiry into the working of the Press Advisory system and places the facts before the public.

It has been proposed that the term "press liaison" would be better fitted for the work done by Press Advisory Committees. But the matter goes much deeper than a change of name. In fact, the word "liaison" will lead in present conditions to a premium on committee membership and the representatives will be regarded as privileged contact points with the Government. If anything, this development has to be scrupulously avoided both by Government and the Press because it will result in the growth of a section of the Press being regarded as "Government". The main defect of the existing system is that the responsibility of individual editors has been gravely damaged. The Press Advisory Committee, with its bias against repressive action, has deteriorated into a cloak and shelter for irresponsible editors. There used to be a convention that no newspaper should be proceeded against until deliberate and perverse misrepresentation is established. We believe that it is generally adhered to. We have known Editors escape the consequence of their mischief by invoking this convention. On the other hand, too great a preoccupation with maintaining high standards of journalism has been the cause of involving the Government in some provinces with prosecutions for obscenity when only bad taste can be proved. Prosecutions that are not sustained in a Court of Law only add to the prestige of the offenders, in the eyes of the public. If these two extremes are to be avoided, the inevitable course is to have clear laws and allow them to take effect. The Editor will know what will bring him within the Law's jurisdiction and infringements will be done with full pre-knowledge of consequences. In matters of taste, though as "Pertinax" shrewdly observed the antics of the circus press are a great hindrance to freedom of information, much must be left to the Press itself to decide. They cannot be enforced by an outside agency and, when that agency is the Government, there is every reason to fear the growth of unhealthy conditions. Politicians whose view of public affairs is generally more short-sighted than that of journalists, are apt the world over to regard their own interest as the first consideration in taste.

It is a fact which will be unpleasant to many, but Indian journalism has not yet come of age. In spite of the ceaseless activity which is going on in the country since independence, we can get a more correct picture from the Indian press of foreign affairs than one could ever hope for of facts and events in India itself. Here there has been a deterioration, owing to the number of new entrants into the field of journalism who have no more feeling for the profession than they have for any other industrial venture. The selling quality of the product is valued more than the merit of the goods. And what might be called box-office attraction governs the newspaper business. Before one can ask for freedom of information, one must be sure that what is to be imparted is information not prejudice and bias disguised as fact. It has been reiterated times without number that the men in administrative authority to-day are with little experience in government. But no one stops to inquire into the equipment of the gentlemen of the press. We are afraid that conditions will grow worse. There is no way of ensuring that the men in responsible position in the Press are fitted to discharge their responsibilities. The immediate effect of the spread of literacy and a surface education must be to intensify the vested interest in sensationalism in the Press.

WASHINGTON MATHEMATICS

Administration plans for implementation of the North Atlantic Security Pact call for the granting to West Europe of $ 1,130,000,000 in armament. Of this sum, $ 678,000,000 is to go for new weapons, some of them to be produced in Europe with American dollar aid. But about $ 452,000,000 is to be taken from Army surplus.

The catch in this mathematical outline is the value placed on war surplus military equipment. Though it is neither used nor damaged, it has been marked down to 10 per cent of the original value. Hence if Congress votes to send $ 452,000,000 in Army surplus, it will actually be spending for this purpose closer to $ 4,520,000,000. —*Worldover Press*

STATISTICS AND FACTS

(By Devere Allen.)

Some people lack faith in European recovery because they measure foreign conditions against the yardstick of American life, with its freedom from wartime devastation. Others refuse to credit the advances being made because the methods for recuperation don't fit in with a domestic conviction against the Marshall Plan. A great many people are just confused, and who can blame them?

The statistical approach has its drawbacks, and if you are going to base your judgments entirely on facts and figures, you are bound to go astray. Two years ago, I was convinced, and so declared, that, despite the difficulties experienced by the French, the country would finally make a noteworthy comeback. To-day, production has surpassed the peak records of bygone years. But two years ago anyone who was bullish about French affairs could not have found reliable figures to back him up. He had to look elsewhere—in past experience, in the French character, in the intangible play of internal forces one could sense at first hand, but could never wrap up in a statistical package.

It is the same in Italy. Troubled by the slowness with which even American aid has been lifting the Italian people out of chaos, there are those who continue to proclaim their disbelief in any real recuperation. They don't always realize that in any case the Italians will have a long, hard road to travel, because there are so many of them. France's birthrate has hit an all-time high, but even so, it hasn't the problem faced by Italy, where from 1938 to 1948, the war notwithstanding, the population rose by more than 3,000,000. With only so much to go around, with the exit routes closed to many who would normally seek better conditions abroad, it is certain that Italy will suffer poverty for many years to come.

Yet improvement has been something of a miracle. If you want to close your eyes to it, you can imitate the correspondent of a London weekly which ought to know better, and report that "Marshall aid in Italy has become no more than a relief programme, whose only effect is to delay a crisis which is becoming inevitable." That is sheer nonsense, though no one can be sure a future crisis will be avoided. For if there is any country where the Marshall Plan has gone beyond relief and attacked the foundation economic problems, Italy is the one.

There are serious questions of unemployment, too high an interest rate for loans, and an unwieldy, unfair tax system. For all the average outsider might know, the Italians themselves have done nothing to remedy these inequities. The one thing they have not done, under a religion which abhors population control, and with a traditional fecundity, is limit the expanding birthrate. But working in co-operation with the Marshall Plan mission, the government has been tackling tax reform by compelling more honest tax declarations and by training a staff of collectors that can be trusted—not an easy step to take after years of Fascist corruption. Bolder planning might have made money cheaper, but one sound way in the long run is to make a success of the basic industrial expansion being put through with United States help.

Industrial production through machinery and new plant development is the very spot at which Marshall aid is being useful. Power production is up to 22,000,000,000 kilowatt hours from 15,500,000,000 ten years ago, before the war. Marshall aid funds are going largely for the improvement of land and ocean transport, housing, and agriculture. And although the results are already striking, they have only recently begun to register. It is just the beginning. The all-too-common way of estimating Italian gains is by the retrogression of Communism. Communist losses have been heavy, but less because of an ideological conversion—few so-called Communists ever understood the theoretical side of their movement, anyway—than through the comparative bankruptcy of Communism in offering any constructive future. Italians are dramatic, and parades of red banners are exciting; but a great new train, a mammoth drydock, bright new homes, and above all modern machine gadgets, can be still more stirring to the imagination.

Going through the countryside you see steep hillsides terraced by painful hand labour, so scarce is arable land, so poorly is it divided. But Italy is undertaking agrarian reform, and not by the superficial way so often demanded by the Communists, of merely increasing the number of poor plots too small for self-support. Rather, while squeezing feudal landowners of huge, speculative properties by making them put in improvements they cannot afford without selling some of their vast holdings, the government is also setting aside funds for road-building, drainage, soil enrichment, and transport of produce to markets. This sort of effort takes time, but pays off eventually in a more lasting way.

Too often the traveller sees ragged street peddlers and concludes that this is the true measure of the nation's well-being. Some of my best acquaintances in Italy have been ragged peddlers; a number to earn a meagre living, while others adhered to it because income was not bad and they happened to like that sort of life. Overpopulation will guarantee Italy a large degree of poverty, until births drop and the export of manpower reaches half a million a year. But one basic question is always, have the people zest, have they a forward look? And the answer is, they have.

When Mazzini was in prison and planned Young Italy, he could see nowhere in Europe a people possessed of any real initiative. He thought he could arouse it in Italians, and he did. To-day, after the strains of war and the more subtle perversion of the spirit under two decades of Fascism, the Italians again have initiative. Welling up among the people is the will to do creative things. Four years ago it wasn't there; to-day it is. Though you can't punch buttons and get it down on any adding machine, it is the thing that counts.

II

"Many shall run to and fro," says the Book of Daniel, "and knowledge shall be increased." Although the Prophet's own excursions had sometimes been involuntary, he remained an optimist—perhaps because he never foresaw certain aspects of modern tourism.

To gain understanding of one kind or another, 375,000 Americans will spend an estimated $400,000,000 this summer in Europe alone. They will fan out over the landscape by means of trains, cars, buses, air-planes, bicycles, and Irish jaunting carts. Travel offices will echo with strange animal noises, like those made by the knobby hides of alligators moving fast around an overpopulated pool. Some travellers will return with zest and friendliness for foreign peoples, others permanently convinced their own country contains all the worthwhile attractions on the planet.

To learn anything abroad you have to travel with the right equipment. It's not a question of binoculars to stretch your eyesight; it depends on what your mind can see. Dr. Samuel Johnson used to quote a Spanish proverb: "He who would bring home the wealth of the Indies must carry the wealth of the Indies with him." This is worth knowing; for even if you don't intend to move a step, everyone has relatives or friends who travel. And the itch to get around will one day even smite the citizens of Welcome, Minnesota, or Sweet Home, Arkansas.

Indispensable equipment for the tourist includes sympathy, quiet behaviour, courtesy, patience, a few words of an alien language, a little reading on history and current affairs, an unfailing smile. These don't require white rawhide luggage; they'll fit a rucksack. But at times their use will come hard. Then you will have to pass the test which, in this toughened wayfarer's view, all travellers should be compelled to take before setting foot on foreign soil.

Hint number one is not to make sweeping generalizations if you happen to have a few painful experiences. Sure, once I was short-changed in France; but there was also the man who gave back five francs when I had counted wrong, the Italian clerk who chased all over town to hand me a few lire he had inadvertently overcharged. There was the Breton pastry shop proprietress determined to sell everyone the low-priced articles which, "I avow, Monsieur, are of the same quality."

When to complain and when not to, is a difficulty. Few are as crass as the American doctor who swung aboard a train at the Italian-French frontier and shouted to the whole platform, "I'm glad to get out of this dirty country." Somehow one remembers places in the U.S., too, which could stand a bit of deodorant. It might be useful if you grumbled when encountering those washroom signs in occupied territory, such as Austria and Germany: "American Ladies Only," next to "German (or Austrian) Female Personnel."

Cameras can be deadly as well as fun. Many countries hate tourists who persistently take photos of scenes showing the most desperate poverty. Cameras can't see beneath the surface. The most gracious woman I ever met was a Mexican Indian who dragged out orange crates and tree stumps for her guests to sit on. I learned from an octogenarian woman in the Midi a lesson about snapping colourful folk without permission. Carrying on her head a mammoth bag of potatoes up an incline, she turned at the shutter's click and let loose a picturesque vocabulary, the mildest expression of which was "American cheap skate!" Dubliners still shake their heads over the exuberant Yanks who thought nothing of halting traffic to draw a camera bead on "quaint" pedestrians.

Not at all one-sided is it, for often the tourist runs into silly obstacles. One is the kind-hearted native who doesn't know how to direct you, but who can't bear to be discourteous, and sends you around Robin Hood's garage. There is sure to be one customs man who sizes you up as the likeliest crook of the lot, and who goes through your bags as an alley cat explores a garbage pail. You'll find characters like the one in South France who flatly refused to divulge the location of a certain hamlet because, "I repeat, Monsieur, nobody ever goes there, nobody!" How he softened, however, when informed that in the village square an elm was still growing, which had been planted over 300 years ago by the Duc de Sully to commemorate his plan for a league of states! Frequently your reasons, or your imagination, had better be good.

Most important usually is to see people—to mingle with as many, in as many different situations, as you can. Tourists, pressed for time, will of course want to visit art galleries and cathedrals; but they should remember what the British schoolboy wrote on his examination paper: "The breath is putrefied in the lungs by inspired air." Often food can be a problem; it helps to remember that almost everywhere, the tourist eats better than most of the inhabitants. You can find hot dogs in Brussels, Nice, even Stockholm; but you don't need to join the embittered migrants from U.S. snack bars who go about moaning—as Europeans have heard them—for this epicurean tit-bit. And if you don't know a language, concede that it's your own liability, even if you have the luck of one American who thought he would get by if he ordered something from the top of a menu, then something in the middle, and finally something at the end—only, three times in succession, to get a different kind of fish.

You can't write treatics, probably, and the chances are slim that you will ever preside over the United Nations. But you can be the sort of traveller who makes foreigners like you, and through you your fellow-citizens. Dwight Morrow's famous recipe proved good. Made Ambassador to Mexico, he was reproached by friends who pointed out his lack of experience for such a ticklish job. "Well," he said thoughtfully, "I can love the Mexicans, can't I?"

OBSERVATIONS IN JAPAN

Long recognized as an international expert on fisheries, Edward W. Allen, Seattle attorney, has returned from service on a special mission to Japan. He reports to *Worldover Press* that while "things are not perfect over there," it was encouraging "to see the change from a nation blindly following the lead of military gangsters to civilians, millions of whom are at least trying to learn to follow democratic ideas and a peaceful life."

Allen asserts that the Fisheries Division and Natural Resources Section, under SCAP, are doing remarkable jobs. "Everyone knows that we could not let the Japanese starve," he says, "and the best way out was to increase Japanese food production. SCAP has taken a strong stand that the Japanese Government must show that it can and will control its fishermen and make them respect the present area limitations before any substantial extension can be expected.

"We were treated wonderfully well both by U.S. authorities and by the Japanese. The Japanese Government has reorganized its fishery branch so that it has been advanced to the status of an 'agency.' It is trying to educate fishermen away from pre-war faults and to bring about reform in research." In general, Allen declares, "You cannot change the psychology of a whole people overnight, but the younger people, and some of the older, seem headed in the right direction."

CO-OPERATIVES AND THE RED INDIAN

(By Antonio Fabra Ribas)

Formerly a distinguished professor at the Universities of Madrid and the Cauca, Colombia, Dr. Fabra Ribas is the leading expert on co-operatives in Latin America. He is correspondent for Worldover Press, by which this article is released.

The greatest question confronting the Americas is that of the Indians scattered through various countries—so says Dr. Victor Gabriel Garces, noted physician and writer of Quito, Ecuador, an experienced student of the indigenous peoples. Though estimates of their number vary, largely because adequate statistics are lacking in certain areas, there are at least 20,000,000 pure-blooded Indians in North, Central and South America, not counting the many millions of *mestizos*, or those of mixed antecedents. Dr. Garces believes the number is as high as 30,000,000.

Despite the passing of time and men, the principal Indian cultures are, as they have been traditionally, the Aztec, the Mayan and the Incan. The chief feature common to the economic life of all these people was historically a group ownership of land. The Incas divided their land into three parts: one for the sun, one for the Inca or emperor, and one for the community; but there was no person among them who considered himself the owner of even the smallest piece of soil. This was true of all the agrarian communities, parcelizations or reservations, called *calpulli* in Mexico and *ayullu* in Peru, each the centre of a great indigenous civilization.

With the Conquest, these expressions of collective life based on agriculture were destroyed. But, as Dr. Garces says, "the Indians in their retreat took with them whatever they could of their own ways of life." And hence even to-day the mutualistic imprint can be found, from the Mexican *ejidos* (co-ops) to the land parcels and communities of Ecuador and the reservations of Colombia. The communal spirit persists everywhere, even in the highlands of the Andes where the white man has barely reached.

Viewing the whole panorama of Latin America, Dr. Alberto Lleras Camargo, ex-president of Colombia and present General Secretary of the Organization of American States, declares there are two ways of life. "One, superficial, of the thin uppercrust of people who live in a pattern similar to that of Europeans and North Americans.....and the other, sunk way, way below the first, living in the abysses of misery and social abandon, lack of culture and sometimes even barbarity, the two being without close communication or even much contact. The Indian zones, where they exist, are almost all within this second class. From time to time revolutions or political movements of a social nature stimulate among the lowest classes the appetite for power.....Deception and impotence against poverty sow the seeds for a new uprising, which, in countries profoundly drawn toward politics, constantly changes its form. It is basically the natural consequence of the fact that there are so many millions without homes, without organized family life, without schools, without personal property, without land, for whom the only risk of a revolution is loss of the next day's wages."

In the Department of the Cauca, Colombia, where the writer lived for several years—and conditions very similar are to be found in other parts of the country and in Ecuador—the Indian's wage on almost all the great estates consists of a daily ration of coca leaf, two or three pounds of corn, a pound of dark rock sugar, and from 15 to 20 cents in cash. Prohibitions on payment in coca or alcoholic beverages are hard to enforce.

In some sections of the High Andes, according to the Committee on Co-operation in Latin America, infant mortality reaches the appalling figure of 750 in every 1,000 births. When trouble breaks out in the Bolivian tin mines, there may be temporary political reasons; but the basic conditions of a miner's life are bad enough to explain unrest. After five years of work, a miner is made useless for future labour because of the dread disease, silicosis. These mine workers are Indians.

Are such conditions the fault of those who refuse to enact modern social legislation? Sometimes, truly, but as Dr. Garces asserts, "The welfare laws for the indigenous peoples either have not been enforced or their enforcement has been limited by the cultural backwardness or the desperate economic situation of these peoples themselves."

Social legislation cannot be renounced, of course, but other methods must be applied which fulfil it and

make its enforcement possible. Dr. Garces will find many to echo his words when he says, of co-operation, "Perhaps this method will prove to be the only one which can preserve the forms of collective work that constitute the historic base of American Indian life." The old collective forms are disintegrating, and lack efficiency and good production, but that is why it is necessary to pass to a higher stage of co-operation, well-planned and carried out, as in Peru and elsewhere.

Visiting indigenous communities in various Latin American republics the writer has followed closely the work carried on by the Capuchinos of the Sibundoy Valley in the Department of Narino, Colombia, as well as that of missionaries in the Venezuelan regions of Caroni, Alto Orinoco, Goajira and Perijaa. In Sibundoy a good co-operative beginning has been made. And in Venezuela, the Indians are being taught agriculture, mechanics, carpentry, etc. In some places, like Canabayen, an effort is being made to organize the Indians in such a way that, by their own initiative, they can supply their needs. The Co-operative Institute of Peru has had fine results with this type of work.

Nowhere yet, however, have the desired results been fully achieved—chiefly because there is lacking the personnel trained to direct and administer co-operative enterprises. Education to this end is the primary need in all these countries, so that the co-operative movement can fulfill the high mission to which it is called. Especially in dealing with the Indians, the task is complicated; those among the more fortunate classes, who ought to supply the educators with means and materials for their work, are often the very ones who block the way.

At the very least, it is important for all those interested in the co-operative movement, north and south, to do what they can to bring it to the Indian millions, and to help private and public agencies at work in that direction.

HINDU CIVIC IDEAS

(By Satish Chandra Sinha)

Calcutta streets are dirty. They easily beat those of Bombay and Madras. If any one has doubts he may see for himself and compare. Our streets also hold 'testimonials' about their filth from many eminent persons including Mahatmaji. An old grumbler was Lord Curzon. His remedy was to make the Corporation practically a department of the Government by the Calcutta Municipal Act of 1899. We lived under that Act for about a quarter of a century, with the streets as dirty as before. Then came Surendra Nath as the Minister for Local Self-Government. He was the leader of the twenty-eight Councillors who had resigned from the old Corporation as a protest against the Act of 1899. No one was keener for reforms. But he had not a free hand. With the communal legislature of Montague-Chelmsford scheme, he had to concede communal representation in his Municipal Act of 1923. The only thing he could do to neutralise the poison was to make the electorates joint. The net result was a popular Corporation of cliques. The streets were no better.

But it would be quite unfair to hold the Corporation alone responsible. The citizens of this proud city, at least an overwhelming majority, must take the lion's share of the blame. The streets in the European quarters are clean enough. Looking at those in the Indian quarters, one would hardly believe that they are under the same administration. There are differences in every city. But nowhere is it more pronounced than in this city of palaces. It may be that more attention is given by the conservancy department to the streets in the European quarters. But this is not because the locality is white. It is not even the main reason. The sweepers see that the labour bestowed by them upon the streets inhabited by the Europeans is rewarded by the streets remaining clean for the day. In the Indian quarters, it is more often than not rewarded by the dumping of refuse right in the middle of the roadway or the pavement, as soon as the sweeper turns his back. All heart is taken out of his work under these conditions.

Neither wealth nor religion has anything to do with the matter. The wealthiest quarters of the city are not the European. The streets of certain localities where most of our millionaires live have always been abominable. On the other hand, the streets of the poorest Muslim quarters are no worse than those of the corresponding Hindu or Christian quarters. The unpleasant truth is that the dirtiest streets in Calcutta are generally in the most opulent Hindu localities. Nothing can be stranger. In personal cleanliness, the rest of the world lags far behind us. Not one in three houses in New York has any bath and things are no better in London. Discerning foreign observers like Professor Geddes have been surprised to see that the humblest take their daily bath and wash their mouth after every meal. Then why do we merrily defile our streets? It seems that with us it is an ancient vice. For, our ancient laws had to provide definite penalties for the malpractice. We may not care for *Mlechha* ideas of civic duty. But how can one disobeying the *Shastras* claim to be orthodox?

The following extracts from the writings of the most illustrious of the Hindu sages, Manu, Brihaspati and Vishnu are interesting:

> **"If a person, except under abnormal circumstances, throws unclean things on the public road, he should pay a fine of two Karshapans and clean the road at once."**
>
> **"If it is done by a person in distress, or by one who is very old, or by a pregnant woman or by a child, he shall be reprimanded and made to clean the same."**—Manu Samhita, Chapter IX, Verses 282 and 283.
>
> **"If one intentionally obstructs roads and paths, by making a pit or planting trees or voiding excreta, he shall pay a Masaka as fine."**—Brihaspati.
>
> **"If one defiles the highway or a garden or a tank, he shall be fined a hundred Panas and he must remove the filth."**—Vishnu Samhita, Chapter V, Verse 106.

Would not these laws made about two thousand years ago serve our days and quite well? It is interesting that the delinquent, even if he is spared the punishment on the ground of age or infirmity, must remove the nuisance at once. If it were practicable for us to enforce this salutary rule, our streets would bear a different look altogether. A maximum penalty of ten rupees, a mere trifle in these days, is no deterrent. But no law can make people decent and we seem to be incorrigible. In the race that now goes on daily before our eyes between the sweeper and the defiler, the former has no chance.

INDIA'S MOTTO

The Indian Union Government seems to have chosen the Vedic quotation "Satyam eva Jayate" in Devanagari script under the crest of the national emblem of Asoka Pillar. Some suggest 'jayati' for 'jayate', the latter being grammatically wrong, or simply archaic or 'arsha' and less familiar in classical literature. But it has the merit of Upanishadic support for our State adoption. But one would like to suggest a better and more comprehensive quotation equally valid in sanctity and authority of a more commonly or repeatedly heard Upanishad viz., "Satyam Vada; Dharmam chara", for adoption as our State Motto. It has to be welcomed for many a reason or point of view, juristic, judicial, executive, political and humanitarian.

From practical experience we know how it is more often a lie to say that truth alone triumphs; for untruth, half-truth, white lie and all such relatives succeed at the expense of dire truth. It is so in courts, in trade and commerce, in political and international intercourse, where what is adopted for successful enterprise is nothing but wantonly suppressed, twisted, or perverted truth. Truth does not pay immediately; it is attended with its own dangers; its high worth is taken advantage of in order to crush it under its rival's heels. Perhaps it would be more pertinent to say "Untruth alone triumphs or succeeds or pays". If, however, we should omit the functional characteristic of Truth as triumphant exclusively and simply incorporate "Satyam Vada" with "Dharmam chara" as our motto for our Union Government, we should be giving the directive to the people in general and to the various branches of Government to speak Truth and to do dire duty and abide by law and higher conscience in all devotion to man and God.

The simple double or couplet motto now suggested would warn the State Executive never to become corrupt by bribe, undue influence, coercion, etc. It would, if painted on the walls of Courts so as to arrest the eye of false or hesitating witnesses in the box, go to help them in getting at truth more easily. It will enhance the prestige of our political agents and ambassadors abroad by giving them a new lead in the comity of Nations as to our international outlook and ideals. It will remind our State not to

embark on wars or acts of a non-dharmic kind. This will also incidentally remind us of Mahatmaji's life-long principle of Ahimsa as the best of all Dharmas "Ahimsa paramo dharmah". If truth refers to words of man, dharma refers to acts of man, whether subjects of India or others, in the interests of peace and happiness; and the couplet would go to improve mental culture. Nay, 'dharmam chara' goes a step further and includes humanitarian acts, charity, generosity, kindliness, and self-sacrifice in furtherance of love, principles and ideals.

To-day the State is composed of units, not of families as of old, but of individual citizens; and the Vedic injunction given by the Vedic preceptor to his pupil can now certainly emanate from the State to all its citizens and all public and private bodies or corporations. And the State has taken the duty to instruct them all as to what dharma is or means and refers every citizen to various Acts of the Legislature as the ideals to follow even as Vedic elders' words and acts were asked to be followed. The old Gurukula type of education has gone out of vogue and the State has undertaken citizens' education, health, morals, employment, leisure, and even recreation besides other amenities of life. The State has rightly earned the privilege to direct all the citizens to speak truth and do duty.

One may ask "What is Dharma?" It is Law pure and simple known to all types of men or Law more complex, composite or complicated as understood in our well-known proverb "Dharmasya Sukshma Gatih", meaning law to be intricate. It is either one single all-embracing law or a bundle or sum total of laws in force. The motto's second part "Dharmam chara" thus simply means "abide by law", "live by law", "live the life of law", or "live a lawful life". Pre-Vedic equivalent to post-Vedic "Dharma" was "Rita". And we find it daily used at a Dwija's dinner both morning and evening in "Satyam twartena parishinchami" and "Ritam twa satyena parishinchami". The two expressions mean "I circumscribe truth by rita" and "I circumscribe rita by truth". In other words, Truth and Dharma are interdependent and each limits the other's extremes, involving danger-zone. We know we cannot strictly and pedagogically parade or adhere to truth when higher social consideations are at stake. It was Manu or Vasishta who said that untruth is no sin if a life is saved thereby of a Brahmin or a Refugee, or a happy marriage is effected. The State is a practical institution and no ideal one. It must employ practical precepts and no airy or etherial or simply high-sounding principles to follow as in the case of Religion or Morality.

Hence we must allow that either part without the other simply limps or halts; and would prove hopelessly Utopian.

R. V. V. Tatachariar.

ESCAPE FROM AUSTRIA

(By Eric Geiger)

Austrian and German authorities recently had their hands full when several thousand Volksdeutsche, former members of the German minorities in Romania, Hungary, Yugoslavia and other East European countries, living in Austria, took what meagre belongings they possessed and tried to crash the German frontier.

The migrants were obsessed with one idea: to get out of Austria as fast as possible. Their hope was to reach the French Zone of Germany. Chiefly at night, trucks and buses loaded with human freight brought Volksdeutsche from all over the western part of Austria to a spot a few miles from the border. There they formed small groups and stole through the dark forest along the frontier, to attempt an illegal crossing. Some, forgetting that there is no legal way through which they can now leave Austria, attempted to secure passage openly.

There was no problem for the migrants in merely leaving Austrian soil, for the Austrians, faced always with a shortage of food, were willing to reduce the numbers of those who must be cared for. But the German border officials were in a different position. Their order was unmistakably said: No admission of Volksdeutsche from Austria. But the migrating Volksdeutsche, who have already had to wade through a sea of trouble, refused to be discouraged. Hence, oddly enough, travellers with legal passports crossing at the Grossgmain border stop saw many hundreds of people camping around the German station-house.

All this waiting, however, proved in vain, and so a large part of the would-be settlers in Germany returned to their "homes" in Austria—mainly old barracks—only to discover that these were already occupied with new unfortunates. Still others decided not to lose hope, and these are still waiting at the frontier.

This unique migration was due in part to a speech made by the Austrian Minister of the Interior, in which he declared that a new law, demanded by Austrian labour, is soon to be enacted. This measure would guarantee more jobs to Austrians, and deny them to foreigners, or at any rate, give Austrians priority, thus denying many of the Volksdeutsche any hope of work. He also asserted that the whole Volksdeutsche problem must speedily be solved. The Minister asked the refugees to look for another asylum, since Austria was no longer able to keep them.

Another reason for the panic among the Volksdeutsche was a recent decision by the Allied Military Governors of Germany that, because the American and British Zones are overcrowded with German refugees from Eastern Germany and the so-called "peoples democracies" of East Europe, the French Zone, the only part of Western Germany not seriously hampered by the flood of refugees, would have to admit a great many of them to ease an almost intolerable burden.

The only restriction is that no one can be admitted to the French Zone who does not come in official, organized transports. Austria, a theoretically "independent" and "free" country, is not entitled to any quota, so must keep thousands of people her economy needs to unload.

At the present time, there are still 360,000 "homeless" in Austria, most of them dwelling in big, organized camps. A small number of farm-workers have had the opportunity to migrate to Sweden and France. The rest live an unbearable life, without adequate help from any side.

It is hard to find any of these people who do not hope eventually to go back to the lands of their fathers, but in the general European situation, when if ever, can it be?

GERMANS ORGANIZE AGAINST BUREAUCRACY

(By Anna Maria Braun)

Still smarting under Hitlerism's arbitrary power, and fearing waste and over-organization in future state rule, Germans have formed a new Union for Protection against Bureaucracy and Maintenance of State Legal Rights.

Initiator of the movement, which has been assured of licensing by Military Government, is Max Schreier, who has made his greatest success in the field of hotel management—though in former years he worked as a mechanic and achieved some renown as a pianist, giving concerts before impressive audiences. Herr Schreier was born in New York, 47 years ago, but at the age of 13 lost both his parents by their death when he was visiting his grand-parents in Germany, where he had been caught by the outbreak of World War I.

"It is true," Herr Schreier told this correspondent, "that during the past 40 years political errors have been committed in plenty. But must we carry on in this same mistaken way forever? Must we continue to blame all bad political and economic conditions on the war? A time will come when Germans must bring about a change on their own initiative, a change for the benefit of the whole population."

Herr Schreier and his followers assert that while an election is on, no stone is left unturned to capture the interest of the voter. Once the election is over, however, the holders of office become isolated from their constituencies. From then on, the ordinary voter has little or nothing to say about the course of government.

"It was in the people's name that the government declared war," says the new organization, "though the people were never asked for their consent. It was the people's savings which were used to finance war, though again the people were never asked to approve."

It is no wonder, the Union feels, that people so rejected became detached and unconcerned. Why wonder that people have become suspicious and politically uninterested? Or that so many of them shrink from joining political parties?

The new movement hopes to counteract the tendency of all the parties to struggle for power through insulting campaigns, and to dissipate their

usefulness through acrimonious inner-party conflicts. There is always a danger, in its view, that even though workers and employers succeed in achieving bearable conditions, advances may be frustrated by the issuance of superabundant orders from the state. Stagnation will be the result of "Forbidden," "Not Permitted," "Prohibited," and a multiplicity of similar orders.

Max Schreier and his organization take the view that Germany's reconstruction cannot proceed in an over-organized state apparatus, which would consume so much money that none is left for rebuilding. "Hitler recruited his followers from the masses of the then unemployed, and gave them positions in the administration, in bureaucracy."

"We must have politicians who practice economy, who stand for simplicity, who will give us efficient job-holders. Bureaucracy must be kept in its place, and never again allowed to become a goad under which the people labour." So says the new movement, which is only in its early stage, but which may yet be heard from as a distinctive factor in German life.

COMMUNISM IN ASIA *

(By Sir Mirza Ismail)

The Communist victories in China will open a new chapter in the politics of all Asia. Both India and Pakistan will be greatly affected. Thus no sooner has independence been gained than the two Governments are compelled to give their main attention to preparing against the coming Communist storm and external pressure. It is this sombre background of the political scene which impels those who have been concerned with Indian administration for many years to offer constructive criticism of present policies of the Government at Delhi and Karachi. They are the first to admire the achievements of both Governments. In the 1947 days of the Punjab terror, after partition, no one expected the ample and dramatic recovery of authority which has taken place. If it had not been for the new danger from China, fair-minded observers would have preferred to dwell only on such positive achievements. But in view of that menace it is a patriotic duty to offer, candidly and constructively, the suggestions to which they are led by the present facts and policies.

Current events in China, as elsewhere, have emphasised the dangers that threaten both countries if they refuse to co-operate in the international field. We know that the infection of Communism in the peninsula is causing apprehension to the authorities. To their credit, they have handled the trouble firmly, but nevertheless the poison is spreading, and those for whom Marxism is gospel are still defiant and determined. They have good reason to expect support from beyond the frontiers. The victories of the Chinese Communist armies, which now stand almost on the Burmese border, make it practically certain that the Red tide banking up in South-East Asia will soon threaten East Bengal (Pakistan) and Assam (India). Only by the resolute and concerted effort of India and Pakistan can the danger from the East be met.

A close *entente* between the two countries is made necessary also by the clouds gathering over the N.W. Frontier. For the past two or three months the attitude of the Kabul authorities has been most unfriendly, almost to the point of bringing about a rupture of diplomatic relations. Avowedly the object of the Afghan Government is to make good its claim to the allegiance of the two or three million Pathans in the tribal belt between the Durand Line and the administered districts of Pakistan. So far there has been no threat of direct hostilities. The Kabul Government's attitude seems to suggest that it seeks to utilise the embarrassments of Pakistan arising from the Kashmir controversy to extort concessions in some form or other from the Pakistan authorities.

There may, however, be more to it than that. Indeed, there are grounds for suspicion that Russia is behind the activities of the Afghan authorities, and that her object is to create widespread disturbances on the Frontier in the expectation that the reactions on the Kashmir dispute will lead to inter-Dominion war. In the convulsion that would follow there would be every opportunity for an all-out Communist campaign in the Punjab. This would synchronise with a similar movement from the East, and the result might be that the Western Powers would lose India as a bastion against Soviet attack in the South-East. There would at the same time be a Communist movement towards the Persian Gulf.

In pre-partition days the bulk of the Indian Army massed on, or adjacent to, the North-West Frontier. The Indian Government had at its disposal all the reserves of the sub-continent; Pakistan has less than a third of these. Pakistan's new army is not quite fully organized, and in the present circumstances would certainly be severely embarrassed by an Afghan invasion backed by the fighting men of the great tribal belt. Fortunately, at the moment, the tribesmen in the Pakistan sphere of influence are loyal; and actively resent the attitude of Kabul. But can a continuance of that loyalty be guaranteed against an intensive effort of Russia to win them over? To stand up to such temptation would be a heavy strain. If they joined Afghanistan, and Russia lent staff officers and planes and gave ample military supplies, Pakistan could not repel such an onslaught and might be driven across the Indus. In the *debacle* that would follow both Dominions might go down in ruin.

That the Indian authorities are not insensitive to the threatened danger is shown by the views of leading statesmen, and especially by the attitude of Pandit Nehru, Prime Minister of India, at the London Conference. The decision reached unanimously went to show that his Government realises that in world conditions today it cannot hope to stand alone. But good intentions are not enough. Time presses, and the danger must be met promptly. Undoubtedly the attitude of Kabul would change if India and Pakistan came closely together. What stands in the way of reapproachment is the Kashmir dispute. The immediate need is for settlement on lines agreeable to both sides and also to the Pathan tribes of the borderland. Given an agreement under which India would pledge herself to support Pakistan in the defence of her frontier with Afghanistan, the storm-clouds which now hover over that turbulent region would disappear. An early joint diplomatic approach to Kabul would probably improve the position.

Such a development would disappoint Russia. She would then probably play a waiting game. But should she succeed in forcing the pace, India and Pakistan, standing together, would undoubtedly, if they so wished, receive help from their associates in the Commonwealth. They could not expect it otherwise. Indeed, as the Calcutta *Statesman* has suggested, there is a strong case for Great Britain—and the United States also—making their interest known in advance in Kabul. The interests of both countries would be affected by an explosion on the North-West frontier. Diplomatic action by them at this stage might prevent mischief from developing further.

In internal affairs likewise there is dire need for a rapproachment between India and Pakistan, which are so dependent upon each other in matters affecting their internal economy. They swim together or they sink. What Nature intended, by the vast Himalayan wall and the varied distribution of her potential resources, to be a single country cannot exist in separate unfriendly parts, isolated from each other. They must come together in at least certain essential matters or be prepared for ultimate disaster. I can see no insuperable obstacle to a real friendly relationship between the two countries, but the will must be there. Let them pool their resources as far as possible and strive for mutual prosperity. The countries of Europe, which so long remained distinct political and economic entities, have been obliged, by pressure of circumstances; to surrender part of their sovereignty, and to stand shoulder to shoulder and bear a common burden. Why should not India and Pakistan do the same? True statesmanship, based on reality, demands that India and Pakistan should devote their thought and energy to the speediest achievement of economic, cultural and political partnership with each other. They should sink their differences and meet the coming dangers together. Such a policy, pursued in a spirit of positive friendship, is their only way to security. Even brief delay may prove disastrous.

Statesmanship has seldom been challenged by a more pregnant opportunity; and it is a stirring thought that the leaders of India and Pakistan, working together, may now exercise a decisive influence upon the history of the world.

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"*I will* be as harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard*".

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the LIBERATOR.

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NOTES

Gandhi Murder Trial:—The full Bench of the East Punjab High Court has given judgment on the appeal against the Special Judge's (Mr. Atma Charan's) sentences in the Gandhi Murder Trial. In the main, the sentences have been upheld, particularly the death sentences on Godse and Apte, the hand which executed the murder and the brain that planned it. The presiding judge, Mr. Justice Bhandari, described the crime as premeditated, cold-blooded and cruel for which the only penalty was the death sentence. There is, however, widespread discussion on the possible attitude of the Government with whom the prerogative of clemency lies. It is expected —not in India alone where interested parties are involved, but abroad as well—that the main personalities in the Government will, as followers of Mahatma Gandhi, exert themselves to set the death sentences aside. The Constituent Assembly has shown some sentiment for abolishing capital punishment, and this is also considered as a factor making for clemency to the men who murdered Gandhiji. Nevertheless, the law as it stands recognizes the death penalty, and considering all the circumstances dispassionately there is no reason for making an exemption here. There are others who have been sentenced to death in the past eighteen months since the murder of Gandhiji took place, and they are more entitled to consideration than Nathuram Godse and Apte, though they have not received as much attention.

Exonerating the Police:—The Full Bench has criticised the remarks of the Special Judge on the conduct of the Police and the action of the Bombay Home Minister after warnings had been received of the threat to Gandhiji's life. We ourselves had remarked that Mr. Atma Charan's condemnation was not quite justified by facts. Wisdom after the event is always easy but it is difficult in its exoneration, stressing the difficulty of piercing through the disguises adopted by the chief conspirators. It is disquieting to think that governments are so powerless to frustrate the sinister plans of murderous conspirators. If the Full Bench had maintained that the men in power took the warnings lightly because no one at the time regarded as serious the threats that were uttered against Gandhiji and others, they would have been on surer ground. The assertion that the Governments took the warnings seriously but were not able to act on them, is demanding too much from the credulity of the people.

Workers' Savings:—The enabling Ordinance allowing part of bonus awarded to be paid in National Savings Certificates under direction of industrial tribunals has come in for criticism at the hands of a section of Labour leaders, the more extreme of whom have called for a one-day strike to record their protest. There is some force in the contention that savings should not be begun at the lowest levels of the wage scale; nor is the assumption that workers are less capable of wise spending than others in the community, altogether warranted. The fact that it is enforceable, is no reason why it should be resorted to, in these levels. On the other hand, it is true that the Government is launching a drive for National Savings Certificates which presents the Ordinance in a certain perspective. The Government of Bombay has in a communique announced that a third of the second instalment of the bonus awarded in the textile award will be in the form of Savings Certificates. The protest that is being registered, will make industrial tribunals careful in resorting to the provisions of the Ordinance. Compulsory savings applicable to only one section of the community will naturally be strongly resented. It is good that the amending Ordinance just promulgated has rectified this mistake and arranged for Certificates of shorter term which could be cashed by the workers if they so desired, thus giving up compulsion for choice. The leaders who had decided on a token strike, have naturally no objection to this kind of encouragement to save.

Labour Conditions:—We publish this week an extract from the "International Labour Review" giving the general trends in Labour legislation in India during the decade 1937 to 1947. The survey is followed by an exhaustive review of the conditions in Factory, Workshop, Mines, Shops and Transport and the first part appears in the April issue of the journal. It will be an invaluable supplement to the I.L.O. publication

on the "Industrial Worker in India" which was issued some ten years back.

Problems of Merged States:—As a consequence of the merging of several States with the province of Bombay, the question of representation in the provincial legislature for the people of these areas has arisen. It was recently announced that sixty-five additional seats were to be made, bringing the Bombay Assembly strength to a total of 240. These seats are to be filled by nomination by the Government of India. The arrangement is not justifiable, leave alone ideal. Under the British, any such proposal would have roused strong protest on the ground that it created a nominated block, that it deprived the peoples of the territories of the right of voting their representatives, and that it affected the traditions of one of the more progressive provinces of the Union. Now that an Indian government is in power, there is a general feeling that much can be permitted to it. This is a mistaken view since, though it might be acquiesced in for the time being, it is bound to give rise to dissatisfaction later. On the other hand, by throwing these seats open to election, the Government risks nothing since it will retain a majority at the worst whilst at the same opening to the opposition Socialists a new avenue which will keep them busily engaged and which will focus their attention on more constructive policies. On a long range view, elections would be far more helpful in building healthy political life than nominations and the long range should not be sacrificed to present convenience.

Hope for Journalists?—The Bombay Labour Minister, Mr. Gulzarilal Nanda, has promised journalists an inquiry into their working conditions in his informal address to the Bombay Union of Journalists. As the sympathies of the members of the Union are reported to be with the Socialists the promise has its own significance coming as it does after the reverses suffered by the Congress in elections. It is to be hoped that political parties will not use this Union for their own ends since independence from political loyalties in journalists is to be valued for its own sake in a country which aspires to be democratic. However, Mr. Nanda's promise is welcome. For the young journalist with serious political convictions will either join the paper representing his political views or accept for the purposes of his work the views of the paper he serves. In any case such an inquiry is long overdue, the Central Provinces Government being the only government that has shown any initiative in this direction so far. Congress leaders are apt to lecture journalists on the ethical standards they should adopt—sometimes justifiably, sometimes not and always after they have been exposed to misrepresentation of their statements or premature publication of deliberations with their political opponents. Few of them have bothered to find out why journalistic excesses occur so often. The findings of such inquiries may surprise them, therefore. But the main defects of working conditions have been known for long to the prominent members of the profession. Low salaries, the tendency on the part of the less opulent proprietors to run their papers with a large proportion of apprentices, lack of security, and absence of fixed grades and scales of salaries except in a handful of the well established papers are some of the worst features of the manner in which most newspapers are being conducted in the country. The consequences of these conditions are obvious; the majority of the men in the profession have no specific qualification except that of a more or less facile pen. Naturally the standard achieved by the Indian press under the circumstances cannot compare favourably with that of the Western press. The condition is aggravated further by the absence of any specialised training facilities. An objective test or measure of professional competence has to be developed yet. That all these matters have not been looked into so far, reflects adversely on the leaders of the profession. To some extent their indifference to them is accounted for by their absorption with politics during pre-independence days. The majority of Indian journalists in the British period, at least among editors, were motivated to an appreciable extent by missionary zeal. With independence the attitude has altered and Indian editors like Congressmen now are apt to want to cash in on their past sacrifices. For this attitude there is no excuse. Also the habit of looking to the Government for initiating improvement in existing conditions is to be deplored most emphatically. The All-India Newspapers Editors Conference should have taken up these problems at least two years ago. It can move forward still—the sooner the better. Efforts to improve the situation should not be confined, however, to ameliorating working conditions; this is important but equally necessary is it to consider the specific qualifications necessary for newspaper production and to draft post-graduate courses which would equip aspiring young journalists with the required training for their work. When trained men are available in greater numbers proprietors will be more ready to agree to providing better working conditions. Journalists' Unions will then find that their hand is strengthened automatically.

The Sweepers' Strike:—The strike of the Bombay municipal sweepers continues for the sixth week, the longest strike in the history of the municipal conservancy department. It is reported that there is only one issue now outstanding: The reinstatement of the leaders and others. The Commissioner has offered re-employment but not reinstatement, which means that the sweepers taken back will lose all their service; he has also insisted on dismissing some 100 men. This "firmness" seems a mistaken zeal on the part of the Commissoiner, probably inspired by the strength of the majority Congress party in the Corporation which links him up with the Government. There is a lot of morale-stirring by minor Congress personalities who think that by asserting loudly enough that the city's sanitation and health have been unaffected they will impress the public. On the other hand, the opposition Socialists with greater subtility are drawing attention to the increase in flies and the mortality figures in words which leave a lingering influence on the public mind. There is at all times enough evidence to sustain any suggestion of this kind, and once one's attention is called to flies it is very difficult to ignore their presence. It is, however, necessary that the strike should be settled as early as possible without any false, face-saving, delays. Mr. K. G. Saiyyadin, Bombay's Educational Adviser, is reported to have asked the Municipality to consider putting school-children and teachers to do emergency work. Fortunately the suggestion was almost unanimously turned down.

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BOMBAY, June 25, 1949.

CLEAN UP

The Congress Party has on hand two inquiries into governmental workings—Madras and Bihar. In Madras, charges against Ministers led to Mr. Shankerrao Deo being deputed to investigate into the complaints. Mr. Deo began with a rebuke to Congressmen, asking them not to indulge in wild charges, and an assertion that the public was interested not in the procedure he adopted but in his report. He finally declared that the investigation was a family affair and had nothing to do with non-Congressmen. All this has resulted in wider publicity to the charges and general dissatisfaction with the inquiry. Considering the nature of Madras politics, it could have been anticipated that Mr. Deo's presence would divert critical attention from the Ministers to himself and Mr. Deo might usefully have adopted a more tactful tone. As things stand, it is inevitable that Mr. Deo's investigation will be taken as a preliminary survey and a more judicial inquiry set up to succeed him. In Bihar, the confusion has been intensified by the convenor of an investigating committee set up by the Congress having changed his party allegiance to the Socialists and submitted a report which is an exposure of the molasses disposal in the province. The provincial Congress has disowned the report and denounced it as political propaganda. Nevertheless, the serious disclosures made therein render further investigation necessary. Sardar Vallabhai Patel on a visit to Patna had spoken in scathing terms of the scandal and asked for a full exposure of the intrigues behind it. From what has appeared so far the scandal has sprung from the over-anxiety of an official to keep well with the Congress.

It is rather disturbing that, when Indian leaders have been stressing the need for establishing standards of administration in the merged, integrated and united States, there should be such disclosures in two Indian provinces which can neither be competently investigated by the Congress Party nor decently hushed up. It cuts at the very root of the theory that the States people have everything to gain and nothing to lose by merging with the rest of India. Nor is this the whole story. With lawlessness rampant in West Bengal and political confusion in East Punjab, there is little reason for complacency in the Indian Union. If we take into account the charges of executive or party interference with the judiciary, there will be only one or two provinces which escape notice. In these circumstances, it seems rather disingenuous to distract attention from ministerial misdeeds by calling for a general raising of the ethics of the people. The failure of the Congress Party, after nearly three decades of emphasis on Truth, to secure about a hundred and fifty men to man the provincial administrations, is a sad commentary on the technique of improvement by exhortation. It is necessary for some action to ensure that better men are available for our ministers and, if they cannot be secured by the present method of the legislature party choosing its leader, then obviously some other system has to be adopted. There are several persons, in fact, who doubt the practicability under present circumstances of provincial ministers and legislatures, and would scrap the paraphernalia of "democratic institutions" for a kind of general chief commissionership for all units in the country. This is of course not possible to-day. It remains to be seen whether the governors, nominated as they are to be by the President of the Union, will be able to exercise a restraining influence. Mr. B. G. Kher, the Bombay Premier, asserted in the Constituent Assembly that they had proved so successful in the interim period that nominations should be continued. So far as this aspect goes, nominated governors have been a dismal failure and they will remain so until some procedure is devised by which the powers of provincial ministries in relation to those of centrally nominated governors will vary directly with their efficiency and competence. The difficulty—and it is not insurmountable if the courage is there—lies in the fact that, unlike the previous regime which started authoritarian and then developed representative institutions, the present administration has started on a popular basis. There are several Congressmen who, after a period in administrative office, question the wisdom of adult suffrage but lack the courage openly to confess their fears. Similarly even those who do see the dangers of popular ministries functioning without control, dare not say so to a public on whom their future political existence depends.

The only silver lining which can be seen in this gloom, is the fact that more and more leaders are beginning to appreciate the reality of the Indian situation. Instead of all the talks about our "glorious tradition" and our "great heritage", Indian publicists realise that as a nation we begin at the bottom rather than somewhere near the top and have to work our way up gradually and in patient effort. If the internal conditions reveal a paucity of integrity in our "popular" administrators, there are indications that our selection of foreign representatives has not been very happy. It is not the lack of experience of diplomacy that is the defect but lack of ordinary commonsense and good manners. Some of the anecdotes which have become after-dinner jokes, are hardly creditable to persons who are supposed to represent the country. There seems to be no definite standard by which the choice of men is made and no two ambassadors, counsellors, press attaches and trade agents have anything in common between them. A local newspaper recently remarked that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had pulled up Professor Ranga and Mr. S. K. Patil who are touring Europe and America for talking too much abroad. There seems little likelihood of much harm being done by these unofficial tourists. But it would be more to the point if something was done to train our foreign would-be diplomats in certain elementary courtesies. As a matter of fact, with all our eagerness to establish in a marked fashion India's difference from other Dominions, it is a point worth considering whether it would not have been better to have adopted a more modest foreign policy. At present it has led to a certain dissipation of our energies with rather unfortunate results. There is not one of our representatives abroad who can be honestly commended as an excellent selection.

A DECADE OF LABOUR LEGISLATION

In the record of Indian Labour legislation during the period 1937—1948 may be seen reflected the operation of certain factors of particular interest: the increasing industrialisation of a country that is still largely agricultural and the impact of war-time requirements; the federalism that resulted from the constitutional changes introduced in 1937; the achievement of national independence in 1947. It is the purpose of the following article to present such a record.. The article, which brings up to date the information on labour legislation contained in the report on industrial labour in India published by the Office in 1938, was prepared in the New Delhi Office of the I.L.O.

A review of recent labour legislation in India may most appropriately start from 1937, since it was in April of that year that the wide constitutional changes outlined in the Government of India Act, 1935, came into force in the British Indian provinces. The provinces were granted full autonomy in respect of a large number of subjects, and were endowed with entirely independent sources of revenue and given complete control of their own finance. The authority, legislative and executive, in the provinces was vested in Ministers chosen from and responsible to legislatures elected on a comparatively wide franchise and containing no nominated officials or non-officials.

Under the constitutional provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935, which are still in force in India pending the adoption of a new Constitution by the Constituent Assembly of the Dominion of India, there is a demarcation between provincial and central functions regarding legislation as well as administration. Briefly, the regulation of labour and safety in mines and oilfields, on the federal railways and in the major ports, as also interprovincial migration, are central (or federal) subjects. But the following are subjects of concurrent legislative jurisdiction: "factories; welfare of labour; conditions of labour; provident funds; employers' liability and workmen's compensation; health insurance, including invalidity pensions; old-age pensions; unemployment insurance; trade unions; industrial and labour disputes; enquiries and statistics for the purpose of any of the matters (enumerated)". The central (or federal) legislature and a provincial legislature both have power to make laws with respect to any of these matters of concurrent jurisdiction. There is, however, an important proviso. If the central legislature desires to pass legislation on any of these subjects which involves "the giving of directions to a province as to the carrying into execution" of such legislation, it must obtain the previous sanction of the Governor-General.

The Draft Constitution for the new Dominion of India, as settled by the Drafting Committee of the Constituent Assembly, leaves unchanged the above distribution of powers between the centre, now termed the Union, and the provinces, now termed States, but strengthens substantially the executive power of the centre in respect of subjects of concurrent legislative jurisdiction, by providing that with regard to such subjects the executive power shall vest in the province, "save as expressly provided in this Constitution or by any law made by Parliament". The effect of this saving clause is that it will be open to the Union Parliament under the new Constitution to confer executive power on Union authorities, or if necessary, to empower Union authorities to give directions as to how executive power shall be exercised by State authorities, in respect of these subjects.

The considerable extension of the franchise in 1937 and the establishment of popular ministries in the provinces led necessarily to a much more sympathetic approach to the problems of labour, and in the years 1937 to 1948 a number of new labour laws were enacted both by the central Government and in the provinces. The main achievements of the first half of this period, which may be taken roughly to extend from 1937 to 1942, were: (1) the initiation, for the first time, of legislation to regulate working conditions in workshops (factories not using mechanical power), namely, the Employment of Children (Amendment) Act, 1939, enacted by the Government of India, and the Unregulated Factories Act, 1937, enacted by the Government of the Central Provinces and Berar; (2) the extension in a number of provinces, including Bengal, Bombay, the Punjab and Sind, of the statutory regulation of working conditions to a new class of workers, namely, wage earners employed in shops and commercial establishments; (3) a substantial extension of the protection afforded to women workers against the risks of maternity, through the central Government's Mines Maternity Benefit Act, 1941, and the similar Acts in Assam, Bengal, Bihar, the Punjab and the United Provinces; and (4) the adoption in Bombay in 1938 of a comprehensive Industrial Disputes Act, which provided for an elaborate machinery for the settlement of industrial disputes by conciliation and arbitration.

The need for a certain measure of uniformity in labour legislation revealed by the working of provincial autonomy and the existence side by side of a central and a number of provincial Governments with concurrent jurisdiction in the sphere of labour legislation, combined with the imperative necessity of strengthening India's war effort by removing as far as practicable all friction between capital and labour, led the Government of India in 1942 to inaugurate an extremely significant and fruitful experiment in the field of social policy. In August 1942, it set up a permanent Tripartite Labour Organisation, composed of representatives of the central, provincial and Indian State Governments, as well as of employers and workers, with a constitution modelled on that of the International Labour Organization and with the following three objects: (1) the promotion of uniformity in labour legislation; (2) the determination of a procedure for the settlement of industrial disputes; and (3) consultations on all matters of industrial interest affecting the country as a whole. This organisation consists of a Standing Committee and a plenary Conference, over both of which the Minister of Labour in the Government of India presides. The Committee, which may meet as often as it is convened by the Government of India, consists of ten Government, five employers' and five workers' representatives. The plenary Conference, which meets at least once a year, consists of twenty-two Government representatives (excluding the Chairman) and eleven representatives each of employers and workers. Since the inauguration of the Tripartite Organisation in 1942, the Standing Committee has held ten sessions, and the plenary Labour Conference has met six times.

The opportunity afforded by this tripartite machinery for regular and periodical discussions between representatives of Governments, employers and workers naturally helped to focus attention on the main problems of labour, and the years between 1942 and 1948 witnessed a remarkable extension in the scope and content of protective labour legislation. The more important among the enactments which the Tripartite Organization has helped to place on the statute book are a series of amendments to the Factories Act, which have given the workers in factories a forty-eight hour week, annual holidays with pay and can-

teen facilities; the Industrial Employment (Standing Orders) Act, 1946, which requires the larger industrial establishments in the country to frame and adopt regular standing orders; the Trade Unions **(Amendment) Act, 1947, providing for the compulsory** recognition of trade unions by employers; the Employees' State Insurance Act, 1948, which introduces for the first time in India a comprehensive scheme of accident, maternity and sickness insurance for the wage earners in perennial factories; and the Minimum Wages Act, 1948, which provides for the fixation and enforcement of statutory minimum rates of wages in a number of employments in India, including agriculture.

REVENUES OF TRADE UNIONS IN THE U.S.

(By Lazare Teper)

As free associations of working men and women, the trade unions of the United States jealously guard their independence and oppose interference from any source—be it government or employers—into their affairs. Fostering the principle of self-rule and self-maintenance, they finance their activities solely through the contributions of their own membership. They receive no subsidies whatsoever.

The largest share of union income is received in the form of dues from the membership. Dues are paid to the local unions, and a specified portion, either on a percentage basis or a flat sum, is set aside for the use of the national parent organization.

The amount of local union dues is determined within the framework of each national union. In some, the amount of local union dues is decided by each local union separately, through the action of its membership. Under the constitutions of some national unions, there may be either a maximum which dues cannot exceed or a floor below which they cannot fall. In some instances, both upper and lower limits are specified.

However, in a number of unions, particularly those in the mass production industries, the amount of local union dues may be uniform throughout the national organization. In such instances, the amount of dues is determined at periodic conventions, where the membership is represented by its elected delegates.

Union dues frequently cover not only the cost of maintaining the organization and financing its economic activities. A significant portion of the income from dues may also be devoted to various welfare schemes for the membership—such as old-age pensions and assistance, sickness benefits and death benefits. However, the present trend is away from these schemes. With the advent of government-sponsored programmes of social insurance and the development of numerous health and welfare plans paid for by employer contributions under contracts with unions, the need for benefits financed by the union membership becomes lessened. There is also a growing desire to keep the worker-financed benefit funds separate and apart from the moneys needed for the unions' day-to-day functions. Increasingly, therefore, union dues cover solely the cost of operation for pure trade union purposes.

As a general practice, union dues are payable on a monthly basis. Some organizations, however, assess their dues on a weekly basis. While the amount varies, members of American unions in general pay between $1.50 and $2.50 a month in dues. They may be as low as $1.00 but, in a comparatively small number of cases, may be as high as $5.00 or even $7.50 a month. The difference in the amount of dues depends in the main on local factors—the size of the organization, the type of welfare benefits paid for by dues and the nature of the trade union service that has to be rendered. The level of dues may be compared with the level of the average wage in American industry—currently about $55 a week.

In the great majority of cases, dues are paid either directly at the union office or indirectly through shop stewards, organizers, or business agents. Such methods are typical of the unions affiliated with the A.F. of L. The other method of dues payment is the so-called "check-off." Under this system, the employer, in accordance with the union contract, deducts dues from the wages of workers. This method is found most frequently in the mass-production industries and is more typical of unions affiliated with the C.I.O. The check-off is utilized as a convenient method for collection of dues either when factories are located at some distance from the union headquarters or when the number of workers in a single establishment is so great as to make individual dues payments somewhat unwieldy.

On occasion, a union may discover that it needs funds beyond the amount collected through dues. Such situations arise when a union may plan to start a large-scale organizational drive, to meet the cost of prolonged strikes and strike benefits, to help unemployed members, to assist friendly organizations at home or abroad, or to purchase or improve their office facilities. In such cases, the needed funds may be raised by a special assessment. Assessments may be imposed either by the local unions or the national union—the latter usually being authorized by the action of a national convention or by a membership referendum. Sometimes, limited power to levy an assessment may be granted to the national officers in order to meet special needs when union funds fall below a certain point. Frequently, the amount that can be levied as assessments is limited by the union constitution. In a few instances, national officers are given wider discretion to impose special assessments to cope with emergency situations. On the other hand, some unions prohibit special assessments at all times.

Local unions, on the whole, have fairly broad latitude in connection with assessments. The matter is left to the local union membership to decide. However, some national unions employ safeguards in their constitutions against such local union actions. These safeguards may require that a referendum be taken before a local assessment is imposed, or may provide for a two-thirds vote of the membership. In other cases, local unions may be authorized to levy assessments for limited purposes, such as aid to unemployed members.

Initiation fees from new members is another source of revenue to American trade unions, although a small one. Frequently, such fees are imposed because it is felt that the newcomers benefit by the achievements of the older members who obtained better wage and working conditions at personal sacrifice. In the great majority of cases, initiation fees range between $2 and $5. In some instances, particularly where considerable skill is involved, the fees may be much larger, somewhere between $10 and $25; in isolated cases, they may run much higher than that. Initiation fees are usually determined by the local unions, even though, as with dues, the national constitution may set upper or lower limits—or both—on the amount. A portion of the initiation fees collected by the local union is forwarded to the national organization. In a few instances, the entire initiation fee goes to the national organization. It is interesting to note that the higher initiation fees are usually imposed through the actions of local unions rather than by the national bodies.

The moneys received by the national unions are used to maintain the national headquarters and to pay the salaries of national officers. In addition, these funds are used to publish union papers, to provide research and legal assistance to the local unions, to conduct educational work among the members, and to maintain a public relations programme. However, the national unions frequently have to subsidize, out of their general funds, local unions which cannot be self-sustaining because of small membership.

Aside from being used for policing contracts with the employers, the income of local unions is used to organize the unorganized, to pay the salaries of staff members who take care of day-to-day dealings with employers, and to conduct other trade union activities. Where welfare benefits are provided, these are frequently administered by the locals. Where there are several craft local unions in the same industry, they may maintain a joint organization in order to deal with employers on an industrial basis. Local unions, irrespective of trade, may also belong to a regional federation of local unions; such organizations financed by local contributions, usually concern themselves with the coordination of the activities of unions in different trades or industries and with problems of a legislative nature.

American unions have long submitted periodic reports on thir finances to their membership, both on the local and national levels. Most national unions have professional accountants who audit the records to insure their accuracy and honesty. In general, the financial reports of American unions are much more detailed and frequent than those of corporations. This has been true despite the fact that, until the passage of the Taft-Hartley Law last year, there was no legal requirement that unions issue such reports.

COLOMBIAN POLITICAL TENSION

(By Rosa E. Lobel)

As the people of Colombia approached June elections for Congressional and municipal office, tension was high because a wave of rural banditary had produced serious political repercussions.

A few weeks before, a great sensation had been caused throughout the country by the rupture of the National Union government which had directed the destinies of the Republic since the unhappy riots of April, 1948. Lately, there have been unfortunate incidents, especially in the regions of Santanderes, Boyaca and Narino, where political exasperation reached its highest pitch between members of the two traditional parties, Liberal and Conservative, with deaths among farm supporters of both groups. Fires have been set, cattle and horses have been destroyed, and farmers have had to take refuge in the cities.

To understand the current situation it is necessary to note the recent breakdown of authority. There is a shortage of police, and this lack of enforcement has developed in country districts a situation which permits malefactors of all kinds to rob at will. Professional bandits, too, go into politics to safeguard themselves from the authorities, who do not feel able to punish them for fear of reprisals. The robbers begin by threatening the peasants (people poor in purse and spirit), who, for fear of being assassinated, abandon their farms and livestock. The bandits in this way easily acquire the possessions of others, then say they are "Liberals" if the country people are Conservatives, or call themselves "Conservatives" if the inhabitants are Liberals.

These rural outrages are exploited by the press of one side or the other, and the victims and their relatives attack vehemently the political party to which the bandits have declared allegiance. From this it is only a short step to a general campaign against the central government, on the ground that it cannot protect the nation's citizens.

In this state of affairs President Ospina, whose sincere desire to maintain peace and order no one denies, has found himself in difficult straits and has produced no remedy except to resort to the Army. The curious fact is that the executive board of the Liberal Party also demanded that the President appoint military governors and mayors for the areas that have undergone so much unrest. Because the Chief Executive did not immediately comply, the Liberal cabinet ministers refused to stand with him in the June elections.

Although the President would not yield to the Liberal pressure, and even accepted the resignations of Liberal ministers, he forthwith replaced them with military figures. Colonel Regulo Gaitan became Minister of War; and General Miguel Sanjuan became Attorney General. Thus the President who had refused to put military men over the troubled provinces and towns placed them in key national posts.

It can be said that this move shows the President's awareness that the present crisis extends through the entire country. But what matters more is that, in Colombia, the duties of military men have customarily been limited to guarding the public order. When the elections are over, will they resign their offices and allow civilians to be appointed in their stead? However necessary the President's course may have been for public security, it is particularly dangerous because of the example set by neighbouring countries where the military have usurped the powers of government.

By good fortune, Colombia has always been "civilista"—that is, the Army has always occupied a high place in supporting constitutional government. The presence of the military in half the government is unusual in Colombian experience. Both Liberals and Conservatives wanted the Army to go into the streets in the June election for the sole purpose of maintaining order at the polls and guaranteeing a free popular choice.

One reason why elections in the present tensity present a problem of order is the fact that the defeated party finds its supporters often barred from lucrative governmental jobs. Meanwhile the non-political citizenry, indifferent to political victories or defeats, suffer the consequences which the sharp political battles bring to the country.

All businesses are paralyzed or damaged by the social instability that prevails among the country people, who abandon agricultural pursuits in fright at what an election struggle may bring to their thresholds. The cities, on the other hand, are flooded by jobless people unskilled at urban tasks.

Resignations from minor positions because of the keen political excitement can also seriously menace good works proceeding under intelligent leadership. For example, in Bogota there is danger that a series of excellent undertakings in the poorer section of the city may be side-tracked because the Minister of Hygiene, Dr. Vejarani, has quit. Free shower baths for 2,000 persons a day have recently been installed in one needy district, and other works for popular benefit were to follow. As long as elections are held in an atmosphere of such political storminess, many efforts for public advancement seem destined to be disrupted.

INTERPRETING THE ATLANTIC PACT

(By Devere Allen)

The Foreign Relations Committee of the United States Senate has brought to the North Atlantic Pact the same clarity shown by the legendary wartime sergeant who asked his men, "If the zero hour comes, will ye fight or will ye run?" At the chorused reply, "We will," he exclaimed, "I knew ye would." By unanimous vote the Committee reported favourably on the Treaty. But it did little to clear up one of the most crucial questions, both from the viewpoint of the American people and that of the European signatories. In case the President decides that an aggressive attack has been made against a signer, will he have power to put the country into war without a vote of Congress? Or will he lack such power?

European statesmen have been in favour of this automatic power, but they have frequently been wrong. A divided United States, torn by constitutional wrangling, might not be the swift defender they suppose. The Senate as a whole can hardly leave the issue clothed in the fog the Committee has rolled up. For the Committee merely says, "The decision as to what action was necessary, and the action itself, would of course have to be taken in accordance with established constitutional procedures ....."

Is it clear that constitutional procedures have been established beyond all doubt? On the face of it, they would mean that no matter what the occasion, the sending of troops into combat on foreign soil could not be done without Congressional authorization. But there are differences of opinion among the experts, let alone among Washington leaders themselves. Secretary Acheson had said, concerning U.S. responsibility, it "does not mean that the United States would automatically be at war if one of the other signatory nations were the victim of an armed attack. Under our Constitution, the Congress alone has the power to declare war." Few senators have become abnormally stoop-shouldered lately from perusing heavy tomes on constitutional law, but a number of them have been doing preliminary exploration. Senator Walter George is inclined to believe that a strong-minded President would not wait for Congress to vote the United States into war if an attack were made on a signatory to the Pact. Arthur Knock of the "New York Times" writes from Washington: "If, in the judgment of the President, the situation called for military mobilization and dispatch of forces, he would and could order both without prior resort to Congress, were that body in recess...." The State Department has on file a brief drawn five years ago, making a distinction between the waging or declaring of war, and using force under a treaty. Supreme court decisions are on record which distinguish between a state of war and the conditions which might lead to it. Willoughby, a constitutional authority, says at one point that "The United States may, by a treaty, pledge its faith that it will, under given circumstances, go to war, but the arising of these circumstances cannot operate, ipso facto, to place the United States in a state of war. For that a declaration of a state of war by Congress is necessary."

Are things to be left in this uncertain legal haze right up to the point of some conceivable emergency? If they are, it is a foregone conclusion that a panic-stricken President could have the country at war in less time than it takes for a jitterbug to say Bebop. Intelligence services have been known to go half cocked. It is not casting aspersions on any signer of the Pact to say that some future government overseas, in a moment of unwarranted fright, might try to save, not its people, but its own tenure of office, by crying "Wolf, wolf." The need for Congress to decide so momentous an issue, weak or wild as that body can sometimes get, is apparent the more carefully one examines the working of the Pact. The Secretary of State with frankness has tried to show that the Treaty does not obligate the United States to intervene in an internal revolt, or a mere international border incident engineered by non-official groups. But since the Pact is meant to safeguard its signers specifically against Russia, and that country wins its conquests precisely by internal revolutions stirred from outside, why the Treaty at all unless its significance is crystal clear?

The apparent caution in defining what constitutes the kind of aggression covered by the Treaty is belied by its very words. Article Six describes an armed attack not only against signatory countries, but also on "the vessels or aircraft in this area of any of the Parties." A naval commander gone haywire and attacking a ship, or even a gunner shooting down a single plane, would be committing exactly the kind of act which could justify an over-eager President in making war—and sacrificing millions of human beings to avenge a handful. There is a way by which this hair-trigger situation, which is not theoretical, might be avoided in advance. The Pact appears certain to pass the Senate, but all authorities agree on the right of the Upper House to re-word or amend treaties when it adopts them. The Pact should not be passed until it has been re-shaped, or clarified by an attendant reservation, making it clear that the adherence of the United States does not give the President authority to send troops abroad or to take armed action without the consent of Congress.

—Worldover Press

AUSTRIAN TOTALITARIANS BACK "FOURTH PARTY"

Using the innocuous designation of "Independents," Austrians of pro-Nazi tendency are rallying around a new movement which may reach sufficient strength to affect this year's elections. In the balloting of 1945, the conservative People's Party won approximately 50 per cent of the votes, the Socialists 45, and the Communists only five. In that year, former members of the Nazi Party, numbering about 300,000, were forbidden to vote, but since then their electoral rights have been restored.

The new "Fourth Party" does not hesitate to announce that representatives and supporters of the pre-war Nazi movements are entering its ranks. At a recent meeting in Linz, a Socialist stronghold, 3,000 people came out to hear the Independent leader, Dr. Kraus, appeal for backing. Although there were doubtless a number of curiosity seekers in the audience, applause lasting ten minutes greeted Kraus's statement that "after the Anschluss in 1938, unemployment was instantly swept away." A voice from the crowd reminded the speaker that this cure for unemployment was followed by concentration camps and war.

Political leftists would be tempted to welcome the new party, which might split the People's Party vote, were it not for the danger they see in the formation of such a neo-Nazi machine. The Allied Military Government has not yet given any authorization for the Independent Party, and may not do so; but Dr. Kraus and his followers are getting around that difficulty for the present by calling their movement a "political association."

LATIN AMERICAN PROGRAMME

Very quietly the State Department is undergoing a sweeping reorganization of its attitudes and personnel involved in inter-American relations. Secretary of State Acheson has been obliged to stand personally aloof from details, but has given the idea his blessing. Importance of the move lies in the steady deterioration of the Good Neighbour Policy since the end of the war.

First and foremost among the needs, demanded by Latin American spokesmen and urged by U.S. experts, has been the appointment of an Assistant Secretary of State for American Republic Affairs, experienced in Latin America and sympathetic with the aspirations of countries below the border. The appointment of Edward G. Miller, Jr. affords an opportunity to refurbish the whole U.S. government outlook.

Further steps being considered at Washington have to do with matters of policy. Too frequently in recent months has the State Department given the impression of support for reactionary regimes which have come to power by military coups. Recognition of such regimes has been given without the full consultation outlined in inter-American pacts. Economic aid to Latin America long since pledged, especially for industrialization, has been hedged about with excuses and delays. Many actions of critical significance have been taken spottily, instead of systematically, as parts of an all-inclusive inter-American programme.

While no wholesale announcement will be made, the State Department, by a series of anticipated steps over coming weeks, may be expected to seek restored confidence and a closer knitting of inter-American ties based on a common democratic emphasis.

—Worldover Press

CO-OPS IN WESTERN CANADA

(By W. S. Edgar)

Retail and producers' co-operatives have developed further in the western provinces of Canada than in any other section, according to a survey just completed by the Manitoba Department of Industry and Commerce. The survey attributes this to the co-operative experience gained by western farmers in selling agricultural products. Co-operation is still strongest in this line, but is growing in the merchandising of feeds, fertilizers, spray equipment, petroleum, food products and automotive accessories.

Saskatchewan co-ops, largely because they have been fostered by the present Socialist government, are more important than those elsewhere, even in the West. In 1945 the total sales by co-ops in all Canada amounted to $81,360,855. Of this total, Saskatchewan, sold $16,449,785. Though Saskatchewan's share of the whole Dominion's population is less than eight per cent, its co-op sales amount to a fifth.

The survey indicates that Manitoba is looking for a big increase in sales to adjoining states of the U.S.A. as a result of the Geneva Trade Conference. Tariff barriers have effectively sealed the border to many classes of Canadian goods. With even a moderate reduction of tariffs, 5,000,000 potential buyers would be added, within a radius of 500 miles from Winnipeg.

—Worldover Press

FRANCO'S PRESSURE ON NORWAY

Foreign Minister Halvard Lange of Norway has informed the Norwegian Parliament that when the question of Spain's re-admission to good standing in the United Nations was up at Lake Success, Norway's commercial representatives at Madrid were notified that it would be regarded as peculiar if Norway did not support Spain at a time when it was seeking trade contracts. Subsequently, the Norwegian Charge d'affaires was called to the Spanish Foreign Office, where he was informed that pending trade negotiations might fall through unless Norway either supported Spain in the U.N., or at least abstained from voting unfavourably. Norway, in fact, voted against Spain, whereupon it was told that trade talks would have to be indefinitely suspended.

—Worldover Press

HUNGARY'S DICTATORSHIP

Despite the fact that a combination of "the workers and peasants" constitutes the proletariat, according to traditional Communist dogma, Josef Revai, leading Hungarian Communist theoretician, recently delivered a lecture to key party personalities in which he castigated as an error the idea that power can be shared between workers and peasants.

Revai quoted Lenin to prove the necessity for dictatorial power, and bluntly told Hungary's peasants that they could be admitted only to "important fields of action on a close alliance," and must remain barred from participation in governmental rule. He asserted that dictatorship "means the employment of force in suppressing enemies, and we shall apply force.....in a more determined manner than ever."

—Worldover Press

UNPUBLICISED ESCAPE ROUTES

Not all those who migrate clandestinely from East European lands head for the western zones of Germany, though these are more numerous and get wider publicity. Without worldwide attention, a small stream of illegal travellers runs steadily from Romania into Yugoslavia, and another from Bulgaria into Turkey.

Dissatisfaction with Moscow controls is behind the migration from Romania, while the chief cause of flight from Bulgaria is a serious economic situation in that country.

The Bulgarian political situation is confused and tense, and the shortage in food and other supplies has become acute in recent weeks. High cost of the regime is another factor: defense expenditures are four times those before the war, a heavy drain on a poor nation. Costs of running the Prime Minister's office have reached the astonishing figure of 45 times the expense for the same items in 1938.

—Worldover Press

MEDITERRANEAN PACT

One of the reasons why Washington has thrown cold water on the idea of a Pacific Pact—apart from its complexities politically—is the belief held in high quarters that the next alliance, if any, should tie together the United States and various Mediterranean countries. As a means of further isolating the Soviet Union should the Paris negotiations over Germany fail to produce any important settlement, emissaries have been sent through the Mediterranean region to hold off-the-record talks with cabinets and heads of states. No immediate Pact is under way, but the details of such an agreement will be worked out on paper, ready for action if the need is considered urgent and the ultimate plan appears practicable.

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"*I will* be as harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard*".

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the LIBERATOR.

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NOTES

The British Press:—A Commission of inquiry into the British Press has just made its recommendations public and they have naturally created some interest in India. The Commission has on the whole given the Press in Britain a clean bill and absolved it of all intention to accomplish systematic and deliberate distortion. But it has recommended a General Council with representatives of the press—editors, publishers and other journalists—and a certain number of lay persons, to be chosen by the heads of the judiciary in England and Scotland in consultation with the Chairman of the Council who evidently is to be a non-journalist. It is a suggestion which might prove more effective in India than the present All-India Newspaper Editors Conference, the Indian and Eastern Newspaper Society, and the many Journalist associations all claiming to be all-India. We would welcome any arrangement which will restore the initiative of editors and journalists and release the press from its present entanglements with the Government. But the leaders of the profession are apparently not inclined to break completely with the Government whilst they do keep a certain distinctive character. The Press is sufficiently free not to appear controlled, and sufficiently controlled not to appear free. In the long run, it is left to the individual editor to do what he likes, provided he does not rub important persons the wrong way. And importance goes by ministerial rank or business status. As a rule public personalities are sensitive in this country and there is much more of them exposed to mud-slinging. If the Editor has shrunk into irresponsibility, the blame has to be borne by the system of press-advising by committees. The entire system needs overhauling but the A.I.N.E.C. has not shown much interest in this. Successive presidents have fallen into the practice of protecting the system and building it into a vested interest.

Congress Reorganisation:—Questions relating to the reorganisation of the Congress are very much in the air. The leadership is seriously perturbed by recent election losses and there is no desire to minimise their meaning. Pandit Jawaharlal was outspoken in his analysis, calling on the Congress to renew contact with the people. But this is not the difficulty. It is not easy to go to the people when Congressmen themselves are not very certain of their ground. With the advent of office, the Congress ministers and their retinue have almost cut themselves away from the rest of the party. A number of decisions and many problems coming up in the day-to-day administration involve action that cannot be discussed in advance. In a shrewd comment on the vexed question of sterling devaluation, the "Economist" observed that, even if Sir Stafford Cripps contemplated devaluation, he would have perforce to deny it until the last minute before the decision is made public. Otherwise there would be chaos in several countries. It takes some time for a people new to democracy to see that these situations arise, and it is a common complaint that Governments are not taking people into "their confidence". Very often, there is no confidence for the people to be taken into. At the same time, Ministers have lacked reticence and indulged in all kinds of unnecessary statements on subjects that do not concern them. If the Congress is to reorganise, it must attend to little things like this which seem ridiculous to discuss but which cannot be passed by. There has been a tendency to emphasize great schemes and high programmes and the little details have suffered neglect. There is hardly any big project of the Congress Governments which does not suffer from the danger of being clogged down by the lack of attention to the human factor.

The Advertisement Tax:—An extraordinary situation has developed over the Madras and Bombay proposal to tax advertisements in the newspapers: A report from Madras says that Pandit Jawaharlal had advised the Madras Government to give up the advertisement tax and that the Minister concerned said in the Madras Assembly that he had many letters from many persons. There has been so much said of the dangers of provincialism that this latest example is quite surprising. Not only is the Centre set at naught but the Congress Party itself seems to be shaken in its discipline. In Bombay appearances have been better preserved. We have ourselves supported the tax but, if party discipline and the authority of Delhi are in danger, then the tax might reasonably be dropped. If the provin-

ces go on asserting themselves too much, there will be chaos in the country. The very fact that representations were entertained at Delhi on the advertisement tax indicate that the Central Government has a very different conception of its relations to the provinces to that held by the provincial governments. The tax in question is a comparatively minor matter but the relationship between the Centre and the units must be clearly defined.

The Trade Union War:—The Soviet propaganda machine and the Communist press on both sides of the Iron Curtain may be expected to attack with increasing virulence the new non-communist trade union international which is being established by British initiative. And the reasons are obvious. The quarrel is not in either Russia or the Western Democracies. The Communist may still regard Marx as his prophet but he no longer has faith in at least one of Marx's tenets. The political history of the twentieth century has taught him that he can best propagate his faith in lands where people live on a subsistence level. He knows he has little opportunity to win an appreciable number of converts in the prosperous U.S.A. When the possession of individual liberty confers little more on the majority than the freedom to starve, its attraction is confined to an insignificant few. But where the standard of living is high, private enterprise is more enticing than communism. The American worker may have infinitely small chances of becoming a wealthy plutocrat, yet he has seen the miracle happen within his lifetime and does not see why it should not occur again. He has learnt too that he is better off than the Russian worker and that he owes his comforts to his American institutions. Out of the reach of Communist influence too are Socialist Britain and the other Western democracies. Their lives today may be hard but they expect American aid, on which they rely, to help them return to their own way of living in the not so distant future. The Communist—the realist that he is—looks, therefore, to the industrially undeveloped lands for his proselytising activities. Into this sanctuary too, he finds his Western rivals pursuing him now with their proposed new Trade Union. Naturally his anger knows no bounds and finds vent in familiar abuse. The new Union is, according to him, but another attempt to break up working class solidarity, another front in the cold war the U.S.A. is waging against the Workers' State preparatory to an actual war. The accusations may be hysterical but they contain a grain of truth. The truth is that a vigorous trade union movement that can fight the new and crude capitalisms of industrially undeveloped areas is the best answer to Communist propaganda.

Film Censorship:—Mr. S. A. Ayer, Director of Publicity in the Bombay Government, who is also President of the Board of Film Censors, was greatly daring when he spoke before the Rotary Club on the censonship. We have never been able to understand the manner of censorship functioning and the more it is explained the less intelligible it seems. Mr. Ayer was, however, general in his description and he contented himself with dispelling illusions that have not, to our knowledge, been entertained among the thinking public. No one for instance imagines that it is all fun, or that it is public enemy No. 1 to the cinema industry, or that its members are not conscientious. What people do feel is that a good deal of its work is futile and that there is no understandable reason for the things it does and does not do. There seems to be a large representation for women on the Board and that might explain why the excisions are erratic. But what would be interesting for the public is whether it is necessary to have so many members on the Board, whether one official could not carry out the work with greater despatch and more consistency and more economy. So far as the bulk of the members are concerned, they are not specially qualified for the work and, as citizens of average understanding and morals, it is very likely that they will suffer deterioration by seeing pictures day after day and seeing them with an eye to weeding out obscenity and immorality and suggestiveness. What, after all, is the contamination of the average cine-goer who is out merely for entertainment compared to the evils to which the member of the Board is steadily exposed?

Madras Ministerial Tangle:—We publish this week an objective review of the recent Madras ministerial controversy which shows that there is need for some positive effort to bring the influence of India as a whole to bear on the politics of the province. The same condition can be seen in regard to other provinces where in varying degree the irresponsibility of the men in administrative office asserts itself. This has led some political commentators to suggest a complete scrapping of the provincial administrative machinery for something rather like the Chief Commissionership functioning under the direct control of Delhi. There is three decades of political agitation to reckon with in this and it will require more courage than there exists today among our national leaders. The new Constitution which is being framed, shows some marks of the change to a strong Centre in the powers reserved to the governor and the provisions relating to his selection. Immediately the problem is to reform administrations, not shifting or shifting too obviously the centre of power. What is difficult to appreciate is that most of the Ministers charged with some semblance of reason with corrupt practices are dispensable and not very able men. Yet the mere fact that they are in office, creates a kind of sanctity about them and everything is done to save them from criticism.

Labour Review:—The survey of ten years of factory legislation in India, the first part of which we publish, is taken from the general article in the *International Labour Review* to which we referred last week. It is an informative survey of labour conditions and offers the reader in concise form the trend and effect of Labour legislation. The Review which, as we mentioned last week, has been prepared by the Delhi office of the I.L.O., deals with equal clarity with Labour Legislation in shops, mining, transport and so on. It is an invaluable summing up of the present situation.

Women in the Modern World:—We publish the first part of an article which appeared in the sprightly American magazine, "Politics" which incidentally appears to be in difficulties and faces closing down, some three years ago. The conclusion at which the writer arrives is that Man's place is in the home, startling enough considering that it has required a generation of women going out of the home to discover this. It should cause less of a stir in India than it would in the U.S.A. because at least in appearance man's traditional role here has been totalitarian.

THE INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, July 2, 1949.

STERLING FLUTTER

The week was disturbed by considerable agitation over the fate of sterling. Some newspapers reported that devaluation was inevitable; this was promptly countered by an enumeration of the difficulties in the way of devaluation, and there were even hints that the U.S.A. too would have to devalue her dollar. The whole trouble seems to spring from an anxiety to gain or retain markets; and the panic was equally a consequence of slipping markets in America. Britain had learnt that she was not selling as much in America during April and May as she had done in the previous fifteen months, not even half the earlier monthly average. Meanwhile her dollar reserves had shrunk and her gold had been heavily drained off. These discoveries came just about the time as the scheduled sterling talks between Britain and India. They were on the eve of the revision of inter-European payments agreement effected by the Organization for European Economic Co-operation for which preliminary talks had begun between French and Belgian experts and Sir Stafford Cripps and Mr. Averill Hariman. The "Economist" had already made the point that the payments agreement was unfairly calculated and needed revision. But the trend of European discussion was towards devaluation of sterling and transferability of drawing rights among European countries, and its convertibility into dollars. The "Economist" explains this with clarity. "The drawing rights which Marshal Aid countries grant to each other (e.g., Britain makes a grant of sterling to France) should be made transferable (e.g., France should be able to transfer to Belgium or Italy its right to draw sterling). . . . These drawing rights should be made convertible into dollars (e.g., France should have the right to call on Britain for dollars if sterling was not needed)." The convertibility proposal was made by the Economic Co-operation Administration, the American counterpart of the Organization for European Economic Co-operation, and opposed by the latter unanimously. Britain herself was opposed to the other two proposals.

Whilst the experts are concerned with currency problems, the real issues might be usefully laid before the public. It is not without interest to consider the unique example of Belgium. Belgium after the war concentrated on "consumers' goods", de-rationing as fast as possible, making whatever Belgians wanted. Judged by results, the policy has been successful since Belgium has a special creditor position in the European countries, and since, in the words of Mr. Eric Johnson, Belgium alone increased its per capita income as much as dollar prices had risen. An American commentator, distinguishing between American and European economic life, sets down the European malaise to "consumer apathy" which, he asserts, grips the whole continent except at rare periods. "An American dissatisfied with his boss and what he is getting out of life, may still continue to labour like an ant; a European doesn't. This is certainly economically related to the fact that America is a consumer's paradise—even if only a consumer fool's paradise—where the worker is conditioned to feel a direct connection between his labour (embodied in his paycheck) and his well-being (in the store window). . . . The American economy is built round the consumer. As a consumer, the individual thinks he has the right to demand services even from a monopoly, he is the one on whom the social pressure of advertising is automatically concentrated (even in wartime with nothing to sell); who shouldn't be kept standing in line too long or you may lose him, who must be rushed around by fast rides and get his telephone orders through in a hurry."—Martin French in "Politics".

Martin French's thesis that from the beginning of 19th century industrialization most of Europe has known only a sellers' market, is borne out by the "Economist". Referring to the highly competitive structure of Western European production and trade, the "Economist" condemns Western Europe's "planning" for its basis on national autarky. "Benelex and Switzerland are expanding textile production, Sweden is introducing watch-making, and in dyestuffs, steel, machine tools and cotton goods the countries which manufactured the least of these goods before the war are now planning the biggest increases . . . Western Europe is involved in the worst form of planning." There is ample evidence to show that the European Recovery Programme coupled with European planning has resulted in lower standards of living, more privations for the worker and austerity drives. One way of getting out of the chaos that is now starting in Europe, is for America to push forward consumer goods which are in surplus in the U.S.A. and are short in most of these countries. Superficially, the position of Europe vis-a-vis the U.S.A. resembles that of colonial Asia in relation to Europe in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and of South America in relation to the U.S.A. But there is a difference: In Asia, demand had to be created for the products of Europe and Asia's raw materials were needed by Europe, as South America's are needed by the U.S.A. In Europe the demand is already there and the raw materials of Eastern Europe are absorbed by Western Europe. There are two points made by commentators which are significant: Germany (Bizone) gets her material almost wholly from the U.S.A. and exports her products to Western Europe, thus doing so far without her Eastern European traditional markets; and Britain's export overseas, says the "Economist", has increased only by the percentage of Germany's loss.

Marshall Aid, says one writer, has not anywhere been used to increase the wages of workers. It has been applied exclusively to step up European production to levels higher than those prevailing before the war. The policies of Governments and Capital which are interested in raising production, evoke little enthusiasm in Labour which is not concerned very much with higher production and which tends by strikes and slow-downs to impede production. If European countries interested themselves with the consumer at home, instead of neglecting him for markets abroad, it is possible to turn the tide even now. In other words, Europe has to change her objective, increased production, which seems accepted by all the experts, and give up the effort to adjust everything else to make the objective possible.

DEMOCRACY IN INDIA

(THE POLITICO-ECONOMIC BACKGROUND.)

It has been observed often that Indian business has no social conscience, that quick and easy money is its aim and there is no integrity worth the name. A similar accusation has been made against other rising Asiatic capitalisms. Western business and public morality is compared to that of Asians to the latter's detriment. What is forgotten by those who make these comparisons is that the industrial society is new to Asian communities. An unprejudiced observer, if he made the comparison at all, would compare conditions in contemporary Asian lands with that of Western countries in the nineteenth century when they were first becoming industrialized. A reading of Western history of the period would soon convince Western critics of India and China that moral standards and social conscience were then on an even lower level in the West than they are now in India and China. That Indians should not have learnt to profit by the mistakes of the West is not entirely their fault. The self-discipline of the British, their integrity in conducting public affairs at home is rightly respected abroad. The best Indians of succeeding generations have learnt to admire British institutions because they perceived these qualities. But they are not peculiar to the British genius. Rather they are the result of a prolonged era of prosperity that Britain witnessed because she was first in the industrial field. Her people got the opportunity to develop their democratic institutions at leisure, to adjust them to the needs of industrialization. Trade Unions grew up and strengthened in effectiveness and liberalism flourished on fertile soil. The details of the historical development of democracy in other Western countries vary. But the pattern in essence is the same. There is one advantage they all had in common: an era of peace and prosperity in which democratic institutions could take root.

In contrast to them, India and other colonial countries start with several handicaps besides being last-comers on the scene. Political freedom came to them at the end of a war which had drained their resources. The logic of imperialism is ruthless. Indian capitalism, stopped by colonialism from growing in peacetime, got its opportunity during the two wars. Trade Unionism so necessary to keep the excesses of capitalism in check could not grow sufficiently to become an effective force in time. The illiteracy of the workers, the fact that, even whilst they worked in the cities, their roots remained in the land, were two of the main difficulties in the way of trade unionism. The situation has improved somewhat, but the leaders being generally first political party leaders cause the trade unions to be the main arena where the political struggle for power is being fought out between the Congress and the Leftists. The colonial state, being essentially a tax-gathering state developing in crisis into the police state, spent inadequately on social services, especially education, with the result that democracy is now released on a people who have had no training or equipment. Responsibility for the administration again was kept in the hands of senior British civil servants. With their departure and the confusion caused in the services by partition, inefficiency in the administrative machinery is increased. The picture, already dismal, is made completely gloomy by the poverty of the people, the extremity of which is not appreciated by Westerners until they see it with their own eyes. The food situation, never bright even during the most prosperous days of British rule, has further deteriorated by the division of the Punjab and the loss to the Union of the province of Sindh. There is little wonder that, in the circumstances, charges of corruption, inefficiency, lack of self-discipline, and nepotism are being exchanged between the people and the Government. It is curious that neither side realizes that both parties are fashioned from the same mould. If the Indian public errs on the side of being too willing to lend a willing ear to gossip and scandal, Government members offend by being garrulous, over-confident and more absorbed in retaining their power at the next elections than in attending to their administrative responsibilities. There is no point in denying that the achievements of Congress during their two years of government are not impressive. They have failed to solve the food and the housing problem, they have played about with controls and decontrols, inflation has not been halted and priority has been given to comparatively insignificant social objectives. The Congress has blundered, it is true. Indecisiveness in policy has paid sorry dividends. In trying to please business, labour, the agriculturists and the middle classes, Congress has succeeded only in offending all. But the question important to the country is not whether the Congress should survive or not. It may be possible that a revolutionary party has served its purpose when its revolutionary objective has been achieved. The main thing to decide is the way which the Indian people must live to realize their full capabilities. Indian labour can be diligent when it wants to, Indians in executive posts can be independent, impartial and efficient. The Indian judiciary has proved the great worth of a great tradition inspiring a service. With resolution, courage and integrity Indian judges are endeavouring now to control administrative excesses. And Indian business too can be honest and enterprising. The reason why the firm of Tatas enjoys a reputation for integrity is that it was founded in times of peace and had an opportunity of expanding steadily and gradually over a course of years. But time is against a leisurely development on all fronts. And so there must be found and soon an objective which will inspire the people to hard work and patient labour, if India wants to retain and develop the democratic traditions left behind by the British in a woefully feeble form. As yet the ideal of individual liberty has appeal only for the few, the upper middle classes. Whether it can attract the mass of the people or not depends very much on the ability of a disciplined party to spread it among them. The Congress could yet do it, one feels, if it re-orients its psychology. The alternative party to uphold the democratic objective is the Socialist party. Whether individual freedom in India now, or for that matter anywhere else, is possible under a state-dominated economy is another question. Also pertinent is the fact that a party in opposition changes its complexion when it comes into power. The Socialists, like the Congress, if they do realize their objective of being elected to govern at the next elections will not be able to play about with time anymore than the Congress can. The temper of a hungry and ill-clad people is neither sweet nor patient.

THE SOUTH INDIAN SCENE

(By "South Indian")

When I was in South India recently, the one topic of discussion among those who read newspapers, was the misdoings of the Madras Ministry. I was surprised to find the most amazing charges being hurled at the Ministers without the slightest hesitation. The readiness to believe the worst betrayed a state of mind akin to frustration.

I asked some of these "well-informed" critics what they had against the Ministries. The descent from the general to the particular was irksome to many of them, and what some said was so obviously fantastic that it was hopeless to investigate it further.

Some of the charges which had some basis of truth, were: The Ministry is "communal-minded"; the Congress Party is divided into many groups and most of the time of the Premier and his colleagues is taken up in canvassing the support of the M.L.A.s lest they lose their position at the next election of the party leader with the result that they have no time left for the efficient conduct of state affairs which is left to the permanent officials; the Premier is not a free man, but a "tool" in the hands of the President of the Tamil Nad Congress Committee, Mr. Kamaraja Nadar.

It must be said, as regards the first point, that Mr. Gopal Reddy, the Finance Minister, has clearly indicated that the present Ministry is determined to act according to the communal conventions set up by the old Justicite ministries. Admissions to colleges and appointments to Government jobs are made according to the communal ratio.

Communalism has raised its head in the province in the shape of the Dravidian Federation, whose leaders "Periyar" E. V. Ramaswami Naicker and C. N. Annadurai, are carrying on a raging campaign against the "brahminical invasion" of South India by the north. They want a separate state in the south, Dravidastan, where, they hope, only the purest "Tamil culture" will flourish. Periyar E. V. Ramaswami Naicker was once a Congressman and is well known as a persuasive speaker. He has been identified with the "self-respectors'" movement, which was directed against the priestly class who officiated in marriages and funerals. It attracted the sympathy of the youth who were disgusted with the corrupt practices of a degenerate priesthood. But the movement had no mass support and the Naicker's atheistic fusilades mainly missed their mark, for the rank and file of the non-brahmin masses were still devout believers.

The Dravidastan Movement has borrowed largely from the late Qaid-E-Azam's technique and its votaries sport a black shirt and mostly engage themselves in abusing brahmins, sometimes going to the indecent extent of rubbing off the caste-marks or cutting the sacred threads of solitary brahmins who have the misfortune to come in their ken. But this happens only very rarely, and the Black Shirts are generally harmless, but energetic young men whose enthusiasm is worthy of a better cause.

The Ministry comes into the Black Shirt picture only because they have been accused of abetting their misdeeds, though they have strongly condemned them in their public utterances. The Finance Minister, again, had a reply to this argument. He said that any large-scale action against the Black Shirts would only make these men martyrs in an unholy cause and do more harm than good.

As regards the charge that the Congress Party is divided into many groups, unfortunately, it is only too true. Ever since the High Command, with Gandhiji's strong support, wanted Rajaji to resume the stewardship of the Madras Province, the Party has been divided. In the first show of strength between the High Command and the Provincial Party, the group alignments were clear-cut. There was a Rajaji group, of which the chief spokesmen were Mr. A. Vaidyanatha Iyer of Madura (a silent worker in the Harijan cause), Dr. Subbaroyan and Dr. T. S. S. Rajan. The Prakasam group revolved round the axle of the Andhra Kesari, and won the day because the Tamil Nad group led by Mr. Kamaraja Nadar voted against Rajaji. The Ministry continued to function for a year, largely noted for the Andhra Kesari's staunch support of Gandhian economy. He refused the spindles allotted to Madras by the Centre and stirred a hornet's nest. Many of his erstwhile supporters felt the leader's economic programme somewhat archaic and those who preferred the power-loom to the thakli gradually went over to the other side. In the next year's election of the party leader, a new nominee was chosen in the person of Mr. Omandur P. Ramaswami Reddiar, whose qualification in the eyes of his supporters, was that he was a quiet man who would listen to "advice." But Omandur in office became a different proposition and the "king-makers" found that their "dummy" had a will of its own. Soon there were charges and counter-charges, the chief of them being that the new Premier was not easily accessible to the M.L.As. The Premier replied that he was too busy transacting official business to indulge in activities of a purely social character.

In the meantime, however, the Rajaji group had its own internal dissensions. With the advent of freedom and with Rajaji the Governor of West Bengal, a "rapprochement" was arrived at between Rajaji and the group which strongly opposed his return to provincial leadership. Rajaji advised his home province to give full support to the Reddiar Ministry.

Unfortunately, one of Rajaji's visits was the indirect cause of another Ministerial debacle. According to press reports, Mr. Kamaraja Nadar was one of those who were present to receive the Governor-General at the aerodrome on his arrival at Madras. It was stated that the police official at the air-port was discourteous to the President of the Provincial Congress Committee, Mr. Kamaraja Nadar, and that the Premier Mr. O. P. Ramaswami Reddiar was a silent spectator of this incident.

It was stated that from that day, Mr. Kamaraja Nadar was determined to unseat the Premier. The date of the next annual meeting was approaching, and brisk canvassing again began. This time, the Andhra Kesari found that his chances were remote. Moreover, the outlook for a separate Andhra Province was not so bleak, and the Premiership then would be his for the asking. He assumed the role of the man behind the scenes. He strongly fancied the chances of Dr. P. Subbaroyan who was an aspirant to the Premier's gadi.

Mr. Kamaraja Nadar, however, was able to get his nominee elected as the leader, and the Ministry was re-formed wtih some slight changes. Mr. O. P. R. Reddiar was "retired", and so also some other Ministers who had wavered in the crisis of confidence. The new Premier made a great show of "reconciling" the rebels, but the parleys which he initiated, with Mr. Nadar very much in the picture, came to nothing as there were unbridgeable differences in the distribution of Ministries. Pilgrimages to Delhi did nothing to improve matters and in the end the new Premier decided to continue in the old tradition of banking on his supporters, and leaving the dissentients severely alone. He expanded the Ministry and the inclusion of Perumalswami Reddiar was a sop to the now-defunct Rajaji group. In the final assessment of forces to-day, the Premier commands a bare majority in the party and he will require all his skill to maintain their support all through the year.

It was at this juncture that Mr. Prakasam again entered the fray by resurrecting the charges that he had laid at the door of the last Ministry and which had been allowed to lie in cold storage owing to a change in the presidency of the parent organization. Things were becoming bad in Madras, with Congressmen charging Congressmen with corruption and the organization could not be silent to this persistent campaign of calumny. Shri Shankerrao Deo was sent to hold an enquiry, but the complainants who were not satisfied with the High Command's reaction to their proposal, decided not to co-operate in, what appeared to them a formal but ineffective, inquiry. They asked for copies of the replies which the Ministers

had made to their charges and, on Mr. Deo refusing to give them to them, they boycotted the enquiry. Mr. Deo is to report to the High Command.

Among all the charges of corruption levelled against the Ministry, there is one which requires some attention. It is against the Finance Minister, Mr. Gopal Reddy. It would appear that Mr. Reddy was associated with a concern named "Sudarsan Mills Limited" as a director before he accepted office. As soon as he became a Minister, Mr. Gopal Reddy transferred, it is reported, the shares to his wife's name and resigned his directorship. But many of Mr. Gopal Reddy's close relatives continue to be directors and a recent meeting of the company was held in the Minister's house. It is also stated that the Mills have been granted a loan of ten lakhs of rupees by the Madras Government on a nominal interest, as part of its scheme to develop the industrial resources of the province. The Sudarsan Mills intend to start the production of groundnut oil, but the machinery on order from foreign countries has not yet arrived. The allegation is that Mr. Gopal Reddy used his official influence to get the Mill's loan sanctioned, though at the time of applying for the loan the Mills were not engaged in the production of ground-nut oil. Mr. Gopal Reddy has stated that the whole affair falls in the purview of the Ministry of Industries. The public have not been satisfied with this explanation and the raging campaign which a section of the press has been carrying on against the Minister has not helped matters.

It is in such an atmosphere that the Ministry is carrying on and there are many who feel that the prestige of the Congress itself has suffered because of the way in which the Ministry has been functioning. Drastic action is called for to set matters right.

THE INDEPENDENT WOMAN

I

(By Ethel Goldwater)

It seems likely, judging from the history of woman's struggle for equality, that the woman must first become a man (that is, prove to herself and to men that she can do the things men do) before she can become a woman. The feminist movement in 19th century America fought for the right to man's education, man's work, man's sex freedom; and so much progress has been made toward these goals that in the man's view—in America, at least—they have already been reached. However, the two classic theories concerning her best course continue to be debated: Is her place in the home? Or does her feminist pride demand a man's experiences? But is it correct to argue these questions as though the alternatives were mutually exclusive—as in the standby of the woman's page, "Career vs. Babies"? It is the thesis of this article that a woman needs both career and babies, both a life in the home and one outside the home. Neither the feminist challenge nor the conservative reaction to it any longer seem to be adequate formulations.

Before the industrial revolution, woman's physical weakness placed her in most civilizations in an inferior position to man. Her functions were to please him and to perform the tasks too dull for him. The machine economy presented her with a new choice: to live without him, financially self-sufficient. Her physical weakness began to lose economic importance when the power of the machine dwarfed man's strength as well as her own. Her hands were as useful in the factory as they had been for centuries in the household and in the fields.

The ambitious woman's first reaction to her new freedom from slavery was the quite natural desire to emulate her former master. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, first leader of the woman's rights movement in America, tells in her autobiography how, when she was eleven years old, she tried to console her father for the death of her only brother with the resolve, "I will try to be all my brother was." But after winning second prize in a Greek class, where she was the only girl, her hopes of satisfying her father by this astonishing evidence that a girl could be as good as a boy were stricken by the most flattering words a man of his time could summon up: "You should have been a boy!"

This expression of the prevailing attitude thrust her into a life directed toward the establishment of women's equality; the programme of her group was gradually expanded to include all those man's privilege which are now casually enjoyed by most American women, after less than a century of agitation: higher education, the franchise, civil rights, comfortable dress, birth control.

After World War I, and the period of sex freedom that followed, the militant feminist movement in America, having won its demands, began to "wither away." Radical and liberal attention then shifted to the dramatic overturn in sex morality in the new Soviet Union, where feminism was a cornerstone in the Communist economic structure. (When the structure crumbled, and was rebuilt according to a different plan, this stone was still found to be useful, but it had lost its original polish.)

In the Communist Utopia, women, like the other oppressed "minorities," are promised self-determination. Alexandra Kollontay wrote that marriage is to be "a union of affection and comradeship, a union of two equal persons of the Communist Society, both of them free, both of them independent, both of them workers." Economic security will bring emotional freedom; the woman, released from the necessity to marry for financial support, will marry only for love. It was the logical conclusion of the feminist philosophy that the child be considered the property of the state; only through maternity benefits and the daily separation of the child from the mother could the mother remain a worker and independent of the man. Immediately after the nursing period, the mother begins to take her child to the nursery each morning on her way to work, and calls for him on the way home after a short work-day. Communal child-rearing would be as economical as communal cooking.

The post-revolutionary sex freedom was notorious, though short-lived. All the later deviations, evolving from the changing character of the Soviet state, have been to the right, with one exception. In the Soviet Union to-day, the woman keeps her economic independence of the man, her first necessity, and the gift of the modern industrial system. This right will always be on the programme of advanced women; but Soviet and also Nazi experience proves that its benefits are not automatic. The woman is independent of the man in Russia, but she is still enslaved by the totalitarian state, which is the strongest form of patriarchy—a state form which, like the religious systems, perpetuates the assumption that man is superior. She is in the first place reduced to her functional biological role, her erotic needs ignored, since nationalist ambitions demand a high birth rate. She is secondarily a housewife, for the funds originally allotted for the manufacture of washing machines are diverted to the arms factory. Thirdly, she is a worker, but assigned to the job which the man's state considers suitable for her "feminine" capabilities. In practice, her job opportunities are probably greater than in America, since there is traditionally less false sentiment in Russia concerning her physical endurance, and her work is necessary to the continuous war economy under which the country has operated since the Revolution. But since no equalitarian

principle protects her, she has even less job tenure than the man.

War accelerates social processes. In Britain and this country during World War I, women have demonstrated their ability as industrial workers; in France and Italy, they have been given the vote for the first time. But the effects of war on the status of women have not been only favourable.

Total war may indeed be defined as a war against women. They were never before so directly victimized: the woman munitions worker is a primary bomb target; the greatest weapons of destruction are reserved for the women and children of the "home front." Women and children are also awarded the dignity of "responsibility": they were found among the politicals in all the Nazi concentration camps; Jewish women were killed by the millions in the death camps. The humanitarian myth no longer protects women, neither the enemy's women, nor, by implication, our own. In this ironic sense, the modern woman has at last won "equal rights."

American culture still discourages woman's full development by emphasizing marriage and motherhood. It has enlisted all its scientific forces to endear this choice to her, offering her prolonged youth and beauty, painless childbirth, streamlined kitchens. But if she follows this path, she is not honoured for it. Success in the home ranks low in the hierarchy of distinguished callings. The woman envies "man's work"; he has never envied hers. At the same time, the woman who does only "man's work," rejecting domesticity, is belittled, even though her activity may be recognized as socially useful; for such a rejection makes her as either abnormal, a "career woman," or a sexual failure. This derogatory phrase "career woman" is indiscriminately applied to all women who practice their work with a long-term view, although such women do not generally sacrifice their personal lives to their ambitions but rather desire and achieve success in all their interests. (The successful woman in our culture is more versatile than the successful man.) In fact, their work success is largely due to the encouragement of their family circle. In the popular mind, the American woman not only should be but is indeed interested only in sexual attraction, and all her activities—social, artistic, intellectual, political, economic—are never merely subordinate to this end but are pursued precisely to further it. The insistent flow of newspaper and magazine advertising, popular novels, the radio, the movies—which so insidiously attract while they repel—quietly and inexorably forces the feminine stereotype into our minds.

Even in left-wing intellectual circles, whose members would think it unnecessary to argue the question of woman's equality, and who imagine that their personal lives reflect this conviction, our culture has imposed its standard of excellence for women: they must be charming, sexually attractive, apparently young, well-dressed—pretty much according to the Hollywood type. Their place is also "in the home," when they are not at their regular jobs. It is the wife who leaves the cocktail party or the meeting early to take care of her child (if she is lucky enough to have a child!). She gives up radical activity as soon as she becomes a mother, if she continues an outside interest after marriage, she, too, like the bourgeois wife, does well to assure her husband that it is subordinate in importance to his own. Their affirmation of sexual freedom is taken for granted, yet the old bourgeois "double standard" usually obtains in such households. The radical, like the bourgeois, depreciates the woman who fails to surmount her difficulties and attain a "masculine" goal. Of course, he prefers that this "masculine" success come to the other fellow's wife!

The attitude in leftwing quarters toward the unmarried woman is even more reactionary. If she is attractive, the husband regards her as a challenge to his erotic irresistibility, and the wife as a threat to her marital security. And they are perfectly right. For all three are well aware that she cannot escape the necessity for sexual success, which they, too perhaps only unconsciously, consider of central importance for the woman. The unmarried woman who is not conventionally charming is generally omitted from social evenings, for although she may be the intellectual friend of the women, the men cannot really bring themselves to take seriously her contributions to their theoretical arguments. In fact, it is significant of the woman's intellectual insecurity, and of the man's patronizing attitude toward her mentality, that the discussions in these social groups, when not tete-a-tete, are generally dominated by the men. The rare woman who seizes the floor is not remarked for her self-confidence, or her perhaps superior verbal gift (the well-recognized "feminine" talent), but her words are vaguely devaluated as coming from an unpleasantly unfeminine "aggressor."

But the radical woman's central conflict is a more serious one which she shares with all independent women of to-day. She must remain in the bourgeois groove, as lover-housewife, and with even more internal and external pressure upon her to do some other work as well, yet she often forgoes motherhood, which may be as essential to her happiness as to the bourgeois woman's. Her reasons for the renunciation are varied: her feminism, which regards the child as the symbol of bondage; financial insecurity; or the instability of her marriage relation. She is free to be economically independent of her lover, free even to take the man's role in her financial support of him (for his work is often poorly rewarded in the bourgeois culture), free to live with him or to leave him without legal fuss, but not free to expect his co-operation in satisfying a basic emotional need, unless she takes full responsibility for the child.

The feminist philosophy thus leads her to a new kind of inequality. Her apparent strength discourages the development of a protective attitude in the man, so that he evades acknowledgment of her real dependence. She "channels" her maternal feeling toward protecting him. Her assumption of the "masculine" economic function is not a reversal of roles, which would be satisfactory in an equalitarian society, but is merely an addition to her other duties, for he is not sufficiently secure in his masculinity, nor in his radicalism, to take over, without embarrassment, the household tasks which he has been taught to scorn as naturally female.

FACTORIES IN INDIA

I

The Factories Act enacted by the Government of India in 1934, amending and consolidating earlier measures, limited working hours for adults to fifty-four in the week and ten a day in perennial factories, and to sixty in the week and eleven a day in seasonal factories. It provided for a weekly holiday, a rest interval after five hours of continuous work and a higher rate of pay for overtime. It restricted the hours of work for children to five a day and for women to ten a day and forbade night work for both. The Act applied only to factories using mechanical power and employing twenty workers or more.

Since 1937 the scope of the Factories Act has been considerably extended and the rights it confers on workers in India's factories have been substantially enlarged by a series of amendments, enacted in 1940, 1941, 1944, 1945, 1946 and 1947. The whole of this legislation was recast in a new Act adopted in the autumn of 1948.

The Factories (Amendment) Act, 1940 (Act XVII of 1940) which inserted in the Act a new chapter on "Small Factories", was designed to prevent the exposure of children to the risks of exploitation and employment under unhealthy and dangerous conditions in the smaller industrial establishments using power. It extended the provisions of the Factories Act concerning health, safety, children and registration to power factories, employing ten to nineteen persons, defined as "small factories", if any of those persons is not qualified to work as an adult. It further empowered the provincial Governments to declare any premises to be a "small factory", even though less than ten workers are employed, if children are employed.

The Factories (Amendment) Act (XVI) of 1941 did not add materially to the rights of the factory worker, but sought merely to remedy two administrative defects which had been revealed in the working of the Act. It definitely empowered the provincial Governments to extend all or any of the provisions of the Factories Act to any specified manufacturing establishment or classes of such establishments, working with or without power, and employing ten or more persons. As instances of the use of this enabling provision by provincial Governments may be mentioned a Notification issued by the Government of Madras on 4th February 1942, extending the provisions of the Factories Act, either in part or as a whole, to eleven classes of small factories employing ten or more workers, including establishments engaged in the decortication of groundnuts, the milling of rice, the manufacture of matches and confectionery and the tanning of hides or skins; and another, issued by the Government of Bombay on 2nd April 1942, extending the provisions of the Factories Act, in part or in full, to twenty-nine classes of small factories enumerated in the Notification.

Like the amending Act of 1940, the Factories (Amendment) Act of 1944 made no significant addition to the protective provisions of the Factories Act. It merely strengthened the powers of the inspector appointed by the Government to call for all relevant information from the occupiers of a factory before the factory is allowed to commence work, and generally strengthened the provisions of the original Act concerning washing facilities in factories and means of escape in case of fire. Section 19 of the 1934 Act had made obligatory the supply of adequate washing facilities only in factories "in which any process involving contact by the workers with injurious or obnoxious substances is carried on", and Section 23 had similarly limited the means of escape to be provided in case of fire to such means "as can reasonably be required in the circumstances of each factory." The amending Act of 1944 removed both these qualifying conditions by making obligatory in the case of all factories the provision of adequate washing facilities and "such means of escape in case of fire as may be prescribed."

Unlike the amending Acts dealt with above, the three Factories (Amendment) Acts passed since 1944 have substantially added to the benefits enjoyed by factory workers in India by securing for them annual holidays with pay and a forty-eight hour week, and by imposing on the owners or managers of the larger factories an obligation to provide canteens for workers. Moreover, by these provisions, the standards with regard to hours of work in industry and holidays with pay have been brought into closer conformity with those laid down in the relevant international labour Conventions.

The principle of giving workers in organised industries annual holidays with pay first came into prominence in 1940, when it was approved by the first Conference of Labour Ministers convened by the Government of India. The details of the legislation necessary to give effect to this decision were discussed with representatives of the provincial Governments at the two subsequent sessions of the Labour Ministers' Conference, in 1941 and 1942, and with representatives of employers and workers at meetings convened by the Government of India in January 1941 and January 1942. The Factories (Second Amendment) Bill, 1944, granted to the workers in perennial factories with a year of continuous service to their credit, a holiday of at least seven consecutive days, of which at least six will be paid for. The "Statement of Objects and Reasons" appended to the Bill rightly claimed that it covered "not an unimportant part" of the I.L.O. Convention relating to holidays with pay, and the fact that the provisions of the Bill were considerably liberalised by the legislature before it received the assent of the Governor-General on 16th April 1945 made it even more beneficial for the workers.

The Act came into force on 1st January 1946 as the Factories (Amendment) Act (III) of 1945. It applies to all non-seasonal factories coming under the scope of the Factories Act and provides for ten consecutive days of annual holidays with pay for adults and fourteen days for children (persons between the ages of twelve and fifteen years), the qualifying period being one year of service. During the holiday the workers are entitled to wages at the average daily rate during the three months preceding its commencement; half the amount due for the entire number of days' holiday must be paid before it begins. The Act furthermore, authorises factory inspectors to act on behalf of the workers in respect of any dispute concerning annual holidays, and ensures that its provisions do not prejudice any rights to which a worker may be entitled under any other enactment or contract of service.

The question of reducing the maximum limit to forty-eight hours a week was first officially raised by the Labour Department of the Government of India in a memorandum presented to the seventh plenary session of the Indian Labour Conference at New Delhi in November 1945. The memorandum claimed that the time was particularly opportune for a reduction in the hours of work in factories in India and based the case for such a reduction on the following grounds:

(a) a reduction in the maximum permissible hours of work to forty-eight in the week and eight a day would increase production particularly in the textile industry, by making it possible for factories to work daily three shifts instead of two;
(b) the additional shift worked would help to absorb more men in industries and thus ease to some extent the unemployment problem during the difficult period of transition from war to peace;
(c) a substantial number of workers in the engineering, iron ore, sugar, and cotton ginning and baling industries and in the tramway and bus services, amounting in all to about 947,000, were already working a forty-eight-hour week, and the proposed reduction would merely extend this benefit to all factory labour in general; and
(d) a forty-eight-hour week would provide immediate relief to the workers in India's factories who had worked under great strain during the long period of the second World War.

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"*I will* be as harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard*".

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the LIBERATOR.

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NOTES

The Sweepers' Strike:—An important judgment of the Bombay High Court, delivered early this week, assumed that the sweepers' strike was legal. Their Lordships felt that the necessary notice had been given, and that strikes were not illegal merely because they occurred in an essential service. Mr. Mane, General Secretary of the Municipal Kamgar Sangh, was ordered to be released forthwith as his detention was unwarranted. The Judge expressed severe strictures against the authorities for their action in proceeding against Mr. Mane. The Bombay Municipality has taken the decision with bad grace. Though the *obiter dictum* that the strike is legal ought to make it easier for the Corporation to relax its stand on the question of reinstatement of the workers on strike, there is reluctance to abandon the earlier policy and the Municipality, taking its stand on legal formality, has declared that the High Court assumption affects the Bombay Government rather than itself. Technically, this is true but the Municipal officers might remember that they have had the backing of that Government so far and that this has enabled them to take a firm stand. It is quite open to the Government to tell the Municipality that it must come to a settlement if it wishes to continue having support. Obviously, the Bombay Government's backing has induced an air of irresponsibility in the Corporation authorities who feel that they can do as they like. Hitherto, the Corporation has had the support of the public as well and most of the organized opinion in the city, irrespective of party, has been critical of the sweepers' action in going on strike. The Bombay High Court has removed the support of legality, for declaring the strike legal makes the Municipality's conduct legally difficult. If things are allowed to go on much longer in this fashion, the Corporation will find itself high and dry.

Calcutta Civic Affairs:—The Calcutta Municipality was suspended and a Commission of Investigation was set up in April 1948 to look into the corporation affairs. The Commission has reported after over a year and there is little relation in its findings to Calcutta realities. Since the Commission was appointed, conditions in Calcutta have deteriorated and particularly in the past few months there has been lawlessness on a large scale. Before schemes to reconstitute the Corporation are taken in hand, the urgent necessity is to restore civic life. The Commission naturally leaves this subject out of consideration and proceeds to frame recommendations for widening the franchise, although the Commission itself admits that it seriously thought of doing away with the principle of election. Without elections, there is no point in having a corporation whose work could more effectively be carried out by honest and dependable officials. From the published reports, it appears that the Commission has not devoted sufficient attention to the work and quality of Corporation officials, except to suggest that there should be a sharp distinction between the policy-framing activities of the Corporation and the task of putting the policies into execution which should not be influenced or interfered with by the Councillors. If there is to be an elected corporation, it is necessary that the chief executive officer should be removable by the Corporation. Failure to secure this leads to considerable confusion between autocracy and democracy. The old idea that an official appointed by the Government will be free from popular influence, no longer holds good since Governments themselves to-day are representative and responsible. It is not inconceivable that a Corporation might have an officer, selected by a Government which is based on a political party different from that which commands a majority or an influential minority in the Corporation itself.

Democracy and Efficiency:—The problem which the Calcutta Corporation Commission faced but did not solve, is one that confronts the whole country: Local bodies are generally regarded as training-grounds for Democracy. The work of many national leaders in the Western Democracies has begun first in their local corporations where they developed an eye for details and for sustained co-operative work. This stands them in good stead when later they enter national political life and there is less tendency to indulge in vague generalizations and inaccuracies. In other words, local bodies are the feeders of legislatures. In India, unfortunately local bodies have been exploited as organs for political activity and, where politics are not of particular interest, personal advantage becomes the dominating fac-

tor since there is very little civic consciousness. In remote areas, candidates for election woo their voters by promises of amenities to social and recreative life for the community, not to be secured by agitation in the civic council, but donated by the seeker after votes out of his own personal pocket. On the obverse, there is the practice which has brought many municipalities to suspension, of members not paying municipal rates and taxes and accumulating arrears. The Calcutta Commission observes that the public must be educated in civics. But, as there is no tradition of agitation for amenities, it is difficult to persuade the public that they should insist on their representatives solving their problems. It is a hard conclusion to arrive at, but if effectiveness is to be served, it must be faced squarely: Are municipalities suited to the Indian temperament? Immediately, the interests of the people require that attention should be concentrated on getting things done efficiently and promptly. So far as popular representation goes, it might be postponed until there is a greater realisation of the responsibilities that civic work entails. There is no harm in admitting that this particular institution of democracy does not serve the function it is meant to do in India. To accept that we are under training for Democracy rather than a full-fledged Democracy, might be wounding to our vanity but it will be more serviceable in the long run than any number of pretences. The question is: Can this acceptance be made without ushering in a regime of unbridled party rule? On the answer to it will depend the progress of the nation. Whether it is directly tackled or indirectly answered by developing circumstances, it will have to be answered—and a straight tackling of it will save the country a great deal of avoidable trouble.

Calcutta's Disorders:—In the light of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's coming visit to Calcutta, the review of conditions which we reprint from the *Modern Review* this week will be read with considerable interest. The situation demands urgent attention and there are all the signs that Delhi is being led to believe that there is nothing deeply wrong with Bengal which cannot be set right by the local authorities. Even the *Modern Review* demands that the Centre should give more assistance to the Bengal Government and let things go on. It is doubtful how more help from the Centre can be of use when so much chaos seems to prevail. There is a certain irresponsibility on the part of provincial publicists which is distressing; their sole aim is evidently to get the most out of the Centre and hold on to it. The Delhi Government is the perpetual parent whose job it is to hand out money to rescue the provinces from their extravagances and misdemeanour; but any suggestion that Delhi might exercise parental authority is deeply resented as unwarranted interference with provincial autonomy. It is time that this complex is shaken off in the interests of the country as a whole. Otherwise, it can bring on confusion of the worst type. A Delhi correspondent of a local newspaper remarks that trouble in Calcutta cannot be regarded as a threat to the peace of Bengal, let alone the security of India. This is a short-sighted view. As it has been well said, we perish by things permitted. The States are at the moment settled but it should not be forgotten that their being formed into large units makes them greater potential trouble-makers. If the provinces are not controlled soon, the whole States will boil over.

Elections to Legislatures:—A news item reported that the Government of India intended to have in the winter of 1950 elections from the provincial legislatures to the Central Parliament which is now the Constituent Assembly in its legislative aspect. The necessity for this is evidently felt because of the probability of the Constituent Assembly completing its work of framing a Constitution by that time and completing the task for which it was brought into existence. The proposal is pointless and cannot be regarded as a move to secure the verdict of the people because the complexion of the provincial legislatures has been decided by the elections held to constitute an electoral college for forming the Constitution-making body. At the time of those elections, the Socialists stood aloof and, though they might not have secured seats then, they are unrepresented to-day when their influence has extended. Elections through these bodies will only result in a Parliament very similar to the one we have already at Delhi and it will not give any satisfaction to those who feel the need for reconstitution. The suggestion is one which will raise a storm of protest and give rise to a lot of unnecessary agitation. The Government, if the report was intended as a feeler, will find that it is led into a position in which, instead of allaying political controversy, it will be only adding to the controversial issues before the public. There must be a breathing space from politics and the first adult suffrage elections in 1951 or early 1952 ought to be early enough for seeking the verdict of the people. The Congress President, we are glad to note, has strongly protested against elections on an interim basis.

Cooch Behar:—A current comment in the "Modern Review ." on the future of Cooch-Bihar shows how far provincial prejudices can go. Cooch-Bihar has a population less than tenth of that of Assam, and 40 per cent of the people there are Muslim. After asserting that there have been intrigues between "important members of the Cooch-Bihar bureaucracy" and public men in Assam and a reference to having seen "concrete proofs of an intrigue through the medium of the Publicity Officer of the State with a Pakistani English language daily in Calcutta", the *Modern Review* remarks, "The 40 per cent Muslim population added to the existing Muslim percentage in Assam"—this, after the separation of Sylhet, is about 17 per cent—"will decrease the Hindu percentage of Assam, holding the threat of its ultimate Pakistanization." The mathematics of the *Modern Review* is peculiar. The bringing in of 40 per cent Muslims from Cooch-Bihar will also add 60 per cent non-Muslims but this is evidently a negligible matter. The total population figures for Assam after Cooch-Bihar merges with it will be 1,793,000 out of some 8,728,973 persons, or about 20 per cent. This should hardly be a serious menace. The *Modern Review*, however, explains everything when it says that the entire move is intended to cheat Bengal and asserts that "the gullible Assamese-speaking public men .... go to their doom driven by their jealousy of the Bengalee." So long as Cooch-Bihar is integrated, it is immaterial to which province it goes but is it quite necessary to distort facts in the manner in which the Calcutta journal has done?

THE INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, July 9, 1949.

AN INDEPENDENT JUDICIARY

Since the advent of Independence, two notable developments can be observed in regard to the Judiciary vis-a-vis the two other branches of government, the Executive and the Legislature: In some of the less advanced provinces, there is a tendency on the part of those connected with the Government, mainly party members, to try to influence magistrates and judges. This has been strongly condemned and, where the interference has been very blatant, action has been taken with reasonable promptness. No public figure will tolerate interference with the course of justice and it must be said that, generally speaking, the tendency has been confined to the lesser party leaders who can be easily brought to book. The second development has been the increasing number of cases where the Courts have taken a line completely divergent from that of the Executive and, in fewer instances, from the intentions of the Legislature. From a detached point of view and without any partisan approach, this can be traced to a lag in the Judiciary as compared with the other branches of government. The legal profession, from whom the Judges are drawn, is the one sphere of national life which resisted the extreme manifestations of Indian nationalism. In the first place, the Courts were concerned with counteracting the harsher influences of civil disobedience. Secondly, the practising lawyer was the man who had not responded to the Congress directive to boycott the law courts. An exception here or there does not materially affect the argument. Added to this, the innate conservatism of the Judiciary resists the experimentation into which the new entrants into the administrative and legislative fields plunge with the enthusiasm of inexperience. After nearly two years of independence, administrators from the Congress ranks are beginning to realise the dangers of cutting adrift from usual practice. Possibly in a short time the three branches of government might return to stable equilibrium, somewhere nearer to the present attitude of the Judiciary which might then congratulate itself on having acted as a kind of balancing wheel. On the other hand, the change over in about eighteen months to the Republican status with the new basis that must be found for the Judiciary, might well pitchfork the Judiciary into the same melting-pot into which the other two branches have been precipitated. The future promises interesting change but meanwhile the unbalance which now exists, is a disturbing factor in Indian public life.

It would be wrong to infer from the outstanding cases that the Judiciary is at complete odds with the administration. As a matter of fact, the assertions of independence must necessarily be few. Another point that is ignored is that the dissensions of the Judiciary from the intentions of the law-makers and its disapproval of executive acts have necessarily to be publicly expressed. The fact that the law officers of the Government scrutinise all measures before they are placed before the legislature or promulgated as ordinance, ensures that the bills and orders are good law. Generally speaking, the courts have not gone against legislation; they have mostly protested against executive excess or misinterpretation of the law as it stands and sometimes objected to provisions of the ordinances. The suggestion in this fact is that officials of the Government tend on occasion to exceed their authority which can only arise from a misunderstanding of legislative intention. On the other hand, there is evidence to show that in the administrative offices the permanent officials who have security of tenure, have been overruled by their Ministers, some of them indicating their dissent even at the risk of being misunderstood. From all accounts, the permanent official has put up an opposition to certain phases of Government policy which is as remarkable as the more evident protests of the Judiciary. This is a factor which has to be taken into account in any assessing of the present situation. It indicates to some extent the conflict between a popular party in power and the two permanent branches of the Government which is inevitable whenever a change is made in the machinery of Government. The Labour Party in Britain faced just such a situation in its early attempts to run the British Government, and it was only time that resolved the conflict, if it has been resolved—time and the confidence which Labour Ministers instilled in their officials.

Faced with this situation internally, the Congress Governments have to rely on the force of public opinion which is what has put them in office. Party leaders have publicly admitted that the Congress has lost touch with the people to a large extent. Writing editorially the "Modern Review" of Calcutta has drawn pointed attention to this fact. It says:

> "When Congress administrators recoil from the masses, lock themselves up in heavily guarded quarters and send lorry-loads of armed police to deal with the aggrieved people, Communist workers find it easy to seize the chance for turning the aggrieved people into a riotous mob. Of all Indian leaders, within and outside the Government, Pandit Nehru is the solitary exception who still maintains the courage to face and challenge even an angry mob. In the Delhi meeting which Panditji was addressing there was a stampede and interruptions, Pandit Nehru personally intervened and quietened the crowd. In the South Calcutta election, none of the Congress leaders including Sri Kala Venkata Rao, General Secretary of the Congress; Dr. P. C. Ghosh, member of the Working Committee; the President or the Secretary of the Provincial Congress Committee, dared address a single public meeting. In the only public meeting convened during the election campaign, none of the front rank Congress leaders appeared, and when there was a stampede in the meeting the President, a University Professor, according to his own statement, found the dais empty and had to dissolve the meeting."

These are serious charges which can be matched in more modified form by conditions outside West Bengal. An added difficulty is in the growing tendency of provincial administrations to regard themselves as separate from and independent of the centre. Bombay and Madras have pursued their Prohibition policies in the teeth of go-slow directions from the Centre; the U.P. Government is proceeding with its abolition of the zamindari policy; and Madras has openly declared that it will not allow the Central Government to interfere with its advertisement sales tax. Though on all these issues, one's sympathies

may be with the provincial governments concerned, the question of discipline involved is fundamental and should not be ignored. Those who favour a strong Centre, cannot watch these developments unmoved. The difficulties which were expected to manifest themselves in the States, have begun to raise their head in the provinces, and in the immediate future will have to be ironed out by methods not dissimilar to those adopted in relation to popular parties in the States which succeeded the maharajas' regime.

THE INDEPENDENT WOMAN

(By Ethel Goldwater)

II

Today in America, the woman is as necessary to the economic world as the man, and as technology advances, the home needs her labour less, while more kinds of jobs are open to her. "One out of every four young women will work for a living," William F. Ogburn recently predicted, "and one out of every seven will continue to work after she is married." Approximately 17½ billion American women will continue to be wage-earners.

The woman's handicaps in earning a living—her biology, her "feminine" traits, her education—continue to be great, although they can be lessened by cultural reform. The biological function of menstruation is causing less inefficiency and absenteeism as psychosomatic investigation shows that much of its ill effect is due to psychological and hormonal factors. Even gestation can be considered as partly cultural, since the degree of incapacity varies in different cultures. Unquestionably, some of the woman's psychology emanates from her sexual nature, but it is impossible to judge how much of her present character is immutable. The woman's education, starting at birth, when she is first carried in her pink blanket, is the strength force in her "feminine" conditioning.

The popular view is that the woman brings to all of her activities some inherent characteristics. In his book, **Women and Men,** Amram Scheinfeld goes into this at length. He notes that woman is thought to be emotional, vain, deceitful, passive, intuitive, masochistic. None of these generalizations has been scientifically arrived at. Tests have so far revealed only two **inherent** sex differences (as distinguished from differences due to education and conditioning), "male muscular superiority and female verbal excellence." ("Sex Roles in Postwar Planning", by Georgene H. Seward; **Journal of Social Psychology,** Feb. 1944). The testing of children, described in Charlotte Buhler's **From Birth to Maturity** shows that in the childhood years, through puberty, the activities of both sexes are essentially the same. "Striking performance of any kind in childhood, e.g., drawing, or mechanical talent, is an expression of general mental alertness and initiative rather than of special talent in a given direction." It is the man of the house who is expected to fix the creaking door, but the woman, enrolled in the Home Repairs course during the war, was quickly initiated into this "masculine" mystery.

At puberty, although sexual development proceeds at a different rate, the two sexes remain the same in showing an aversion to home routine; but this distaste is respected only in the boy. The girl is pressed to continue her practice of the household skills, for this is her preparation for marriage (the only training, besides a few lessons in sex anatomy, which our culture can devise!)

After puberty, at about the age of 17, both the girl and the boy become absorbed in the adolescent wish to "accomplish something that is as unique and significant as possible." (Buhler) But the meaning of the folktale now becomes clear: "She shall fall asleep . . . until the prince's kiss awakens her." Her ambition recedes before the imminent necessity to become a wife and mother. Sometimes an abrupt and bewildering change takes place in the attitude of her parents, who, if they are "progressive," will have urged her up to this point to ape the boy in her play (boats, airplanes, weapons of war), and in her clothing—slacks are more suitable for climbing—and now her intellectualism or her vocational ambitions become of much lesser value in their eyes than her interest in makeup and dates, while her brother is praised for his continued single-mindedness.

Even though the girl matures physically and mentally earlier than the boy, which is now believed by psychologists, this is no sound argument for segregation in the schools. Co-education gives the girl, by constant association, an understanding of the masculine personality, only haphazardly learned in the home or in neighbourhood play, which is even more essential to her work life than to her social life. It also sets an example of equality of treatment which helps to correct the inferiority feeling developed in a more backward home.

If there is indeed a characteristic feminine style of performance in some tasks, this should not bar the woman from attempting any job which has always been handled by men. The "feminine" approach may be just what is needed. Until we know by experiment what jobs are outside the feminine realm, the girl should choose her vocation, as the boy does, by desire and ability.

The current educational confusion, at home and in the school, is only one of the woman's vocational handicaps. She has still to reconcile her work life with marriage and motherhood. This is the central problem of the modern woman. She has some misgivings about motherhood. While our culture expects the woman to fulfil her biological destiny, it takes motherhood for granted. It is merely a duty performed, and even then it must be performed according to strict moral rules. Also, although the mother's love for her children continues unabated throughout life, their eventual separation from her is certain, and necessary for their best development; and her loss generally occurs at a time of life when the void is difficult to fill.

The growing knowledge of child psychology is improving the mother's prestige. The psycho-analytic emphasis on the infantile years and on the importance of the mother tie for both boy and girl logically means that the mother's function is of much greater importance than is usually granted. The ability to be a good mother does not depend only on sound health and mature sex glands, a common belief. Motherhood is a profound complex, rewarding by the highest euphoria and punishing by the deepest despair. It is no longer a "natural" process for the civilized woman—neither is it a vocation, to be learned at school. It is a difficult task, and we know little of the proper preparation for it.

The general belief is that motherhood is a life job, forcing women to give up outside work. But how long is the mother really needed in the home? Psychologists recommend that the family unit, mother-father-child, hold together for the child's first five or six years. Since the only child is given a poor prognosis for adult happiness, the family should endure at least through the infantile years of one or two more children. The mother's full job retirement is necessary, then, for only twelve or fifteen years. Even during this time, the actual care of the child does not consume more than a few hours daily.

Therefore, it is not child-care that cuts short her career, but simply a misinterpretation of the phrase, "woman's biological function," which now connotes

not only the bearing and nurture of the child, but also housewifery, which includes nothing which a man cannot do equally well. It is a survival of the old slavery of the woman, of the idea of her as a piece of property, an inferior drudge who performs the tasks too dull for her master. Her economic dependence in our American culture during the nursing period automatically fastens some housewifely duties upon her; but it is everywhere understood that even without motherhood the wife is also the housewife, no matter what other career she may have. The American husband, though he is more advanced in this respect than the European, is very willing to assist (and one would be an ingrate to belittle his sympathy and considerateness!). But if he assumes the responsibility of a daily household task which is known as female, even though he can do it better, he is demeaning himself—he is a little ridiculous.

But this is the country which is famous for its "electrification." The spoiled wife who fills her blank hours with beauty culture and bridge-playing is a world-known American type. These are the facts of her true leisure: In a survey made of 1500 typical American homemakers, farm women were found to spend 62 hours a week on household work, with only about ten hours of this time spent in child-care; women in cities of under 50,000 population spent an average of 53 hours, and in the larger cities, 47 hours. Only 5 per cent of all the families of the U.S. (in 1929, a peak year) had paid help. (Women in the Economy of the U.S., by Mary Elizabeth Pidgeon; Government Printing Office, 1937)

Obviously the question, "Career or Babies?" is not a proper one. It is not the babies that prevent the woman from working outside the home, it is "woman's work"—cleaning, cooking, washing, mending, marketing It is an illogical absurdity that men can do all of these jobs outside the home and not within it.

The independent woman's manifesto, intended to advance her to true equality, socially and economically, would advocate the following:

1. Since the demarcation between "woman's work" and "man's work" has no biological basis, both the boy and the girl should receive instruction in housework; since it is expected that they will both become parents why not also give them instruction in child-care? The girl should be taught that motherhood is a function of the woman, not the entire woman; planned motherhood will require her full job retirement for less than one-fourth of her life. She may, without criticism, renounce motherhood, if she likes, since it is no more morally obligatory for her to be a mother than it is for the man to be a father.

2. Housework and child-care should be simplified by full use of the machine-age household tools, which can be made even more effective, and which are beyond the financial reach of too many families. The special services (diaper service, sitters, the cooked foods shop, etc.) represent a technological advance over the maid-of-all-work. They have the advantage, too, of respecting the privacy which the American may characteristically prefer to communal living. The nursery schools, and cooperative arrangements for child-care should be extended; the latter are even now well-developed on some housing projects. A reconsideration of home care standards is also indicated. The so-called good housewife is now chained to an impossible ideal of order and cleanliness, and the time consumed is out of all proportion to the value of the transitory effect. Her fanaticism is advanced by the women's magazines, which see the woman's life as spent on an endless treadmill of redecoration, of the home and of the person. Unionization for the household worker and a course of training will improve work quality and by assuring regular hours and wages will attract the more efficient person. This will help to erase the stigma attached to "woman's work," a change which will benefit all women.

3. The regular leisure acquired in these ways should be used by the woman for part-time participation or study in a field of work which she will re-enter, or enter for the first time, after her service in the home is no longer required. The suggestion, made by Scheinfeld, that the mother begin a career after the child-bearing period is practicable only for those pursuits which need little educational preparation. (Politics, for instance, which is beginning to attract many middle-aged women). But it is difficult to regain a habit of work and study after a period of complete neglect. Even if she does not return to full employment until her children are grown up, she should not allow her interest to lapse altogether. The mother's emotional dependence on her children will be lessened, which is good for her own mental health and for that of her children. When the children reach maturity and leave the home, she will console herself with doing another useful job. At present, the older woman has one pleasure on her horizon, to relive her "romantic moment" in her daughter and her motherhood in her grandchildren.

In conclusion, the pursuit of a life vocation is no longer the sign of a militant feminist, unless she is anti-man or anti-child at the same time. She merely satisfies the wish for individual recognition, a desire which is as "womanly" as it is "manly." If the independent woman in her career may be said to be living like a man, it is her problem to learn to live like a woman as well, for this is also her deep desire. Only in her dual activity can her full emotional and intellectual energy be released.

Our utopias need a little feminine revision. According to the Marxist blueprint, only the mother is thought to be needed in the home, for she bears and nurses the child, while the state deos the housework and pays the bills. This is an error. Since the mother tie is much more than an economic one, the mother is never free. But what are the father's duties in this scheme? None. His association with the family is truly voluntary. Perhaps this is only the Freudian infantile wish of the revolutionary, to eliminate the father! The family, the crucible of our deepest feelings, will remain, for the woman never really leaves it. And the man, having at last conquered all his enemies—the projection of his fears and hates—which threaten the home, will return to it. He will then stand with the woman against death, on the side of life. Man's place is in the home!

CHILE'S COPPER JITTERS

A disastrous situation has been created for Chile by the drop of copper prices in the United States. Copper is the most important Chilean export, and the red metal turns in a huge revenue to the national economy. A fall of one cent in the price of copper in the U.S. can mean to Chileans a loss of $20,000,000 for the Exchange Fund this year, and $15,000,000 in taxes. The nature of the blow can be seen in the fact that prices have recently fluctuated around 16 cents, a drop of more than seven cents in the previous price level.

The situation will become still more critical should the United States Congress approve a higher tax on the importation of Chilean copper, as proposed by Congressmen from U.S. copper states. Chile sent its brilliant Minister of Commerce, Dr. Alberto Baltra, to Washington to see President Truman, and to talk with heads of U.S. firms. There is hope that the U.S. government will not let Chile slip into an economic abyss. Already, thousands of workers have been laid off in the copper industry, much of which is owned by U.S. companies.

FACTORIES IN INDIA

II

The Conference unanimously supported the proposal to establish a forty-eight-hour week in factories, and the result was the enactment by the Government of India in April 1946 of the Factories (Amendment) Act (X) which came into force on 1st August 1946. This Act reduced the maximum weekly working hours for adults from fifty-four to forty-eight in perennial factories, and from sixty to fifty in seasonal factories. The daily limits were fixed at nine hours and ten hours, respectively, as compared with ten hours and eleven hours, respectively provided by the Act of 1934, and the maximum permissible spread-over of the working time of an adult worker was similarly reduced from thirteen hours in any day to ten and a half hours in the case of perennial and eleven and a half hours in the case of seasonal factories. Ovretime is to be paid at twice the ordinary rate of pay. The provincial Governments are, however, empowered to grant exemption from the limitation of hours in exigencies of public need, to any industry. As can be seen from the above summary of the provisions of the Act, the existing practice in India with regard to hours of work in factories is well in advance of the special provisions concerning India laid down in the international labour Convention No. 1, concerning hours of work in industrial undertakings.

The Factories (Amendment) Act, 1947 (Act V of 1947) need not be discussed in detail. Briefly, it empowers provincial Governments to make rules requiring that in any specified factory where more than 250 workers are employed, an adequate canteen shall be provided for the use of the workers. Such rules may prescribe: (1) the date by which such canteen shall be provided; (2) the standards in respect of furniture, accommodation, etc.; (3) the foodstuffs to be served in the canteen and their prices; (4) the representation of workers in the management of the canteens. Draft Factories (Canteens) Rules, framed under the provisions of this enabling Act, have already been published by the Governments of Assam, Bihar, the Central Provinces and Berar, Madras, Orissa and the United Provinces.

As the rule-making power under the Factories Act rests with the provincial Governments, which are entrusted with the administration of the Act and the organization of inspection, a number of these Governments have also amended the Factories Act in so far as it applies to their respective jurisdictions. Thus it was amended by the Government of the Central Provinces in 1939 (Act XXXVI) and by the Government of the Punjab in 1940 (Act VII), in both cases to impose a registration fee on factories subject to the Act, in order to meet part of the expenditure on the factories inspectorate. The Punjab amending Act, besides effecting this economy in administration, prohibits the unauthorised establishment or extension of factories manufacturing textiles, glass, cement, chemicals, steel rolling mills, etc., in order to restrict cut-throat competition.

In 1941, the Factories Act was amended by the Government of Madras (Act VI) in order to restrict the medical examination of adolescents and children to such as are guaranteed employment provided they are physically fit. An amending Act enacted by the Government of the North-West Frontier Province in 1947 (Act VII) seeks, like the Punjab Act of 1941, to prevent the unauthorised establishment of factories in the province by providing for a system of licensing of factories.

It should be evident from the above brief review that the Factories Act as at present in force in India differs in many material respects from the Factories Act as it existed in 1937, and embodies much higher standards of labour protection, particularly in respect of hours of work, holidays with pay and the employment of children. Despite the series of amendments, however, the general framework of the Act has remained unchanged, and experience of the working of the Act during recent years has increasingly revealed the need for wholesale revision with a view to extending its protective provisions to the large number of smaller industrial establishments which are at present outside its scope and generally strengthening its provisions relating to the safety, health and welfare of workers. An entirely new Act to consolidate and amend the law relating to labour in factories in India, therefore, was passed by the Constituent Assembly on 28th August 1948. It received the assent of the Governor-General of India on 23rd September 1948 and was scheduled to come into force on 1st April 1949. In framing the new Act, as the Labour Minister stated in the Legislature on 30th January 1948, the Government has tried to implement as many of the provisions of the I.L.O. Code of Industrial Hygiene as are practicable under Indian conditions; and, the provisions relating to the periodical medical examination of young persons and the submission of plans of factory buildings have also been taken from international labour Conventions.

The more important among the changes introduced by the Factories Act (LXIII) of 1948, are: (1) widening of the definition of the term "factory" to cover all industrial establishments employing ten or more workers where power is used, and twenty or more workers in all other cases; (2) abolition of the distinction between seasonal and non-seasonal factories; (3) splitting up of Chapter III of the present Act into three separate chapters, dealing with the health, safety and welfare of workers, respectively, and clear specification in the Act itself of the minimum requirements under these heads; (4) extension of the basic provisions of the Act relating to health, safety and welfare to all workplaces irrespective of the number of workers employed, except premises where processes are carried on by the occupier with the sole aid of his family; (5) raising of the minimum age for the admission to children to employment from twelve to fourteen years and a reduction in the maximum permissible daily hours of work of children from five to four and a half; (6) provision for the licensing and registration of factories, and the prior scrutiny by the Factories Inspectorate of the plans and specifications of factory buildings; and (7) the grant to provincial Governments of the power to make rules requiring the association of the workers in the management of arrangements for the welfare of the workers.

Another important legislative enactment of the decade 1938-1948 which may conveniently be dealt with in this section is the Act concerning standing orders in industrial establishments enacted by the Government of India in 1946. The absence of "standing orders" clearly defining the rights and obligations of the employer and the worker in respect of recruitment, discharge, disciplinary action, holidays, leave, etc., has been found to be one of the most frequent causes of friction between managements and workers in industrial undertakings in India, and discussions on the subject in the tripartite Labour Conferences in 1943, 1944 and 1945 revealed a consensus of opinion in favour of a separate central enactment making it obligatory on the part of the employers in the larger industrial undertakings in the country to frame and enforce, with the approval of the Government, standing orders defining precisely the conditions of employment under them. The result was the enactment in

1946 of the Industrial Employment (Standing Orders) Act (XX).

The Act provides for the framing of standing orders in all industrial establishments (including factories, mines, railways, docks and plantations) employing 100 or more workers. It prescribes that, within six months of the application of the Act, the employer shall submit to the certifying officer standing orders covering, *inter alia*, classification of workmen (permanent, temporary, etc.); manner of intimating to them hours of work, holidays, pay days, and wage rates; procedure for application for leave and holidays; termination of employment; discharge and disciplinary action. The certifying officer appointed by the appropriate Government, central or provincial as the case may be, is empowered to modify the draft standing orders so as to render them certifiable under the Act, although he has no right to adjudicate upon their fairness. The Act provides for consultation of the workers concerned before certification of the standing orders framed for any industrial establishment. The appropriate Government, however, is empowered, by notification in the official gazette, to exempt, conditionally or unconditionally, any industrial establishment or class of industrial establishments from all or any of the provisions of the Act.

In pursuance of the Act, the central Government published the Industrial Employment (Standing Orders) Control Rules in 1946, applying to all Chief Commissioner's provinces and to the undertakings under the central Government. Provincial Industrial Employment (Standing Orders) Rules, framed under the Act, have since been gazetted in Assam (April 1947), Bengal (October 1946), Bihar (November 1947), Bombay (November 1948), the Central Provinces and Berar (November 1947), Madras (November 1947) Orissa (July 1947), Sind (July 1947) and the United Provinces (December 1946).

FRANCO'S PROBLEMS

Dictator Francisco Franco of Spain is faced with a troublesome situation in Catalonia, the north-easterly province which has always manifested separatist tendencies and been a centre of disaffection under his regime. A 12-day visit there in early June failed to overawe rebellious elements, or to produce any solution to the economic crisis. Because of a protracted drouth, reservoirs have been nearly empty, and this in turn has produced a shortage of water power, which is hardly a quarter of normal. For want of overseas credits, it is impossible to supplement water power by coal. And through a financial manoeuvre which took over from Canadian ownership the greatest power firm in the province, there has been inefficiency.

It is believed in Madrid that Franco will have to make another appeal for an American loan, through dependable reactionaries in the U.S. Congress, on the ground that Communism is gaining in Catalonia. The real menace to Franco there, however, comes from groups which are considerably more moderate.

Meantime, the Dictator's Falangist Party is coming under fire from its former ally, the Catholic Church. Church papers charge they have been victims of censorship. They resent the fact, also, that permission was granted to present a play called Las Leandras, at Madrid, a play which the Church criticised as immoral in the days of the Republic, and which portrays a girls' school mistaken for a brothel. The organ of Catholic Action, Ecclesia, demands an explanation for the act of indecency, and asks, "Was it for financial reasons?" It is noteworthy that permission came from the official Ministry of Education.

—*Worldover Press.*

COMMUNISTS IN WEST BENGAL

For the past few months, West Bengal, specially Calcutta, has been the scene of subversive activities mainly directed by the Communists. Since the Communist Party was declared illegal in this province, it has "officially" gone underground but its activities are being conducted in broad daylight in defiance of law and order. Anybody casting a glance on the pillars of the city streets and walls of houses will find any number of Communist posters inciting the public to utmost lawlessness. The "Wanted" Communist leaders were supposedly underground but a few weeks back they were going about openly in the streets of Calcutta. For example, one of them was seen in a wedding party, a few months back, where the highest police officers were present.

The incidents of the past few months are of sufficient importance to cause anxiety for an administration which wants to run a peaceful and ordered government. Unfortunately, they have been neglected both by the Provincial and the Central Governments in spite of the fact that the capture of Calcutta by Communists will open the floodgates of Communism and anarchy from the East. Attempted sabotage of the Water Works and drainage system of Calcutta, the ghastly attack in Jessop Works, the raid on Dum Dum Aerodrome and Basirhat Police Station which was described by the Premier of West Bengal to have been in the nature of a coup-de-etat, attacks by women in Kakdwip, Duberbheri and Calcutta, raids by Communist-led peasants in the districts of 24-Parganas, Midnapore and Birbhum, "skirmishes" in Presidency and Dum Dum Jails and Bengal Pottery Works, and the latest raids on the residences of Congress leaders are of sufficient importance to cause the greatest amount of headache for people who desire a stable government.

Lack of space limits detailed descriptions of the incidents. When we go deep into the **modus operandi** of the Communists we find the same plans revealing the existence of the same directing brains and organisation of the incidents on a definite sequence with the ultimate object of disruption of the State. Three things have contributed to their increase in strength: (1) The insufficient and frequent bad quality of rations in the city which forces people to fall upon the black-market for their food. This raises the moffussil food prices, the hinterland being within easy communication with Calcutta. The peasants are naturally unwilling to sell their produce to the official procuring agents when market prices rule high. This is a realistic problem, which has brought the Government down in the public eye as inefficient. The recent spectacular acquittals by the Calcutta High Court of persons accused in black-market and bribery cases together with the publicly ventilated reports of corruption against high personages in the Government or connected with the Government has created a very bad psychological atmosphere which has made people believe that the Government is not only inefficient but also dishonest. The Ministers have failed to remove this dangerous conception from public mind. The Congress workers who foresee the coming danger and want to face the public cannot do so because they have no answer to offer for the misdeeds and wrong short-sighted actions of the Government. Cloth-bungling is a scandal. A few months of working of the Premises Act has revealed that it is a landlord's Act and not a relief for the tenant. The disastrous policy of neglecting moffussil hospitals and concentrating on Calcutta alone has resulted in a practical denial of medical aid to a greater number of people. Agricultural expenditure to the tune of several crores of rupees continues to remain a big hoax and a huge drain. So, with food, cloth, shelter and medical aid

problems unsolved, with growing unemployment and a floating refugee population, with a psychological condition in favour of corruption, an ideal breeding ground for Communist Party activity has been created which they have not been slow to take advantage of.

It is to be noted here that there has not been a single Communist "incident" directed against the black-marketeer, nor has there been a strike engineered by the Communists against British controlled jute industry. In short Communism is working for disruption only and not to rectify grievances of the people. Rather they want malpractices and foreign control to remain. They demonstrated it fully when they opposed the entry of Chandernagore into the Indian Union recently.

(2) The administrative machinery has been divided into two broad divisions—the inefficient favourites and the efficient down-trodden. The rampant nepotism and favouritism and posting of men with an unknown past or with black records in some important departments as heads or special officers have sapped efficiency and initiative from vital departments like agriculture, industry, sales tax, education and the police. If provision of high level extra posts in dozens and budget grants for lakhs and lakhs were effective substitutes for good efficient men, West Bengal would have been heaven by this time.

(3) The police has proved an utter and miserable failure. Espionage, detection, prevention and prosecution—all these vital branches of the police in Calcutta as well as West Bengal have completely broken down. With their huge organization of special branch and intelligence branch they get no previous information of conspiracies of the nature of coups-de-etat, they have no timely information even when the "action" begins. They do not grow wiser after each successive incident. The incident of April 27, when four women were killed and which has done irreparable damage to Congress prestige, had been very badly handled. The meeting had been convened by a women's organisation affiliated to the Communist Party and as such the congregation could, and should, have been prevented. Appearance of bombs and acid bulbs is no new thing, and the police has the legal right to search for them even without warrant. In this case, any officer worth his salt, could and should have searched the men clustering round the meeting place. Utilisation of women as gun-fodder for damaging Congress prestige has begun long before, the Kakdwip and Duberbheri incidents had already occurred and there was every reason to suspect that something similar might happen in Calcutta. Shooting down women on the streets of Calcutta would provide the Communist Party with the longest stick to beat the Congress with. The police espionage organisations failed to get previous information about what was coming, failed to utilise the huge armed force concentrated round the spot for prevention, and instead of forestalling the Communist conspiracy walked straight into the Communist trap. Killing of women and killing of prisoners are shocking and abhorrent actions in human judgment. The Communists had made the police do the former on two occasions but the incidents happening in villages did not attract much attention. The Calcutta incident had the desired effect, it was a serious set-back for the Government. Any good government would have ordered an inquiry into this incident, punished officials responsible for acts of omission, tactlessness and negligence of duty and tried to remedy the defects. But nothing was done. With the first round won, the Communists turned to their second objective—make the police kill prisoners. This was done in the Presidency Jail. The Premier says that the jail was organised under orders of the Polit Bureau. We believe it. But the question is, when did the police come to know of the existence of such a communication between the Communist Polit Bureau and prisoners locked up in jail? Had the "order" been known a day earlier, could not the incident have been prevented by searching the jail wards and, if necessary, keeping the prisoners locked up for that day? Here as well no previous information was scured, and the authorities were forced into the use of fire-arms which produced the result for which the Communist Party was asking. The police did not grow wiser even after this incident and did not take precautions in other jails. The incident was repeated in Dum Dum Jail the next day.

With these three events on their side, the Communists have now changed their tactics. Up to these, the incidents were more or less sporadic. With Government prestige lowest after the firing on women and jail firing against the general background of discontent among the public described in paragraph (1) and discontent within the administrative machinery described in paragraph (2), the Communists have come practically in the open. For instance, let us take the Calcutta incident of June 15. Leaflets were distributed and posters were stuck up in the name of and by the Communist Party convening a meeting at Hazra Park. No steps were taken to stop the meeting convened by the banned organization. In the meeting, most inflammatory speeches were delivered calling upon men to break open the Alipore Jail and to raid the houses of Congressmen. The police were conspicuous by their inactivity. A procession was then formed which actually proceeded towards the Alipore Jail. A small contingent of police followed in its rear. The procession turned and took the route leading to the residences of the two South Calcutta Congress leaders. When men at the head of the procession were doing acts of violence, the police were smoking merrily at its tail end. This raid was carried out by giving twelve hours' previous public notice to the police. The same thing happened at Serampore where a police outpost and the Congress office were attacked. In the "pitched battles" at the Presidency Jail, Dum Dum Jail and the Bengal Pottery Works, regular street fight and guerilla tactics were adopted; we are inclined to believe that these are rehearsals of what is soon coming if our administrative heads remain as serenely complacent as hitherto. The Communists have accelerated their tempo; we have incidents everyday now without fail.

Now, what is the remedy? The remedy is no doubt difficult but not impossible. We think the following measures would change the situation in favour of the Congress:—(1) The quantity and quality of rationed food must improve at any cost with the assistance of the Centre; (2) blackmarketing and smuggling by Congressmen and their financiers must stop; (3) discrimination between Congressmen and ordinary people in the grant of trade licenses and contracts must end; (4) a psychological atmosphere against corruption should be created by denying the blackmarketeers the advantage of escaping punishment through legal loop-holes where the substance of the case has been proved; and, (5) restoring administrative morale by a thorough overhaul of the administrative machinery and removal of corrupt and inefficient high officials from State Trading, Provincial Taxation and Police Departments. A careful enquiry into the past records of the present top officers in the administration will reveal how, through jobbery, nepotism and corruption, the present disaster has been invited. And finally (6), warning Party-bosses of drastic punishment, if they persist in their nefarious actions.

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"*I will* be as harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard*".

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the LIBERATOR.

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NOTES

KLM Disaster:— A KLM plane which was carrying thirteen American journalists on the return trip from Indonesia, crashed near Bombay last Tuesday. Everyone of the persons on the plane was killed in the disaster. The news was received with a sense of shock and in a dazed mood the usual ceremonial functions were carried out. Part of the feeling is due to the completeness of the tragedy with not one alive to tell the tale. Conjecture has taken the place of certainty but one guess is as good as another. The remains of the plane are closely guarded in an undisturbed state in order to enable investigations to be carried out. Dutch air experts are down on a trip of investigation. The American pressmen were among the foremost in their profession, having been for years engaged in interpreting foreign affairs to their people. As Mr. Loy Henderson, the American Ambassador at Delhi, observed at the memorial meeting in Bombay, for a democracy this is a great loss which is equally felt by the Government and the people. There is an attempt to use the tragedy for political ends. One of American journalists who was in the party but did not join the plane, Mrs. Dorothy Brandon, has stated that the disaster is an act of sabotage committed by Indonesians who were irritated by the publicity given by the Americans to the Dutch view of the Indonesian controversy. The direct suggestion can be dismissed but the indirect implication is something more serious and ought not to have been made, the insinuation that all the American journalists were pro-Dutch. Mrs. Brandon was no doubt speaking under the stress of emotion but as a veteran journalist, she should have been more discreet in dragging in an international situation.

Moscow Ambassdor:— The choice of Dr. S. Radhakrishnan for the Ambassadorship to Moscow is one of the happiest nominations of the External Affairs Ministry. It is the only choice which can be unreservedly commended ; and it is to be hoped that it marks the beginning of a new deal in foreign appointments. Dr. Radhakrishnan is the one outstanding Indian who has experience of foreign countries. In sending him to Moscow, the Indian Government has given striking proof of the value it attaches to this office. Dr. Radhakrishnan, it is possible, may not be able to effect much in Soviet Russia but he will certainly add to the stature of this country. It will be interesting to see the reactions of a mind which is equally at home in Indian and Western thought, to conditions which are completely different. The interval that has lapsed between the last ambassador, Mrs. Pandit, and Dr. Radhakrishnan's assuming charge of his office, ought to help in providing a clean slate. It is a good sign that we are taking our foreign representation seriously and, if it is followed by cutting out the unnecessary appointments that have been indulged in, there will be a great improvement in India's relations with other countries. It is true that there is only one Radhakrishnan but it is also true that there are not many foreign offices which can be regarded as essential.

Empty Nothings:— The "Times of India" has struck a vicious blow at Mrs. Pandit, India's Ambassador at Washington, for which she had rather foolishly asked. Speaking at a Massachussets meeting, Mrs. Pandit had refered to the American feeding and clothing of the body as commendable but futile unless it was accompanied by feeding and clothing of the soul. Evidently the Ambassador succumbed to the rather overwhelming temptation which faces all Indians in the U.S.A., of talking a little on the things of the spirit, and she found refuge in a rather banal sentiment. Normally this would have attracted little attention and might even have provoked a little applause but things today are far from normal. More that she said has the suggestion that America has much to learn from India. Whether it is true or not, we are not in a position to judge. But certainly the assumption of an air of superiority is ill-becoming a country which is passing through very difficult times. Unless Mrs. Pandit was unthinkingly repeating something which she had heard before—which she is perfectly entitled to as much as anyone else — the purpose of her remark is difficult to catch. Sensible Indians cannot but feel that this kind of speech creates a great deal of embarassment to the people of this country, and

rather forces Americans on the defensive to look out for the seamy side of Indian life.

The Pacific Pact:— Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek after an invitation from President Quirino of the Philippines, visited the islands and negotiated an understanding with him. A joint statement was released on Monday calling on Far Eastern countries to unite against Communism and appealing to the Asian and Pacific nations to give their support to the ideals of this Union. An introductory message said that the Philippines had accepted the responsibility of pressing for a Pacific Union. The Generalissimo has been appealing to America for help, ranging from material to moral. Though American spokesmen deny that the U.S.A. is interested in the Philippines move, it is difficult to believe that the initiative or the inspiration for the move is solely Philippine. All the nations who can be interested in the matter are troubled with internal Communist problems. What Soviet Russia needs in order to make an internal issue a world question or a problem for world communism is a contiguous frontier. The collapse of National China will provide that for several countries and for the rest accessibility is attached. Although developments in China do place an urgency on the Communist question in the Far East, the problem is different from that which confronts the Generalissimo. The pessimist might be inclined to say that Chiang Kai-Shek is at the end of a process that is just beginning for the others; the optimist might be disposed to set down Chiang's failure to his methods. But in any case, the leadership of the resistance to Communism in Asia cannot be taken up by one who has failed so badly in China in the same struggle. The Philippine attitude is surprising since General Romulo has been very active in his efforts to build up a third party in the United Nations which could, by staying out of the two blocks, exert its influence on behalf of the "small nations" as well as of the unrepresented peoples of the Big Powers and in time to come represent the considered opinion of the peaceful world on all international differences. India continues to hold fast by this policy and her firmness has been the cause of misunderstanding on both sides. But she cannot be hustled to a decision. The Conference which the Generalissimo and President Quirino have called, will be hindered by the fact that the policy of anti-Communism has been decided on in advance.

The R. S. S.:— The Government of India has lifted the ban on the R. S. S., expressing satisfaction at the modifications introduced into that organisation by its head, Mr. Golwalker, at its instance. The decision is a personal triumph for the veteran Liberal, Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri, who has been indefatigable in his efforts to remove the ban. Mr. Sastri himself in a statement has made it clear that he was concerned with advising Mr. Golwalker who was inexperienced in the art of expressing moderate ideas with moderation, on the best way of approaching the Government. The Indian Government in a press communique asserts that the relaxation has been inspired by the desire to give the R. S. S. a chance of functioning as a purely cultural organisation. Nothing is said about the Government's policy of getting rid of R. S. S. men in the administration. Presumably, that policy will continue — on paper though in practice it will be difficult to adhere to very strictly. In politics there is no finality. Should the R. S. S. live up to the expectations of the Government, it will mean a vast improvement on the present situation. If it should fail, then the conflict will be renewed at a later date and it is up to the Government to see that conditions are more unfavourable then to the R. S. S. It is probable that the Government is considering the advisability of rallying all Indian opinion for a drive against the Communists who today are assuming the first place as opponents of Law and Order.

Communists Divided? — The "Statesman" reports in its Sunday issue a split in the Communists. The expulsion of P. C. Joshi and other Communists shook the party badly and, as the expelled members continued to follow their programme, the party itself has become divided. The main difference centres on the field of work, the minority favouring agrarian work and a cessation of industrial agitation which they feel serves only to divide the ranks of Labour and subjects workers to hardships, and the majority electing for the kind of agitation that has been going on in West Bengal. If the account is near the reality, then another change is foreshadowed in the Communist programme and policy, since the Party never continues to pursue a line which reduces its pull and cannot now afford to lose more members. The likelihood is that agrarian work will be added to industrial agitation, thus keeping both wings in the Party engaged and extending its activities and its appeal. The situation needs careful watching. West Bengal which has been the spearhead of communist attack, is obviously unable despite confident assertions by men in high position there, to deal with the situation on its own, and its difficulties are likely to increase rather than diminish. The visit which Pandit Jawaharlal is now paying to the province, will be followed by authentic information and decisive action by the Centre. At any rate, it obviates the necessity for relying on reports of the local authorities, who naturally tend to minimise trouble.

Why Harijan Colony ?— Mr. Mavlankar, Speaker of the Constituent Assembly, opened last week a colony in Ahmedabad for refugee Harijans. It is not known whether there is any reason for this perpetuation of segregation when everywhere the move is towards closing the ranks of Hindu society. The setting up of colonies for refugees could well be done in a manner which would help to destroy and not perpetuate caste and class prejudices. It is a curious thing that the Bombay Government which has a record of progressive work in social matters, should allow itself to be used for this kind of reactionary work. If the fault lies with caste refugees, then it should be made clear to them that it will not be assisted by the Government and that any official help that is given must be on a non-sectarian basis. Unless this is done, we shall be perpetuating all the old prejudices and retarding progress towards national unity. We seem to be in such a hurry to do things that we tend to be careless in asking ourselves whether they should be done.

THE INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER
BOMBAY, July 16, 1949.

LABOUR ORGANISATIONS

A Government of India official threw out a hint at Patna that there was under consideration a proposal to restrict non-working class membership of the Executive of Labour organisations to four per cent of the membership of those bodies in place of the present 50 per cent. The use of the phrase "working class" is unfortunate and, since the hint gives an opportunity to suggest a change in time, we would urge that in its place the Government should substitute " restrict non-members of the profession or trade represented by the members of the whole Union to four per cent of the Executive ". In practice, it might mean quite a lot. And even in theory, it will avoid any distinction other than a purely professional one. So much for the language; there is still the question whether the Government is justified in allowing even four per cent of outsiders in a union. We have always held the view that the elimination of outside influences is an essential factor in creating healthy unionism. The history of British and American Trade unionism also shows that real progress was only registered when the workers themselves took up the leadership of the trade union movement, though a great deal of inspirational and agitational work for the movement was done by outside leadership. The question is whether India is ripe for this step. In other countries, it must be remembered, the education of Labour proceeded at a leisurely pace. On the other hand, it is too often ignored that legislation in industry has reached a more advanced stage than the conditions in industry warrant, and that the Government has taken upon itself the responsibility for holding the balance between Labour and Capital in India. In other words, while in the more industrially developed countries, the relations between the State, Labour and Capital followed felt difficulties and were directed at the removal of conditions which were known by experience to be injurious to national interests, in India the experience of the industrial pioneers has been utilised to correct defects in advance. The International Labour conventions have been instrumental in helping this process, and the increasing consciousness of workers in regard to their rights. We are well aware that there are many evasions of factory laws which reduce the legislation to a farce. But then again these evasions can best be exposed by Labour itself, not by men outside the trade or profession. Besides, Unions can always call in experts to advise them in professional matters, just as at present they engage lawyers to expound the legal side of codes and laws. India is on the eve of accepting adult franchise politically. She cannot act on the assumption that men and women who are competent to form opinions on national issues, will not be able to assert themselves in matters more closely affecting their own interests. The time has arrived for the elimination of all outsiders.

Although there will be considerable opposition to such a move and it will be urged that the Congress Governments are undertaking it because of political considerations, the argument will be difficult to sustain. In fact, failure to adopt a wholesale policy in this matter will be more easily traceable to the influence of political considerations. The Communists and Socialists have been longer in the Labour field than the Congress itself, both having functioned for years in the name of the Congress. The Hindustan Mazdoor Sangh only took the plunge in 1947 when it sent out its workers into the field of Trade Unionism and gave birth a year later to the Indian National Trade Union Congress. The time that the other parties have had, should have been more than sufficient to build up a team of workers who could take over Trade Union work, and carry on the party work also. If they have failed to do so up to now, the fault cannot be laid at the doors of the Congress. Even with the Union field barred to politicians, there will still be enough opportunity for political leaders to approach the workers as individuals, and it might be mentioned that there are no restrictions of any importance on that kind of work even now. With the straightening up of the Trade Union field, it should be easy for the Government to drop even the existing restrictions and allow all political parties the fullest freedom to propagate their views. Even the Labour policy of the Government is open to criticism, and it would be a desirable development if the light of discussion is thrown on these matters of vital importance.

Since the Government is considering amending its Labour Relations laws, it would be well if another issue is also taken up: That is the present practice of permitting lawyers on either side to plead before industrial courts. Though initially, it was a provision which favoured Capital, now it is as advantageous to Labour itself. The business interests can engage eminent Counsel and bear the expenses. But men who have made their mark in courts of law, rarely give the attention they deserve to individual cases; and they have often proved out of place in the Industrial Court where considerations of equity weigh more than justice. On the other hand, the men who appear for the Unions, are men imbued with a certain spirit of public service; they appear in case after case, arguing the same points over and over again, familiarising themselves with the Labour Code and with the personal prejudices and peculiarities of the men who preside over these courts. On the whole, it is well matched but the parties to a dispute gain very little from it. There is often a feeling of resentment among the workers that the Companies in which they are employed, are prepared to bear heavy legal expenses but refuse to concede demands which to them seem moderate. It would be a great step forward to establishing healthy industrial conditions if the Government kept the lawyers out of the industrial courts and insisted on greater informality in the conduct of proceedings. The Labour Court after all is not concerned with legal forms and formalities. Even today, many of them pursue a fairly liberal procedure and seek to establish an atmosphere of understanding between the two parties and a desire to get the facts rather than score points. If the Government gives a more definite lead, it will be possible to get rid of all the legal tangle which confuses issues today. And such a lead has long been overdue. The Government has not taken a large view of the problems for which it is legislating and consequently is forced to undulge in tinkering with vital issues.

LEFT AND RIGHT IN INDIAN POLITICS

Analysing recent political developments in an editorial entitled "Dictatorship Or Chaos", the **Radical Humanist** points out that the Congress, perturbed by its election defeats, is reorganising the party by introducing a rigid centralization within it. The paper observes that this would not matter but for the fact that the Congress is the party in power possessing overwhelming majorities in the legislatures. The "Radical Humanist" argues that the proposed organization is likely to result in the imposition of one party dictatorship on the country. Some telling points are made. One is that 'the desire for reorganisation has been roused by a defeat in a by-election', although 'many an event indicative of something rotten in the Congress took place during the past two years.' This cannot be denied and it does not reflect creditably on an organization that claims to govern in the light of a moral force. But the inference the writer draws from this observation is unwarranted. His conclusion is that Congress efforts to set their house in order are mainly intended 'to enable the Congress to retain power', and that this is against the national interest. The purpose of all political parties is first to acquire power and, when the initial objective is realised, to endeavour to retain it. Thus there is nothing wrong with the objective attributed to the Congress unless the writer proves in addition that the Congress is misusing its power to further its own political ambitions or to advance the interest of a particular class at the expense of the nation. He does not attempt to do the latter at all. He merely proceeds to observe that the attempt to introduce rigid centralization is not confined to the party but is extended to constitution-making. All recent amendments to the constitution, he states, are calculated to increase the authority of the Centre over the provinces. Whilst the statement is true, he omits to mention that a strong unitary centre is favoured by a considerable section of public opinion by no means Congress-minded. Nor does he trouble to discuss the relative merits of a unitary centre over a loose federal one in the Indian context. Had he done so, he would surely have noticed that, though the same party is in power in the provinces as well as in the Centre, several provinces of late have openly flouted the advice of the Centre. The consequences of this provincial independence to the economy of the country as a whole are still to be witnessed. Although one might readily agree with the general indictment of the paper against the Congress, its attacks on the efforts to strengthen the influence of the Centre over the provinces seems certainly to be ill-advised and dictated by political expediency. It is not difficult to envisage the situation that would be created if even two or three provinces were governed by a party different to that in power at the Centre. Can the journal honestly declare that any Leftist party in power would seriously consider a loose federal Centre preferable to a strong unitary Centre for, say, the next twenty years? The desire to increase the power of the Central Government over individual Provinces and States is not confined to Indian Congressmen but is evident even in the U.S.A., where the States have always jealously watched over their rights. The appeal of a strong Centre derives in fact from the necessity of planning the economic life of a nation, a necessity which the Leftists have impressed upon the public in India and abroad. The "Radical Humanist's" attack on the Centre envisaged in the Indian Constitution is, therefore, understandable only as a continutaion of the policy adopted by the Indian Leftists and best expressed as 'any stick is good enough to beat the Congress with.' But this is a barren policy and can profit the country little. The Congress leaders' slogan, 'Support the Congress or prepare for Chaos' may be pessimistic. Yet if the Congresss is unsupported and the fear comes true, the responsibility for the chaos will be as much that of the Left as of the Congress. Indian Socialists have a task before them— that of uniting and forming a strong opposition in the legislatures, of working out in details their own economic and social programme so that, if and when they come to power, they are not taken unawares as the Congress was. By itself the Constitution cannot create a dictatorship of the Congress or of any other political party. This the political history of the twentieth century should have taught the Socialists by now. No constitution has yet been devised by man that can cure social ills of its own accord unless the men who accept it also show determination to do so. In the last analysis, the authority of governments—parliamentary or despotic —rests on the willingess of the people to obey their laws. This basic truth explains the departures from their original theories which the Soviet Government has been introducing into its economic and social life latterly.

The **Radical Humanist** may be right in believing that public sympathy for opposition parties 'is more widespread than is indicated by the barometer of by-elections.' But public sympathy is fickle and is easily alienated by administrative failures, however inevitable they may be. Nor do internal dissensions and squabbles help the Left to consolidate itself. The call for a united front was given by Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose sometime ago, but there has been little response so far. The various Leftist parties have still not been able to settle their quarrels; they speak in several voices. Whether they will unite ultimately is the question. The Bombay meeting called by Mr. Bose showed little signs of unanimity being reached. To the outsider, the common ground between men like Sarat Chandra Bose and Jayaprakash Narain is not easily visible. But there have been stranger collaborations in politics. The "Radical Humanist" approach is an interesting one. Does it mean that the Congress thesis of "Congress or Chaos" has been accepted by Mr. M. N. Roy and his followers, who form a small, well-knit but uninfluential Left group by themselves? In this triumphant public meeting at Calcutta where the Sarat Bose humiliation of the Congress was largely wiped out, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru spoke of the Congress having held the country together after August 1947. The Royist reply to this is, why should it be held together. It is a shrewd move to build on "chaos" but can the units of the Indian Union assert their separateness to this degree? Obviously one unit alone cannot win against the Centre but will there be a revolt of several units at the same time? Or is the Royist vision a mere fantasy?

THE KREMLIN TOUCH

Ever since Traichoy Kostov, long thought to be Bulgaria's No. 2 Communist, was fired in disgrace, the world has speculated on the reasons behind the move. A Worldover Press correspondent reports that the Bulgarian Foreign Minister, Vassil Kolarov, has explained that Kostov "underestimated Russia's importance," and what is worse, applied the law regarding state secrets impartially between Western representatives and those from the U.S.S.R. Unrevealed is the fact that Kostov's attitude toward Russia changed when he found that Moscow bought 80 per cent of Bulgaria's tobacco crop, then resold much of it, chiefly to Italy, at cut-throat competitive prices, to secure dollars. After this Kostov refused to tell Moscow agents the prices charged for tobacco by Bulgaria to any foreign countries.

The Romanian government has issued a church status which gives full power to Patriarch Justinian of the Orthodox Church, so that the Orthodox leader, whose subserviency to the Kremlin has long caused protests among his followers, can remove from office any subordinates obstructing his pro-Russian programme.

—*Worldover Press.*

OLD AGE

Old age hath yet his honour and his toil;
Death closes all: but something ere the end,
Some work of noble note, may yet be done,
Not unbecoming men that strove with Gods.

— *Tennyson.*

The marriage of E. V. Ramaswami Naicker, leader of the Dravidisthan Movement and head of Self-Respectors, at the age of 70 to Miss Mani Ammaiyar, aged 30, created a little bit of a storm. Marriage, as the veteran said, is a purely personal affair but so is leadership. His followers who had looked to having him all to themselves, must have suffered grave distress. He has had added to their troubles by performing the ceremony under the Civil Registration Act. Mr. Naicker in the past is said to have evolved a ceremony of his own which Self-respectors respectfully accepted. His present conduct in a matter which involves him personally, has naturally caused the others to ask how strong their marriage ties are. Altogether Mr. Naicker had so many complications and side-issues in his case that attention was distracted from the central issue of—shall I say "age disparity", in the interests of under-statement? Time was when the young men of a community got together to prevent such unequal marriages and scored signal successes. But who can assert self-respect when the Self-respector-in-Chief loses his head? Yet Mr. Naicker has himself declared that he is marrying at his age for no lesser reason than that of providing an heir to his property. Here is a right royal gesture. Faced with a similar situation, the three younger sons of George III, the Duke of Clarence, the Duke of Kent and the Duke of Cambridge, married well after middle-age. To cut a long story short, the Duke of Kent was the only one who steadily kept before him the objective of providing an heir and he chose for his wife a widow, presumably about his own age, who had already two children by her former marriage. The rest is history. But this is by the way.

Following on Mr. Naicker's move to found a dynasty—I see that Comrade Stalin has put up his son on the first rung of the Russian State ladder—comes the news that Pandit Bal Krishna Sharma, a renowned Hindi poet and a member of the Constituent Assembly, a veteran Congressman of some sixty winters, has married Miss Madhir Milani, a graduate of Benares University about 22 years old. "Navin", as Pandit Sharma is popularly known, has not bothered with providing any explanation. Possibly being an individualist—a poet is essentially that—he has acted on marriage as a personal matter. His political work has not been of the stuff that leadership is made on and, therefore, he does not come into the public eye so much. Who can restrain a poet? The need for inspiration is a continuing one and, if "Navin" should after another ten years or five marry another girl of teen years, it will only mean that the poet's eye keeps on rolling, and roving, in fine frenzy. The poet's licence is perenially renewed. And I can only stand before him lost in admiration.

The uncharitable have been rather hard on the women themselves. But I would like at the risk of parading my learning—it is really only the signs of a mispent youth—to draw public attention to the beautiful words of Gilbert and Sullivan's Ko-Ko, the Lord High Executioner of the "Mikado"—in praise of old age:

Are you old enough to mrary, do you think?
Won't you wait till you are eighty in the shade?
There's a fascination frantic
In a ruin that's romantic;
Do you think you are sufficiently decayed?

It is to the credit of the women that they did not insist on their men growing to this ripe old age but took them as they came. And, since marriage is a personal business, what concern is it of the rest of the people? The law would have, no doubt, taken care of things had the girls been minors but they are fully qualified not only to know their minds but to know also the minds of their menfolk. However shocked society might be at the gap of forty years between husband and wife in both cases, it can but hold its breath, even if it need not hold its tongue.

But is marriage a personal business? From time immemorial, society has not held it to be so. In the first place, it requires two persons just as clapping calls for the use of both hands. Secondly, for every marriage there are so many disappointed in marriage. In most cases, there are as many people asking, What does he see in her?, as there are persons demanding to be told, What does she see in him? We admit that the two cases before us are exceptional. There is no mystery: For the men, it was a case of youth calling insistently. For the women, there was poetry in the one case; there is the probability of being an heiress, and the possibility of being the mother of an heir. And in both, there is the attraction of a great name. And here's the rub: The younger generation which has been accustomed to teachers and professors marrying girls from their classrooms, is somewhat taken aback by this wider encroachment. There are many fields that are closed to youth because the elders are not withdrawing gracefully. Lawyers and doctors who outlast their time, compete professionally with younger members of their trade. It was bad enough to compete with them in the difficult job of earning one's livelihood. If age sallies forth, acquires honour and then returns to assail us in our homes, what is left? It is a reversal of the natural process—described by Edward Westermark so glowingly, when the Caveman of the primitive period, the golden age of youth, surrendered home and women to the stronger surer hands of youth.

The disease is likely to spread. What is the remedy? It has been suggested, somewhat facetiously we fear, that poets, politicians and publicists should be retired about fifty. But isn't this putting the cart before the horse? None of our workers have secured retirement and pensions without forming a trade union and fighting for their rights. There have in the past been suggestions for associations of married men but obviously they are not interested in stopping this rot. What is needed is a union of the unmarried who have a definite say in the matter and can be expected to offer a stiff resistance to a trend which threatens us throughout the country. It is true that there is grave danger, in unskilled hands, of this movement turning into a force for dividing men into two irreconcilable fighting camps—a danger which is of the first rank at a time when women are up and about seeking rights and privileges. But surely there is enough wisdom among the Indian men to ward off this evil. Moreover, the prospect of division has not stopped us from pressing other less important issues: it should not stop us from a very essential service. If the defence of Indian youth (male) is linked to the succour of Indian womanhood, it might work a miracle. I can even suggest a slogan: Young Men of India, unite! You have nothnig to loose but their chains!

VIPRA.

TRADE UNIONS IN POSTWAR BRITAIN

By Vincent Tewson
(General Secretary, British Trade Union Congress)

I

At the end of six years of war, the British trade unions were strongly organised and had attained a higher status in the economic life of the country than at any other period in their history. Total membership of the unions affiliated to the British Trades Union Congress, at the end of the war, exceeded 6,500,000. This total represented a net increase of over 2,000,000 gained during the war years. All the unions participated in this growth of strength.

Between 1945 and the present time, the membership of the T.U.C. unions has continued to expand. They reported to the 1948 Congress a combined membership of over 7,791,000.

Never before have so large a proportion of the workers in all industries, trades and professions been concentrated in unions that tend to decrease in numbers. There are more trade unionists and fewer unions in Britain today. A marked tendency has developed in recent years towards amalgamation of kindred unions, side by side with numerical expression of established organizations, and the net result of this double process is emphasized by the fact that, at our 1948 Congress, the number of affiliated organizations represented was no more than 188, with their aggregate membership of 7,791,000 as compared with 223 unions with a combined membership of 4,866,000 in 1940. It is a fact of great signiñcance from the standpoint of organization that more than two-thirds of the aggregate membership of the unions affiliated to the T.U.C. is concentrated in less than a score of very big unions.

It is significant that the increase in the membership of our affiliated unions as reported to our 1948 Congress exceeded a quarter of a million, and that only a few unions recorded any fall in their membership—not more than 26,000 decrease all told.

Out of a total working population of approximately 20,000,000, nearly one-half are now in trade unions. A total of 9,114,000 is the last recorded figure for all unions in the United Kingdom, in the year 1947. The fact that there are a large number of unions not in affiliation with the T.U.C. must not be overemphasized, though the non-affiliated unions have a membership of under 1,500,000. With two exceptions, the unaffiliated unions have a very small individual membership, about half of them counting their members as less than 500 each.

Two big unions stand outside the T.U.C.—the National Union of Teachers with 106,340 members and the National Association of Local Government Officers with 257,000 members. There are reasons embedded in history for the non-affiliation of these two unions. The National Union of Teachers has never been in offiliation with the T.U.C. as it has developed mainly under Liberal influences. The National Association of Local Government Officers finds it difficult to affiliate because of the varied composition of its membership, which includes professional people in the service of local government authorities, such as town clerks, medical officers of health, magistrates' clerks, finance officers, etc., who are not easily assimilated to normal trade union organization.

Yet it should be emphasized that trade unionism in recent years has spread markedly among professional and salaried employers. A group of unions organizing employees in local government and notional government service are affiliated to the T.U.C. with an aggregate membership of nearly 640,000. Another group of non-manual workers' unions affiliate a total membership of nearly 220,000. Among them are Actors Equity, the National Union of Bank Employees, the Association of Film Artists, the Association of Cine Technicians, the Union of Medical Practitioners and the Association of Scientific Workers. The existence of these unions in association with the general body of unions in our Congress is evidence that salaried and professional workers, no less than manual wage-earners, craftsmen and general labour, find trade unionism an essential and indispensable factor in their working lives.

A new pattern of industrial relationships has been strengthened since the war came to an end. Relationships of cooperation and confidence now exist between the trade unions, on the one hand, and the employers' organizations and the Ministries and Government Departments concerned with social, economic and industrial matters.

It was on the initiative of the T.U.C., 22 years ago, that a joint consultative and advisory machinery was established in British industry, and this machinery has been greatly strengthened and extended in the war years and since the war came to an end. At our Annual Congress in Edinburgh in 1927 a suggestion was made from the Chair of Congress that much fuller use could be made than was then the practice of the machinery for joint consultation and negotiations between employers and employed. Practically nothing had been done up till then, as the President of Congress pointed out, to establish an effective machinery of joint conference between the representative organizations of employers and workers entitled to speak for industry as a whole.

There are obviously many problems upon which joint discussion is required. It was suggested that a direct exchange of practical views between representatives of the great organized bodies who have responsibility for the conduct of industry and knew its problems at first hand should be considered by both sides of industry. Out of that suggestion arose the conferences between the T.U.C. and the two big employers' organizations which laid the foundation for much closer co-operation when the war came.

A National Joint Advisory Council came into existence early in the war, and the scope of this joint machinery has been considerably widened in the postwar years.

Originally, the National Joint Advisory Council was constituted on an equal representation of the T.U.C. General Council, on the one hand, and of the British Employers' Confederation, on the other, with representatives of the Ministry of Labour participating and the Minister of Labour himself acting as chairman of the joint body. This National Joint Advisory Council, in its original form, was a somewhat unwieldy body because of its size (15 a side); and it was accordingly decided to set up a Joint Consultative Committee smaller in numbers and able to meet regularly and as often as the developing war situation required consultation between government and industry.

This Joint Consultative Committee was consulted by the Minister of Labour on every question of policy which fell within his sphere of responsibility—and the Minister of Labour was responsible not only for the mobilization of the country's manpower for both military and industrial purposes, but with the organization of the country's industrial and economic resources for the prosecution of the war. It is beyond question that the existence of this joint body greatly facilitated the government's task and promoted complete unity of effort and purpose among the industrially employed men and women who carried on their productive work under every imaginable condition of difficulty and danger.

The practical value of this joint advisory and consultative machinery was demonstrated not only at the highest levels but all the way down to the individual factory.

Works committes, joint production committees and a variety of other joint bodies multiplied in the war trades. Cooperation between workpeople and management in dealing with impediments to maximum production in the workshops found its most useful expression on the agenda of regular meetings of joint production committees and work councils, when such impediments to full production as difficulties besetting the workers in their journey to and from the workshop, the causes of absentesism, the incidence of sickness and accidents, the reasons of shortages and bottlenecks in the productive processes, bad time-keeping, defective workshop organization and similar questions were freely explored.

Decisions taken by the government in agreement with the employers' organisations and the trade unions to make this joint advisory feature of the British industrial system have resulted in a wider network of T.U.C. relationships since the war came to an end. The T.U.C. General Council continues to maintain an active interest in the National Joint Advisory Council. It also bears a large measure of responsibility for the establishment of a somewhat similar body with wider terms of reference and on a broader basis of representation, known as the National Production Council on Industry.

The main task of this latter body is to advise Ministers upon industrial conditions and general production questions—excluding matters which are normally handled by the joint organizations of trade unions and employers in connection with wages and conditions of employment—and on such matters as may arise from the activities of the Regional Boards of Industry, another legacy of the wartime organization of industry. On the employers' side of industry, both the British Employers' Confederation and the Federation of British Industries are represented in proportionate numbers with the T.U.C. on this National Production Council on Industry which, in addition, includes the chairmen or vice chairmen of the Regional Boards of Industry, and representatives of Government Departments.

SOMETHING WAS GAINED

(By Devere Allen)

You can write a letter, slip it into an envelope, put on a stamp and drop it in a mailbox, but the crucial point in the transmission of your message comes when a machine thumps down upon it an official postmark. The meeting of the foreign ministers at Paris, in retrospect, seems very much the same. It put a sort of official seal on the determination of Russia and the West that the ideological conflict must not now break out in military combat.

For that reason it is hard to follow those extreme pessimists who have been saying ever since that nothing was accomplished. To be sure, the problem of Germany as a whole was hardly touched, except by a lot of uncompromising words; but that was to be expected, for the setting up of a West German government, whether right or wrong, guaranteed the indefinite prolongation of this particular rift. It was worth a great deal to have the lifting of the Berlin blockade confirmed, amid an obvious Russian uncertainty and wobbling on numerous issues. Anyone who was in Berlin during the summer of 1948 could attest to the tension, which was reflected by the anxiety in foreign offices everywhere on the Continent. We have come a long, long way from that.

Once again the split between Tito and the Kremlin, as so often in recent months, has made a definite contribution to progress. For the claim of Yugoslavia to Carinthia, in southern Austria, however resentful the Yugoslavs may be, was dropped by the Russians, whose diplomacy now has to be two-edged. Thus the path to a settlement of the Austrian question, even if hitches occur between now and September, when it is to be proclaimed, has been smoothed. The Austrians have more hope than at any time since the end of the war.

Secretary Acheson deserves some kind of medal for his refusal to be stampeded into extravagant claims of success or funeral admissions of defeat. Especially does he merit thanks for the good sense which kept him from springing to a microphone within a few hours of his return and imitating, as have so many of his predecessors, the folkways of the prize ring. It was a relief not to have him address the nation along such familiar lines as these: "I just done my duty, Mom, and did my best. Them Russians pack a wicked left, and they fought hard, but I had all the luck, and, gee, I'm glad I won." More than once, diplomats have even gone further, and declared: "I'll sign for a return bout any time, or take on a fight wit' anybody."

It remained for "Pravada" to announce that President Truman's claim of U.S. success was funny, and as usual, the Soviet paper was so shrill that it must have left readers wondering what had gone wrong to call for this sort of aggressive comment. The fact seems to be that there is going on in Russia another internal struggle over foreign policy, with many improvisations and shifts of emphasis. It can at least be said that Western policy has become more united and firm, while the Soviet Union can no longer present a monolithic front because of serious schisms among its satellite states.

All the same, Mr. Acheson spoke rather unconvincingly when a few weeks ago he compared the Rio de Janeiro treaty with the North Atlantic Pact. At no point of contact between the Western Hemisphere and the Soviet Union have there been the sharp and dangerous contests for power that have characterised several spots in Europe. Nor is it likely that the North Atlantic Pact will serve the same peaceful purpose as the Rio treaty, in settling hostile outbreaks between the signatories. With its weaknesses and ineptitudes, the Rio treaty was after all the fruit of many somewhat similar agreements in Latin America, while the North Atlantic Pact presented something quite new and unprecedented to the world.

Latin American relations have been improved in two recent cases by the Organization of American States, and while these instances are remote from anything foreseeable under the North Atlantic Pact, they were worthwhile accomplishments. Hostilities between Nicaragua and Costa Rica were narrowly averted, and a threatened outbreak between Haiti and the Dominican Republic was converted into an amicable agreement. This second settlement may appear trivial, but it must be looked at against a long background of irritations, and, not long since, serious loss of life along the wild frontier between the two nations.

The United Nations as an organization is often criticized because its employed personnel too greatly favours the Western countries; but one recent complaint has come, not from Asians, but from women. The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, which has a way of finding out the facts before it jumps to conclusions, has been pointing out that women do not seem to be getting an equal break in jobs. It is not so much that women are denied posts; about 47 per cent of the U.N.'s positions are held by women. The trouble is, women as a rule (to which there are notable exceptions) occupy only the jobs that are comparatively uninfluential. Alas, it is painfully reminiscent of the comment by the late G. K. Chesterton on the suffrage movement: "Twenty thousand young women rose to their feet and cried, "We will not be dictated to."—and proceeded to become stenographers." — *Worldover Press.*

U.S. OFFICIALS AT MEXICAN BORDER

Fausto V. Garcia, an automobile dealer of Laredo, Texas, was returning to his home town from a visit to Mexico. On the international bridge he was asked his nationality by a U.S. immigration inspector. Garcia replied, "American citizen." Then he added, whimsically, the same thing in Spanish: "Ciudadano Americano." Whereupon the official cried, "What's that you called me?" yanked Garcia from his car, and, following an exchange of heated words, beat him up.

So asserts Garcia and seven witnesses who have filed sworn statements in a suit against the inspector. The Laredo Times, local daily which has achieved repute for fairness to citizens of Mexican ancestry and for promotion of good international relations, publishes a photo of Garcia on his hospital bed, with bruises and a head wound requiring three stitches. The Times adds: "These Communist-dictator tactics could not happen without the co-operation of officials in Washington." When attorneys on both sides have prepared papers, these will go before the Commissioner of Immigration at the national capital.

The Times reports, however, that when it talked with another inspector, it got this statement: "Why, I've whipped dozens myself on this bridge." The second Inspector gave as an excuse the unwillingness to produce papers shown by some Mexican-Americans, especially those who are members of the League of United Latin American Citizens, which exists to combat prejudice in Texas.

Some of the nervousness shown by border officials is also excused because of illegal immigration by "wetbacks," or Mexican labourers who cross the Rio Grande clandestinely, contrary to Mexican and U.S. regulations alike. But the Common Council for American Unity, which is working with the American Civil Liberties Union, the National Farm Labour Union and the Workers' Defence League to find a solution for the Mexican labourer problem, charges that the Immigration Service itself is implicated in the illicit migrations. In a recent publication, it says that officials blink at illegal entry when labour is scarce, and stage deportation raids when labour is plentiful.

HUNGARY'S DICTATORS

Following its successful election campaign, the Communist-run government of Hungary is carrying out sweeping new purges of former party members. A Worldover Press correspondent close to the situation reports that about 10 per cent of Communist Party worker-members have been permanently expelled or placed on probation, while the purge has hit about 13 per cent of the farm workers and peasants, 26 per cent of the intellectuals, and 27 per cent of the public service employees. Expulsion brings great hardship to the victims, who are often thrown out for no worse offence than failure to attend meetings, and who find it virtually impossible to get new jobs after automatically losing old ones on severance from the party machine.

Communist methods in the recent election can now be revealed, and the reason for the overwhelming majority secured by the regime. As voters came into polling places, they had their choice of placing a ballot in an envelope at the table where sat the election officers, or going privately into a booth. On the assumption that the open voter was supporting the governmental machine, his name was scratched off of the list. In the case of the few who dared vote in a booth, a cross was placed opposite their names—immediately putting them in a separate class for later attention.

TITO AND THE WEST

Balkan observers whose accounts have hitherto been reliable have reported that Marshal Tito has placed in Italy a number of agents to sound out Western diplomatic and business representatives regarding trade agreements. It is also asserted that at least one interview has been granted by the Marshal, off the record, with a spokesman of the Vatican, who suggested that the release of Archbishop Stepinac would help Tito's prestige in Western countries.

Two popular figures who have been held in prison for opposition to the Tito regime at an earlier stage, when it was in the good graces of the Kremlin, have been approached by Tito with an offer of government posts if they will co-operate. These men are August Kosutitch of the Croat Peasant Party, and Milan Grol, another oppositionist.

NO WAR SPOILS

When a British Member of Parliament recently asked whether his government intended to support the cession to Switzerland of German territory over the frontier, the Swiss government indicated that it desires no spoils of war. The "Basler National Zeitung" declared: "God protect us from our friends! These are questions we can clear up with Germany when she is free and has control of her soil. We remain inside our border, territorially and politically."

Although the Belgian government anticipated popular criticism when it also renounced all but a small part of German territory awarded it by inter-Allied agreement, turning down control over seven cities, the move has apparently won general favour. Only some 500 Germans will be brought under Belgian rule, instead of a proposed 4,700.

—Worldover Press

COMMERCIALS—IN PUERTO RICO

For the first time in Latin American history a government-owned station is on the air—without commercials. Through a technicality in the law, prohibiting government advertising, WIPR may have considerable effect on the private stations which paved its way. There is evidence that the abuse of advertising over private channels is switching listeners to the government outlet. There is also evidence that private operators are fighting back by using less banality.

So far, nothing has come up in Puerto Rico comparable to the efforts of private stations in New York to prevent a listening exodus to WNYC, the only non-commercial, government-owned station in the U.S., by forcing it to carry advertising. WIPR's emphasis on symphonic music and choral singing is a departure from local routine only. New York's station has specialized in symphonic music for a quarter century. More recently it has been broadcasting United Nations discussions direct from Lake Success. Similar government broadcasting in Europe is old stuff.

Puerto Rico's station, like New York's, may contribute materially to the development of dramatic techniques, which is badly needed. It can train some of the best radio specialists anywhere, and last but not least, show sister stations both here and abroad how radio can truly serve the people.

The fact that Rafael Hernandez, Puerto Rico's outstanding contributor to Latin American music, is WIPR's art director, has inspired **El Mundo's** WEMB —in many respects comparable to the **New York Times'** WQXR—to import Juano Hernandez, Puerto Rico's latest gift to Broadway and Hollywood, for the first Spanish radio adaptation of O'Neill's "Desire Under the Elms." A third station, WAPA, sponsored a programme by the University of Puerto Rico Chorus which was featured by Mutual, first over a coast-to-coast hook-up, later on a worldwide basis.

—Worldover Press

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"*I will* be as harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard*".

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the LIBERATOR.

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NOTES

The Vatican and the Communist:—The Vatican which is certainly more Commissar than Yogi, has been forced to depart from its traditional caution and come out into the open against Communism. It has banned the literature of Communism and reserved to itself the right of excommunicating such of its children in the faith who sin either with the sin of being "willing Communists", circulators of Communist literature as printers or distributors, or just party members. A spokesman of the Vatican said that the Church would allow for the degree of external pressure in applying its penalties. If the Communists are forced by this general offensive to assume the status of a religion, they might well congratulate themselves on the uncharacteristic ethical origin of their Reformation. The issue has been stated as the right to educate children in a particular way. The Catholic Church asks the State to surrender the young born of Catholic parents to the faith. The Communist claims equal authority over these and other children. Where the difference is as great as between Rome and Moscow, the controversy becomes acute and a certain strain is placed, not on the faithful of both sides, but on the large mass which has compartmentalized life and enthroned both idols—or rather both the Gods and Mammons of both the "Churches." Moscow's usual mouthpieces have taken the Vatican decree with considerable but not surprising calmness. In Soviet Russia the problem has long been decided; now the question concerns Russia's Empire in the West. Soviet newspapers in Berlin have therefore taken up the issue and their general attitude is that a good Christian cannot be a Communist party-man; he can only cooperate in the economic and political policies of the Communists. This is an olive branch with a kick in it. The "Times of India" in a review of the situation has struck a significant note. In a passage which is almost an appeal, it asks the Communists who are in power to exercise some consideration when it deals with those persons who are torn by this conflict. The Communists are the new fanatics of a new faith; the Roman Catholics might well have arrived at a certain poise and balance in the year of grace 1949. Yet the prayer is proffered to Moscow. Is it not an unconscious admission that there is more chance of being heard there than at Rome? The Vatican obviously has bungled; and in an ideological conflict that means losing the first battle. There is little love lost between the two. The Vatican has been involved in dubious diplomacy to obstruct the Soviet State, and Stalin, when it was represented to him that the Pope desired something, asked how many divisions His Holiness can put on the field.

Not without Relevance:—The Vatican's assertion of its rights and prerogatives is not without relevance to India. The issue is bound to emerge in some form at no distant date, the education of the people. Whilst the Church is directly and indirectly affected through its patrons in any nationalisation policy, it is concerned vitally in keeping its hold on the teachable. So is the State. To most reasonable men it seems something horrible that men should quarrel over a child's soul as it were and openly bid to dominate its mind before it can think—distort would be the more correct word. But most persons are not reasonable and certainly not on this point. John Stuart Mill insisted that whatever was taught only the student's grasp of the facts should be aimed at, not his acceptance of certain dogmas and opinions. There was no objection to anyone being taught anything provided he knew what it was—that is, an opinion on religion should be passed on to the student not as a faith to be held but as an opinion. But it is not for such education that the Church is putting up a fight; or the State for that matter. But, since it is the State which has to organise and provide for education, there is some justice in the State's demand. What is, however, of more immediate interest is the Vatican decree making it "illegal" even to read Communist literature and propaganda. The phrase is dubious. Illegality is not declared by Rome in this fashion; bad books are banned. The phrase is dubious. Roman Catholics are forbidden to read, not told that it is "illegal." However that may be, the point is that the Indian Catholic has been the loudest in his protests against Prohibition as an "infringement of liberty" and a gross inter-

ference wtih the rights of the citizen. In the mid-career of their most vehement protests comes this bolt from the Holy of Holies, reminding the pharisaical that their own Supreme Pontiff believes in and wields the power of interfering with the rights of free citizens of the Faith. Where is freedom and the liberty of the individual now?

The Japanese Scene:—We publish this week an interesting article on the Japanese situation in regard to the people's attitude towards Democracy and Christianity. The author, a Japanese who has been American educated and trained, is impressed by the interest shown by the people of his country in the Christian faith. Japan is well-known for its extremely business outlook, its keen sense of realism and its practical approach to all problems. Before the War, Japanese companies for colonising Brazilian land were formed and it was the first requirement of all who sought new worlds to conquer through these company-aided migrations to accept the Christian faith as a prelude to fitting into Brazilian society. The writer of this article himself is an unconscious symbol of Japanese thoroughness in adapting themselves. In fact, this is one of the hindrances in assessing how deep the change has gone. With General Douglas MacArthur in full control and the Americans missionary-minded, the Japanese have certainly struck the right line of pleasing which will put the country far ahead of other less flexible Asian nations.

Reorganising the Congress:—The Congress has been brought forcibly to consider the question of reconsidering the relations between the Centre and the Provinces and the differences that have manifested in some provinces between the provincial Congress committees and the provincial Congress ministries. This has been a recurring issue over since the Congress Governments came into office and it has not yielded to any solution. In April 1949, the Congress President issued a directive to provincial committees and ministries and legislature parties, asking them to work together and to report quarterly to the Parliamentary Board. There has not been sufficient time for the first reports to have reached the Board but conditions have become increasingly difficult. The Congress Working Committee has been struggling with the problem but no solution has yet been arrived at. Unless some step is taken to create a bond of interest between the provincial committees and the provincial ministries, it will be difficult to build up a common front. The Centre has no problem because the unquestioned national leaders of the past two decades have taken office; the Congress has sunk into second place. There was a certain disequilibrium during Gandhiji's life but Gandhiji was accepted by all the others as the superleader and he had public opinion with him. It might be a solution to have the President, or most outstanding personality in the provincial Congress, in the provincial Cabinet as Minister without portfolio. As Congress "provinces" differ from the administrative units of the Union, this would entail having more than one Provincial President in the Cabinet but it will ensure smooth working. A political party faces problems different from those that confront the Government itself. It has necessarily to draw its strength from the provincial public. The elections will be contested not under the leadership of the Congress Ministries but by the provincial committees of the party. It is well if this fact is kept in mind. In his speeches in the provincial capitals, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has addressed himself to the task of maintaining discipline and strengthening the ministries. It was obviously fitting that the head of the Government at the Centre should say nothing to embarrass provincial administrations. But there is a confusion of office involved in all this. The Congress President and other officials of the Central Congress Executive would have been better fitted to deal with matters of party discipline than the Prime Minister of India. In future, this consideration ought to be given greater importance than it has been in the past. In other words, the Government and the Congress Party should have their limits clearly defined. It would also help for cleaner administration.

West Bengal:—Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru ended his visit to West Bengal with the evident impression that nothing was wrong in that province except the loss of spirit of Congressmen there. He chastised party workers for their failure to hold public meetings and work among the people. The Congress Working Committee seems to have toyed with the idea of holding elections to the Bengal Legislature under the 1935 rolls but the suggestion has met with strong opposition in the province where after all the elections have to be fought out. Obviously the Working Committee cannot force a line of action on the provincial Congress which the latter is reluctant to carry out. It would be more to the point if the Working Committee settled the Congress problem in Bengal before it approached the voters. There is no point in going before the electorate with a divided Congress and an Opposition which is only united in disorder and street rowdyism. A great deal is being made of the constitutional difficulty of taking over a badly run province. This should not prove insurmountable if the Centre is really anxious to do things. The Indian Constituent Assembly was rather unwise in deleting Section 93 which Pakistan retained, and the error should be corrected.

Unnecessary Pin-Pricks:—The report that the Police Commissioner of Bombay has asked verbally clubs to stop rummy playing on their premises as it is a gambling game under the Bombay Act, comes as a surprise to most people. At the time of going to press, it is not possible to confirm or deny this report which sounds highly improbable but people believe that it is correct substantially. There are persistent rumours that dancing is to be banned from the end of this year. The object of all these restrictions is difficult to discern. The Bombay Ministers have been anxious to establish that they are not killjoys or puritans but they are gaining a needless reputation for pettifogging ways, of having inherited puritan patterns of life without any of the strength of mind that goes with puritanism of the genuine type. It would be extremely foolish if the Bombay Government allowed itself to be placed in this position, on the eve of its great Prohibition adventure.

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BOMBAY, July 23 1949.

CIVIL LIBERTIES

It is a pity that the Indian press saw no connection in its editorial comments on the Vatican's decrees against the spread of Communism and the question of civil liberties. There is little excuse for this omission since the whole problem of civil liberties was raised during the week-end at Madras, where the Indian Civil Liberties Conference was holding its sittings. But perhaps there is nothing curious about it. Long ago John Stuart Mill in his Liberty pointed to the real difficulty which prevents men from discussing the concept detachedly and rationally. "The practical principle which guides them to their opinions on the regulation of human conduct, is the feeling in each person's mind that everybody should be required to act as he, and those with whom he sympathizes, would like them to act." In this practical principle then is to be found the reason why neither Indian nor Western press comments (as reported in Indian newspapers) contained any criticism of the Vatican decision that 'it is illegal .... to print, distribute or read literature propagating communism' . . Marxist political thought not being the monopoly of communists, the clause obviously stops any serious discussion of socialist principles among Catholics. But since the Communists threaten the prevailing way of life in non-Communist countries the immediate reaction of the public is to ignore the deeper implications of the Vatican move. If this emotional confusion about the concept of liberty were confined to this one instance there would be little need to stress the point more. But the discussion of the subject was conducted in an atmosphere of such extreme unreality at Madras by the members of the Indian Civil Liberties Conference that a dispassionate review among Indian publicists is necessary and the sooner it is begun the better. The Conference, however, has rendered one signal service to the young Indian democracy. The positive challenge its Chairman threw to the Indian Government is bound to evoke thought, since it contained no political analysis of the contemporary Indian scene. Government were asked to cease ruling by emergency decrees which caused 'detention of persons without trial for unreasonably long periods' and led to the 'suppression of newspapers and presses which seek to criticise the day-to-day administration' and finally to "release all persons arrested and detained under those Acts and to award adequate compensation to those who had been victimised.' Also deplored was the treatment accorded to political prisoners and Government were enjoined to provide 'facilities that a civilised Government would allow.' The indictments, one feels, were not substantiated by adequate evidence, nor was any constructive suggestion made on how Government were to meet the threat of a party which openly favoured revolution and considered that the end justifies all means. There was no attempt to correlate the purpose of civil liberties with that of democracy. Democracy, it may be readily admitted, cannot exist without civil liberties. But surely the existence of civil liberties presupposes the readiness of all parties to win political power by means of persuasion and education of the electorate rather than by sabotage. Can the members of the Indian Civil Liberties Union claim that the political prisoners of the Congress Government were constitutional in their attacks on it? Do they really feel that communal organizations like the R.S.S. and the pre-partition Muslim League were aiming to establish a 'democratic state.'? In any case when the Conference met Government had already released its R.S.S. prisoners.

The Muslim League was never banned in independent India and no honest critic of the Indian Government can have anything but praise for the treatment meted out to the members of a party who were directly responsible for the partition of the country. Again are they completely satisfied about the bona fides of the now free R.S.S., or for that matter, even the Hindu Mahasabha? Their indictment of official excesses in establishing law and order are justified. They would be right too to question whether a democracy is ever justified in using the means its opponents use for suppression of political thought. Their pointer to the Congress role played in the Trade Union movement is equally laudable for thereby they have forced the public to realize the importance that a free and vigorous trade trade union movement has in democratic countries. But a liberalism that ignores the realities of a concrete situation, is little use either to itself or society. One of the best organized Socialist parties, the pre-Nazi German Socialist party, gave way to the most brutal dictatorship the world has seen because it refused to be realistic. It was John Stuart Mill who said that 'no one pretends that actions should be as free as opinions' and that 'the liberty of the individual must thus far be limited; he must not make himself a nuisance to other people'; it was the same Mill also who declared that, though a particular opinion might be represented by only one man in the whole society, it should be allowed to be expressed freely and fearlessly. But Mill, let it not be forgotten, also valued the society in which thought was free and fearless because that society provided the best conditions for the progress of civilization, providing the most happy ground for men to rise to their full stature as rational and developed personalities. And it was an accepted axiom with him that such a society could only develop under stable conditions.

NEW INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY
(By Eric Geiger)

A lovely little island in the German part of the Bodensee, one of Europe's largest lakes with shores in Germany, Austria and Switzerland, has recently become the seat of an international university. Prominent representatives of 40 countries have given the institution its send-off. It is the first international university on German territory. Father of the idea to establish such a school at Mainau is the island's owner, a Swedish prince, Lennard Bernadotte, grandson of King Gustav.

The university at first will be small. Its president will be Prince Bernadotte; the rector is a Swede, and the assistant rector a German scientist. There are to be four permanent lecturers, one American, one French, one Swedish, and one Swiss. The school will operate more or less as an institute to foster international understanding and 80 students from all over the world have been enrolled for its initial session, the central theme of which is the building of a peaceful civilization. —*Worldover Press*

CAN JAPAN BE DEMOCRATISED

The author is a Japanese publicist who was educated in the United States, and who has won a number of prizes in Journalism, both in the U.S.A. and in Japan. His article is released by Worldover Press.

(By Tetsuichi Kurashige)

Since the surrender, the Japanese have been shouting "minshu shugi" (democracy) or "minshuka" (democratization), which have become household words. Yet what percentage of the masses really understand the significance of these loosely used terms?

Can Japan be democratized? Before that question can be answered, we must face some of the factors which accelerate or impede the Japanese efforts to achieve democracy. And we must ask, What ground-work has been laid?

It is an interesting historical coincidence that the United States has been instrumental in the opening and closing of Japan, all within a century. Of course, the objectives of Commodore Perry and of General MacArthur were entirely different. Perry was a salesman, whereas MacArthur could be regarded as a receiver in bankruptcy! To borrow a well-chosen metaphor from **Newsweek**, "Commodore Perry symbolizes the material awakening of Japan; MacArthur can symbolize its rebirth."

Goseimon

Until 1867 Japan was under feudalism. In that year Keiki Tokugawa, the last of the Tokugawa shogunate, restored his heriditary sovereignty to the youthful Emperor Meiji. This act was known as the "Meiji Ishin" or Meiji Restoration. It was the forerunner of a series of internal resurgences which developed the Japanese imitative faculty and the avid adaptation of things foreign. Emperor Meiji took the "Goseimon" or the Charter Oath of Five Articles. Some people regard the Goseimon as the Japanese counterpart of the English Magna Carta. But this is a false analogy because, unlike the English bill of rights, it was not extorted by force.

Briefly the Goseimon provided for (1) the holding of assemblies to be guided by public opinion; (2) the union of high and low for the development of economic plans; (3) the abolition of class distinctions in professions, military or civil, down to the lowest stratum, so as to enable the people to reach their aims and not cause discontent; (4) the eradication of mean usages and following the just ways of Heaven and Earth; and (5) the seeking of knowledge throughout the world and exhaltation of the founding of Japan.

Seeds of Democracy

The Charter Oath contained the germinating seeds of democracy, which, however, remained more or less dormant. Even though the Emperor was prepared to carry it out, the masses, who had only been emancipated from the bonds of feudalism, were not yet ready for democracy, whether domestically sponsored or imported. The ruling class of the feudal regime merely doffed their feudalistic regalia, and assumed administrative posts in the new government. Some of them became advisers to the Throne and helped in formulating vital state policy. Most of them were either unprepared or refused to adopt the new order contemplated by the Goseimon.

Certain radical elements, however, quickly sensed the significance of the Charter Oath. The very idea of government by public opinion or parliamentary system fascinated them. But an immediate and literal application of these declarations would not have been possible under the circumstances. On the other hand, there were the conservative elements who harkened to the country's past and advised caution. They preferred adaptation to western ideas which began to trickle into the country from the middle of the 19th century, rather than adoption of them.

During the feudal era people were classified into samurai (military), farmers, artisans and traders — in that order. Emperor Meiji sought to abolish this caste system. Such democracy, inspired from within, was slow to take root because the masses did not appreciate the fact that "democracy is a condition in which people believe other people are as good as they are."

Educational Change

As for "seeking knowledge throughout the world", the new government investigated foreign educational systems. The French system was preferred because it provided for the supervision of education by the central authorities. The chief objection to the American and British systems, which were admitted to be more practical than the French, was that they were too democratic and advanced. In practice, it turned out that such a centralized educational system developed regimentation, one-way thinking and imitativeness. It stifled originality.

After the war the occupation authorities saw fit to disintegrate this educational system because of its undemocratic tendency. In the revamped set-up the American educational system was adopted. For instance, it was felt that co-education will foster the equality of sexes as one of the democratic ideals. Under the former system, boys and girls were permitted to sit side by side in class rooms only during their years in primary school.

Under the old system, too, the Imperial universities were given a higher rating than private institutions. Graduation from an Imperial university was a sesame to government service as well as to civilian employment. After having secured a job, the advancement and promotion of Imperial university graduates was faster than those who came out of private universities. The people were fully aware of this discrimination, but could do nothing to remedy it.

The Place of Public Opinion

Can democracy be developed by mere mechanical change in the educational establishment? Democracy is a matter of psychology — a mental attitude which comes from the people's determination, not from laws. The idea is gaining ground that without an informed and alert public opinion, there can be no democracy.

Grown-up people in postwar Japan may achieve some semblance of democracy in a crude form. Such a trend is manifesting itself in various ways. But the achievement of a true democracy can come only through a tedious process of trial and error, learning by efforts and profiting from mistakes. Democracy calls for education in a spirit of equality among school children and young people, whose minds are more receptive than those of adults. Just as the militarists concentrated their war propaganda on school children, likewise attempts at democratization must be directed at youth.

In this way we can expect the seeds of democracy and leadership to spring into life from the future generation now in the primary schools. With the abolition of the feudalistic family system, which ignored individual personality, it is hoped that the school may become its substitute as the stabilizing and unifying factor in the nation. The old family system was incompatible with a democratic life.

What was family system? It was an institution made up of the "koshu" (head of the house) and

"kazoku" (members of the family), in which the first has all the authority, and the second must obey. The "koshu" was bound to support the "kazoku" and generally occupied the position of parental authority. He could determine the residence of the "kazoku", give or withhold consent to marriage, eliminate a kazoku's name from the family register, or refuse to reinstate a female kazoku after she had been divorced. Not only was the individual ignored as a person, but discrimnation prevailed in the inheritance of property and succession to higher places.

Influences of Religion

Buddhism is the preponderant religion in Japan, although in time Christianity may become an important factor in Japanese life. The infiltration of Christianity into Japan had operated in a cycle. In 1612 Iyeyasu Tokugawa, the founder of the Tokugawa shogunate, prohibited Christianity and brought on a series of persecutions. The ban continued in varying degrees until the Meiji Restoration in 1868. After that, Christianity was given partial recognition as a matter of international expediency and pressure from abroad.

Upon the outbreak of the war, the militarists again curtailed the freedom of religious activities. Under the Religious Organization Law of 1939, Christian churches, Shinto and Buddhist sects were required to join a federation ostensibly to aid in the prosecution of the war. After the surrender, the occupation authorities caused this obnoxious law to be replaced. Today all religions stand on an equal footing before the law.

Perhaps the greatest contribution of Christian missionaries lay in the field of education. The people's desire to learn the English language was tremendous in the early days of the Meiji era. Thus in the early days, the teaching of the language served as a means of spreading the gospel. Meanwhile the so-called "mission schools" were established throughout Japan. Today a plan is on foot to found a Christian University in Tokyo. Christian missionaries have also done the spade work in voluntary social welfare enterprises. And in postwar Japan the English language has become semi-official.

Of course, the educational and social work are only subsidiary activities as compared to the basic programme of evangelization. In the eyes of the postwar Japanese people, Christianity has come to mean the same thing as democracy. Perhaps they are inspired by the practical everyday application of the Nazerene's teaching, "Love thine enemy," as practiced by some of the occupation personnel. The Japanese must have learned that while their native religions are passive in their doctrines. Christianity teaches them to be active in its practice.

Obstacles

There are disturbing factors which impede democracy. Some of these are the Communist-inspired wildcat strikes, impending large-scale unemployment as a result of the governmental administrative reorganization, the postwar economic and social instability.

There is also one big perennial obstacle that has plagued the country since the Meiji era. In a nutshell it finds expression in the "government of the politicians, by the bureaucrats, for the political parties." With the passing of time this will be removed, as the populace becomes more vocal and makes itself felt in governmental affairs. Rome was not built in a day, and similarly, it will take time, patience, and constructive effort to democratize Japan. But there are definite signs of progress.

(World Copyright)

SUMMER MADNESS

(By Devere Allen)

Summer madness is not unusual in a heat-ridden northern hemisphere, and so nobody grows excited when slightly touched prophets proclaim that hot drinks will cool you off, or even when someone brings out a book to give thanks for his heart attack. But the novelist E. M. Forster stretches credulity too far. In a speech to the American Academy of Arts and Letters, the British writer expressed the view, which he admitted he held "in pessimistic moments," that the best way to get world peace might be "through apathy, uninventiveness and inertia."

This remarkable conclusion was reached, it appears by noting that a vigorous humanity has thus far fought innumerable wars, hence a tired one might achieve peace. "Universal exhaustion," said Mr. Foster, "would certainly be a new experience. The human race has never undergone it, and is still too perky to admit that it may be coming, and might result in a sprouting of new growth through decay." One could be nasty and say, with justice, that if this sort of thinking is any evidence, decay has already set in. It may suffice to affirm that, if men would apply to the cause of peace the same energy and sacrifice they show under stress of combat, recurring warfare would not be necessary. The same can be said about inventiveness.

Now is the season, though, for all kinds of topsy-turvy situations. In Italy, the Fascist party calling itself the Italian Social Movement and boasting 300,000 dues-paying members, draws to meetings a majority of young students. It's no joke, for it is a manifestation of wrong-around politics. It is the function of youth to become, and to support, the innovators; not to creep backward into blind alleys of dead reaction. "If you are under 30 and not a radical," once said young George Bernard Shaw, "you are an inferior". Said Wordsworth of the period following the French Revolution, "Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive, but to be young was very heaven."

American business is supposed to abhor the judgments passed by the Russian Communists on economic life, but here also summer madness is at work. Stalin has been eagerly looking for a depression in the United States—but so have certain American business spokesmen. One of these is "Barron's Financial Weekly", which is taken for gospel by many a would-be tycoon. Referring to Russian pleasure over slumps in the States, this paper says, "You will be surprised, Mr. Vulture, that we view these same signs and reports with as much satisfaction as you." Why? The business cycle — that is, alternating prosperity and depression — is acting. "Layoffs are painful," asserts the financial journal, "but they do induce those who are still on the job to work harder; and they also tend to bring the working force of the nation down to where it includes only those who really want jobs."

Another twist in normal affairs has been exhibited by the Navy, which in the New York-New Jersey Military District and the Third Naval District has conceived a bright idea. It is going to start training courses for chaplains who may serve in another war. That crusade, if and when it comes, will require hgih moral leadership, and the Navy wants to inspire clergymen with enough of it so there will be no nonsense in an emergancy. Thus far, there has been no mention of starting theological seminaries, but after all, the plan is in its early stages.

From a sane viewpoint it is always interesting when an erstwhile safecracker enlivens the pages of literature with romance about the professional skill

he once possessed, but now has abjured. Historians may yet look back with wonder at the satisfaction displayed by technicians in this present period over their accomplishments in producing bigger and better atom bombs. So far has the world gone off the beam that, instead of feeling shame, men of science appear happy to claim proficiency in the manufacture of such lethal devices. A normal man in a normal society would indignantly deny it if accused of carrying even brass knuckles or a black jack. But today, the men who have been defending the Atomic Energy Commissoin have been at great pains to show how deadly and numerous are their creations.

In science of a non-bellicose kind, there is now a persistent tendency to get everything hindside before. The other night, at the Hayden Planetarium in New York, a show was put on about the end of the world. With awe-inspiring realism, five different horrendous catastrophes were imitated in the heavens. According to astronomical theories, the earth burst into flame, froze up, was inundated by floods following a slip in gravitation, got hit by a comet, and was split by a meter. In all of these supposed instances of doom, however, our world curled up and died because of trouble that came upon it from elsewhere in the solar system. Only a physical scientist could get excited by any such theory. A social scientist need consult no astronomer to understand that if the solar system goes haywire, that fatal disturbance will come from the earth itself, and will be due to the stupid behaviour of mankind in the mass, following off-colour leaders.

The old slogan used to be, "Put first things first." It is still a fairly sound rule. The trouble is people hate to do it. No long ago a church in Binghamton, New York, announced on a sign by the sidewalk, "When religion comes last, that is the last of religion." Which was followed by this: "Services will be discontinued during August for the usual vacation." This writer could add a lot more examples, but the supper bell is ringing, and we're to have upside-down cake. What's yours?

LEOPOLD OF THE BELGIANS

Reports from Brussels have it that Franz Van Cauwelaert, a leader of the Christian Social Party and Premier-designate, has persuaded Liberal and Socialist leaders, in private conferences, to hold within a few months a national referendum on the return of King Leopold to his throne. It has not been possible for **Worldover Press**, which has good sources in Belgium and which has published in the past much otherwise unknown material on the Belgian royal question, to secure confirmation of such reports. It is difficult to see how Socialist or Liberal party chiefs could commit their organizations to such a stand in view of the rigid opposition to it shown up to now by prominent spokesmen. On the other hand, the question cannot drift indefinitely, and a referendum, long urged by supporters of the King, might clear the air.

Late June elections gave a strong vote for the Christian Social Party, but by two votes in the Chamber it fell short of an absolute majority. Without that, it cannot proceed with the referendum unless other parties modify their intransigent position. During the campaign the Socialists not only continued to threaten a general strike if any attempts were made to return the King, but some of their campaigners even repeated the old charge, long since exploded, that during the occupation Leopold had "dealt with Hitler." The King made one visit to Berchtesgaden, but there is documentary proof that he first expressed his detestation of the Fuehrer, and, when there, did no more than plead for better food and treatment for his people. The fact is also known and proved by records, that, when the rump Belgian parliament in 1940 was meeting at Limoges, in France, some of the very men who have made this accusation against Leopold, voted to send emissaries to negotiate with Hitler's representatives at Brussels.

Many of the Belgian people, a majority of whom are almost certainly behind the King, hesitate to press the issue, fearing that wide-spread disorders in the event of the monarch's return, might jeopardize continuing recovery, which is a central preoccupation. Others argue that truth and justice are above compromise.

Pro-Leopold forces have been given fresh ammunition through a secret letter written to Leopold by Hitler during the war. Excerpts from this document were recently published in Look Magazine, and the owner of the letter, Miss Mary A. Benjamin of New York, a widely respected autograph collector, has given permission to **Worldover Press** for its use in full. It is an important historic document, for it completely destroys the legend, still persisting in uninformed quarters, that Leopold found favour with the German dictator. On the contrary, it proves that the Belgian ruler, even while imprisoned, managed to make trouble enough for the Fuehrer to incur the latter's wrath. (It is known, for example, that important Resistance elements were reached by messages from the King, and considered him their leader throughout the war.) Hitler wrote in anger, February 15, 1943, in answer to an appeal made by the King:

Majesty!

As a result of the particularly considerate treatment I have permitted you to have, it obviously has been forgotten entirely that you are a prisoner of war. The statements contained in your letter of December 17, 1942, are so monstrous that no rejection of these can be sharp enough.

If you, Majesty, in connection with the obligatory labour service, speak in your letter of a "cruel burden," of "forced labour," and of "deportations," then this shows an incomprehensible lack of understanding of the world-historic task which is involved in combatting Bolshevism. It threatens also your country!

Obviously you forget that for Belgium it is the most elementary law of self-preservation to render a modest contribution to this fateful Battle of Europe which lies primarily on the shoulders of Germany — at least by furnishing the greatest number of labour forces possible— just as the rest of working Europe is taking part in this decisive battle to the best of its ability. The Belgian government alone has — toward its people and toward history—the full responsibility for having forced on Belgium the blood burden and, therefore, the sacrifices of this war.

Furthermore, in the manner of expressing yourself in your letter, you, above all, grossly insult the German man who works and fights for the future of Europe. The German people, in whose ranks the men and women of your of your country are working under equal living conditions, does not render any "forced labour" in the fight referred to. It is incomprehensible how one dares permit oneself to designate those as "deported," who—also in the interests of Belgium—contribute with their working power to the realization of the European mission which has been assigned to the German people.

What finally concerns the moral dangers to which you imagine the poor young single Belgian girls in Germany to be exposed, the distrust

you show in the behaviour of the women of your own country, is your privilege. Yet such dangers are certainly at least equally great in your own country.

I expect, Majesty, that you will in future strictly avoid such irresponsible happenings as your letter of December 17, 1942, and that you will conduct yourself in such a way as your present situation requires as a matter of course. Should you again act contrary to this expectation, I would consider myself forced to change the location where you are a prisoner of war to a place outside of Belgium.

A. HITLER

As a matter of fact, Hitler soon felt it unsafe to leave King Leopold in Belgium, and removed him forcibly to Austria, far behind the German lines.

BARBS ON THE IRON CURTAIN

Along 233 miles of the Austrian-Hungarian frontier, from the border of Czechoslovakia to the border of Yugoslava, the Iron Curtain in recent weeks has been developing barbs and other dangerous devices to prevent the escape of refugees fleeing from Soviet-dominated soil to the west.

At points where crossing is allowed, heavy guards are now posted. Where legal routes do not exist, the frontier has been equipped with barbed-wire fencing, watch-towers with strong searchlights which send their beams nearly a mile into Austrian territory, and even minefields.

Behind the fence the countryside has been cleared of all trees and high bushes, to make observation as easy as possible. Anyone crossing the line illegally will find himself setting off small explosive charges and illumination rockets to attract the attention of guards.

Recently the Hungarian government tried to get the government of Austria to clear the land on the Austrian side of the frontier in a strip 164 feet deep, and to prohibit the planting of fruits or vegetables taller than potatoes. Even the growing of grain was to be forbidden. The Austrians refused to comply. It remains to be seen whether the Soviet occupation authorities will compel the clearing of the strip as a measure "necessary for the safety of Russian troops."

Since Hungary and Austria belonged for many centuries to the Hapsburg Empire, there are numerous peasants who own land on both sides of the frontier. Until the arrival of the so-called "people's democracies," these landowners could work their lands on both sides, without restrictions. The border crossing places where travellers could get their passports stamped and have their luggage examined by customs agents.

Of these 66 crossing points, 53 are now closed by the barbed-wire fence. Of the remaining ones, four are open for general traffic, five serve for the crossing of international travellers only, two are available for the landowners with fields on both sides, and two for Austrians working in Hungary or vice versa.

As a result of the present barriers, people have to go long distances to reach permissible crossing places. What is worse, the Hungarians have decreed that only landowners themselves, but never their farm labourers, may cross the border to work the fields. In actual practice, this regulation serves to avoid open seizure of properties across the frontier, forcing landowners to sell their holdings at an abnormally low price.

TRADE UNIONS IN POSTWAR BRITAIN

By Vincent Tewson

(General Secretary, British Trade Union Congress)

II

The structure of the Regional Boards has been adapted since the war to meet new conditions, and their functions now are less executive and more advisory than during the war. Their principal obligation is to advise the responsible Ministers upon any steps that are necessary to bring the regional resources in industrial capacity and manpower into the fullest use. They act, too, in a liaison with other government committees in representing the needs of industry to local authorities, and keep both sides of industry in the locality advised of government policy as well as inform the central authority — whether government, employers or unions— of the views of local industry. In general, the Regional Boards consist of a number of trade union members, an equal number of employers' representatives, along with the regional controllers of the various Government Departments concerned, with part-time chairmen and vice-chairmen chosen because of their knowledge of the industries of these regions.

Industrial relationships thus present a somewhat complicated pattern in British industry to-day. The extension of advisory and consultative machinery has not, of course, encroached upon the traditional methods of collective bargaining by direct negotiations between the unions and employers. Discussion of matters which are normally the subject of agreements between unions and employers is explicitly ruled off the agenda of joint production committees, works councils and the other consultative bodies to which reference has been made. But there have been some significant modifications of the practice of collective bargaining as a consequence of a wider application of the principles of statutory wages regulation both during and since the war.

It is, broadly speaking, true that terms and conditions of employment are still decided for the most part by voluntary methods of negotiation. The free play of these methods was, in fact, a deliberate aim of government policy during the war. The government itself went on record in these years with the considered declaration that the existing joint voluntary machinery for wage negotiations had operated successfully, and that the system had not been abused. It was indeed upon the joint recommendation of the British Employers' Confederation and the T.U.C. through the National Joint Advisory Council that the government decided to entrust the responsibility of wage regulation in wartime to the industrial joint machinery, except where machinery for statutory wage-fixing already exist, and subject only to wartime regulations which provided for the more effective enforcement of agreed rates of wages and compulsory arbitration on unsettled disputes, with a prohibition of strikes and lockouts. Under these wartime arrangements, it may be added, no officially recognized or union-supported stoppage of work took place during the whole of the war period.

Post-war legislation, in the form of a Wages Councils Act, prolonged the life of some of these wartime regulations, and at the same time converted the older statutory wage-fixing machinery known as the Trade Boards into wider uses. The original Trade Boards legislation was designed to meet the situation in trades and industries where organization was feeble or inadequate on either side. It sought to enforce minimum wage rates for the different classes of time and place workers. The post-war legislation transformed existing Trade Boards into Wages Councils with enlarged powers, and authorized the responsible

Minister to establish new Wages Council upon the joint application of the workers and employers concerned.

Numerous Councils have been established in accordance with this Act, particularly in the retail distributive trades, and other wage-fixing bodies, such as the Road Haulage Wages Board, have been similarly transformed. As many as 33 trade unions are now concerned with Wages Councils and their policy is co-ordinated by a Wages Councils Advisory Council on which they are represented along with the T.U.C. General Council.

The general principles governing the statutory wage-fixing machinery aim at establishing standards of wages and conditions of employment no less favourable than those embodied in voluntary agreements negotiated by unions and employers in comparable trades, and to enforce these standards over the whole of the industry concerned. Very substantial improvements have been secured by the operation of analogous statutory machinery in such widely different industries as agriculture and the catering trades.

Much social and industrial legislation has been enacted by the Labour Government elected in 1945. Its most striking feature is the wide-ranging social security plan embodied in half a dozen Acts of Parliament which are knitted together. These include a measure (enacted by the wartime condition government) providing a family allowance of five shillings a week for each young child after the first, and a National Insurance Act providing both cash benefits for sickness, unemployment, maternity, pensions, death grants and provisions for widows and orphans.

Linked with this Act is another which has revolutionized the old system of workmen's compensation and employers' liability. It has established a system of national insurance against personal injuries arising out of and in the course of employment, and for certain specified diseases. The rates of benefit include payment of 45 shillings a week during incapacity for a period of 26 weeks, with allowances for dependents and a special hardship allowance in cases where the claimant, although not totally incapacitated, is unable to follow his regular employment or of getting insurable employment of equivalent standard—the injury benefit being converted into a disablement allowance in respect of serious or permanen tdisability beyond the insurable period, and in fatal cases a pension for widows, allowances for children and even for parents if wholly or mainly maintained by the deceased worker.

Legislation has also been enacted in the post-war years which has put an end to the century-old poor law system and has set up a comprehensive system of public assistance for the aged and infirm, the sick and the unemployed (outside insurance). The new system is administered through the local government authorities, who are also responsible for the welfare—as distinct from the financial needs—of the blind, the deaf and dumb and others who are substantially and permanently handicapped by illness, injury or congenital deformity. Residential hotels and hostels are replacing the old poor-houses which were the nightmare of old folk and infirm who will henceforth live as "paying guests" in these new homes, at a modest charge fitting well within their pensions, and making them completely independent of help from family and friends.

Connected wtih all this social security legislation is the National Health Service, which covers literally everybody in the country, old and young, man, woman and child, rich and poor, married and single; it provides everybody with medcial, surgical, dental and opthalmic treatment, hospital service, and the service of specialists, nursing, ambulance and the facilities of highly organized health centres, sanatoria and convalescent homes. This Health Service is free in the sense that even those who do not pay into the national insurance scheme get all its benefits and advantages, without having to meet any individual charge.

From the trade union standpoint much interest attaches to the measures enacted by the present government for the nationalization of basic industries and essential services. Reference must also be made to the prompt action of the government in repealing the repressive Act of 1927 which placed the trade unions under severe restrictions after the national strike of 1926. In a single one-clause Act, the government annulled the 1927 anti-trade union legislation, the effect of which was to illegalize sympathetic strikes; to restrict picketing; to deprive the unions and their officers of most of the immunities they enjoyed under earlier legislation in respect of actions in the courts in regard to the furtherance of trade disputes; to deny to unions of workers in government service the right to affiliate to the T.U.C. or any outside organization; and to interfere with the freedom of unions in collecting and using contributions from their members fo rpolitical purposes. By the repeal of the 1927 Act the government placed the unions in the position of greater freedom than they had hitherto exercised on both the industrial and the political field.

BRITAIN'S EXPORTS

(By Maurice Cranston)

With the ironic exception of Scotch whiskey, Britain has sold less, not more, to America in recent months. Her exports to the United States have slumped, it is believed in Britain, because of the American decline in business, the growing hesitancy to spend money freely, and the hope that a devaluation of the pound might make British goods cheaper if prospective purchases only wait.

Trust in Cripps is returning. Last winter, there was some optimism in Britain because the export gap was closing. But Cripps maintained his dead-pan look, piled on austerity in April's budget, and lost a lot of Labour seats in local elections. Cripps agreed that the gap was closing, but insisted this was not enough; imports were coming from the hard currency countries, exports going mainly to the soft. Now that exports to hard currency countries are withering away, the people can see that Cripps, after all, was right.

It is not easy, from Britain, to decide whether British goods sell less readily in the States merely because of the recession there, or whether there are other reasons. It may be suspected that British techniques and British tastes are out of gear with those in America. The United Kingdom suffers because its industry is neither up-to-date, like America's nor wholly traditional, like France's. America can mass-produce, France can make things by hand. British production is halfway between.

Opponents of Labour declare that Britain's plight is due to Socialism. They say the expenditures on social services keep taxes high, and the full employment policy keeps up wages. High taxes and good wages keep prices also high. Cut social services, slacken employment, and prices will come down, then foreigners will buy more and the balance of trade will be restored. But most world economists agree in thinking the trouble goes deeper, and, in any case, a programme of unemployment is not likely to appeal to the public. Hence even an increased frugality of living will not necessarily kill the Labour Government. Unemployment might. It is fear of unemployment, probably that whitens Sir Stafford's hair even more than the struggle to save the pound.

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"I will be as harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard".

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the LIBERATOR.

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NOTES

Truman's Help:—Mr. Truman's appeal to the American Congress to sanction a 1,450,000,000 dollars military aid to the countries ranged against Communism and Soviet Russia follows so close on the heels of Britain's request to the United States of America to be allowed access to Canada's uranium supplies and to American Atom Bomb secrets that it amounts very much to a refusal. The close co-operation which existed before the end of hostilities between these three countries, had ceased with peace. America hesitates to share the secrets for two fears—the fear that Communists might leak secrets out to Russia and the fear that in the event of conflict Soviet Russia would over-run Europe rapidly and get possession of atom bomb factories. The danger does not disappear with the withholding of this information because Britain has made it clear that she will proceed with her research and that it will at worst mean only a certain waste of energy and money before she has the secret too. Besides, the news that the Soviet State had carried out its first atom bomb test is disturbing enough in all conscience to men whose feeling of exclusive possession had given them a security. However that may be, the help offered by Mr. Truman is not of very much use, whether Russia has or has not the atom bomb. If Russia has it, then obviously she is hardly likely to waste it on the European neighbours who constitute no serious menace. Her forces are fully capable of marching in and seizing control of the government machine of most states, and of threatening others to a standstill. America alone can egg on resistance to Communism in lands distant from her in the hope that it will serve to break Russian aggression before it washes the Amercian shore. It seems to be a repetition of the Poland episode in the Second World War. The bulk of the Truman aid will go to the North Atlantic countries four of whom are imperial powers. Portugal is on the list of beneficiaries too. Nothing has been done to make sure of certain democratic standards in nations which are to rally against Communism. Moreover, Britain has supported reactionary regimes in Greece and other European countries. All this leaves too many danger-spots that might burst into flame. Only in regard to the Netherlands has some influence been exerted and that too to a minimum extent. It might well be that, instead of keeping the small nations out of war, the U.S.A. might find itself dragged into hostilities by any of the small powers. "Worldover Press" mentioned the military aid that would follow the North Atlantic Pact, observing that 60 per cent was to be in new weapons, some of them manufactured in Europe with American dollar aid; 40 per cent was to be taken from American Army surplus. Apart from the temptation of trying to solve unemployment by arms manufacture to which the aided countries are subjected there is another complication: "Though it is neither used nor damaged, surplus military equipment has been marked down to 10 per cent of its original value," says the *Worldover Press;* "hence if Congress votes to send 452,000,000 dollars in Army surplus to Europe, it will actually be spending for this purpose closer to 4,520,000,000 dollars." This is an extraordinary situation.

West Bengal Elections:—The Congress Working Committee has decided to have general elections to the legislature in six months, to place in office an interim ministry with all talents in it, and as a consequence to have no by-elections between now and the general elections in West Bengal. It is all very well for the Congress Working Committee to take this decision but it must be remembered that it will be the Bengal Congress that will be called upon to fight the elections and the Bengal Congress, as things seem at present, is not of the same opinion as the Congress Working Committee. What is urgently needed is an infusing of some courage and firmness in the Bengal Congress, in fact in the Congress Party itself. And it is to this task that the Working Committee will have to apply its talents and energy for the next few months before the Bengal elections are held. It is also a possibility that the parties of the opposition will find their energies consumed in preparation for a general election and that there will be a lack of interest in the rowdyism and rioting that has been the order of the day so far. At any rate, though there is no purpose in having general elections under the 1935 franchise and electoral system now when in eighteen months we are going to have elections

throughout the country on adult suffrage, the Bengal elections will give some indication of political feeling in the country. It is inevitable that the Communists who have no hopes of winning elections, will use the confusion attendant on general elections to create more trouble in the province. We fear the success of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru at Calcutta and a certain sense of shame felt by him at the apathy of his party before he visited the city, have been responsible for the decision of the Working Committee which is bordering perilously near bravado. The party will no doubt achieve a majority again but there will be losses to the Leftists and to Hindu communalists. Among the more sensitive Congressmen, there is certainly a feeling that the party has to be sustained by constant pricking and prodding. Some fifteen years ago, Subhas Bose wrote from Vienna to a friend that the Congress needed to be transformed from a "ramshackle body" to an organised political party which could win freedom and give it purpose. The necessity is certainly felt now.

Education and Service:—Conscription sounds ugly in peacetime, although there is nothing wrong in the state calling upon the individual to serve the needs of society, provided the service exacted is for a constructive purpose. And few will deny that social service is not merely constructive but creative since it is not possible for men to live civilized lives in splendid isolation. Indeed, in India, where civic consciousness is deplorably undeveloped and voluntary social service generally erratic except when organized by political parties, the state would seem to be in duty bound to impress upon the individual the responsibilities of corporate living. For these reasons the Bombay Government's contemplated move to conscript for social service should be encouraged. However, if the news report that the conscription is to be confined to students of secondary schools and colleges is correct, the Government's proposal must be both amended and expanded. It is incomprehensible why trained adults should be left out of the scheme. Surely they are better fitted to do systematic social service than secondary school students are. The average age of the most senior pupils of secondary schools cannot exceed sixteen. Are these adolescents, who are in the process of learning themselves, the most suitable teachers for adult illiterates, or the most tactful advisers to working-class parents on how to bring up children? Training in civic virtues, in the art of corporate living must start early—but in the school stage it should be confined to extra-curricular activities and holiday camps organized by scouting organizations or schools. There is no reason why teachers should not provide concrete experiences in helping one's neighbours and democratic living by bringing their pupils into contact with the life of the general community through planned activities such as visits to hospitals or arranging concerts in working class areas. But to ask more of them or of their young charges is both unwise and unnecessary. The Government would be much better advised to devise schemes which would compel the trained people in the various professions to undertake systematic social service for at least some hours during the week. This would not tax their energies unduly and would induce a responsible attitude in people towards their obligations to society in a democratic country. At the same time it would provide the personnel for medical relief and educational work in rural areas where professionally trained people are not willing to practice. Whether such services should be remunerated, must be made dependent on the individual means of the workers. Obviously young people, who have just completed their training and are required to put in a period of service in rural areas would have to be remunerated whilst serving.

Two Portents:—During the week two events have occurred in the press world which must be noted: The three-month suspension order served on "Crossroads", a Bombay weekly which moved from the position of "fellow-traveller" to that of Red propagandist with amazing speed; and the severance of the connection between Mr. D. F. Karaka and "March", a weekly also published in the same city with its roots in personal journalism of the most virulent type. "Crossroads" asked for trouble but it need not have got into it initially if a vigorous Press Advisory Committee were functioning. The last number which hinted at a coming suspension order, struck the Communist line very definitely and unmistakably. After that the rest was inevitable. No Government can sit back watching its every action distorted and the public incited against it. Much is said about freedom and liberty under democracy. We admire the staunchness of the "Crossroads" Editor who stuck to his guns and even tried to move them a little forward in the face of impending doom. We are even prepared to concede that the somewhat mechanical reiteration of the characteristic slogans of Communism arose out of sincere conviction. But we cannot honestly deny the Government the justice of its act of suspension. It is not a debating society that we are in but a serious political conflict and the two opposing ideologies cannot be reconciled. Mr. D. F. Karaka is of quite a different type and it is a severe condemnation of the society we live in that Mr. Thapar pays for his guts and his devotion to a party if not to a cause by being put out of business whilst Mr. Karaka passes from one journal to another. If Mr. Karaka was not utterly irresponsible in his writings, he was positively anti-Indian. He seized upon personal matters and went on dilating on them to the point of vulgarity. It was political pamphleteering and lampooning of the lowest order and it gained support among the superficial. There was a certain debasing of the public standards of judgment, a deliberate and calculated prodding of sleeping prejudices, and, one is constrained to say, without the saving grace of sincerity and conviction. Mr. Karaka's parting with the "March" is, ironically enough, just at the time when he showed signs of sobering down and settling to a stable and adult journalistic existence, the association having survived the worst excesses. One is almost tempted to comment on the separation that the journalism represented by the combination is just the type which calls for suppression, preferably by professional agreement. This is not to deny that it has done some good sometimes. It would be a strange feat of journalism if no public purpose is served or no individual helped. And there is the chastening thought that the cause of liberty of the press has been served before by men like John Wilkes, certainly not an outstanding specimen of disinterested humanity.

THE INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER
BOMBAY, July 30 1949.

THE CONGRESS AND THE OPPOSITION

Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose took political controversy a step further when he said at Bombay that this Government could easily be replaced by a better government, that in any case it would not last beyond the end of this year, and that it had brought ruin or near-ruin on the country. This is a direct acceptance of the challenge frequently thrown by eminent Congressmen that there is no alternative Government possible, even though only a rhetorical acceptance. The feeling that for all its mistakes there is no other government possible, is dying gradually in the public mind. For this, the Congress itself is largely responsible. The tendency of party men to indulge in tall talk about eradicating corruption, the failure of the party leaders to do anything effective in this direction, the various manifestations of fidgettiness and discontent that have given rise to ginger groups on the one side and irritation and efforts at suppression of criticism on the other, and the absence of the team spirit which can be seen from top to bottom have served to undermine the Congress. Whether it is due to the unique magnitude of the problems confronting India or it is because of the incapacity of the administrators is of little interest to the public, but the real hardships of the present day bear down heavily on the people and, as they see no relief, they are not very convinced of the fault being in the nature of the difficulties confronting the administration. In fact, the logical-minded are inclined to regard the emphasis of the present administrators on the difficulties as an indication of their inadequacy.

There is always the chance that problems which appear difficult to men constantly worried about them, may be easily solved. And, for that matter, the present Government of India has on its Ministry, apart from two or three, men and women whom public opinion would not have chosen for ministerships and certainly not for the portfolios they now hold. The indispensability of the Congress leaders can be overdone and it has been greatly overdone. The parties likely to form an opposition might not accept Mr. M. N. Roy's view that the unity of India, the maintenance and consolidation of which Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru claimed at Calcutta was the one unquestionable accomplishment of Congress rule, is wholly bad, but several amongst them will contend that it should be differently consolidated. The real difficulty lies in the fact that no opposition party commands a large enough following to hope for power even in a single unit of the Union, let alone the entire Union, and none of the groups expects to attain this position by itself in the calculable future. Therefore, frantic efforts are being directed towards uniting the "leftists" which is almost an impossibility in the prevailing conditions. Both the "left oppositionists" and the Congress have meanwhile to face the challenge of the revived R.S.S. which is losing no time in building itself up anew. With its "cultural" activities, combined with the Hindu Mahasabha's political work, it can exert an influence in politics which can become quite formidable. The Congress would do well to attempt to rally all elements which stand for a secular state, against the rising tide of Hindu communalism on the one hand and the inevitable reaction in other communities on the other. It is injudicious to press other issues when this threat has yet to be completely overcome. Moreover, there seems little difference in the programmes of the Congress and the "leftists", the divergence presenting itself solely on the question of performance—and here only the Congress can be tested. It does not appear as if other parties, assuming they come into power, will be able to act very differently from the Congress; nor is it as though they would have a cleaner slate to write on.

Mr. Sarat Bose, however, is not likely to figure very prominently in any alternative government. He was himself a part of the Congress Cabinet at Delhi and it is possible that he might figure in any ministry that is formed in West Bengal after the elections. But he lacks the stature of an all-India leader—that he is painfully conscious of it can be noticed by his frequent and pathetic reiteration of belief in his brother, Subhas being still alive—and his outlook is far too coloured by personal prejudices for him to rise to the occasion. The Socialist Party has shown a distinct coldness towards Mr. Bose, whose new-found enthusiasm for the Cause is not convincing. Mere opposition to the Congress is no more likely to yield beneficial results than blind unthinking support of it. And Mr. Bose and his followers do not seem to have grown out of this negative attitude. In the field of foreign affairs, Mr. Bose has no clarity of thought, his views being largely influenced by an intense distaste for anything done by Pandit Jawaharlal. What he has said indicates in more ways than one, 'that,' should the control of foreign affairs ever come under him, there would be no radical change in foreign policy although the personnel of several foreign embassies would alter.

The situation that is politically emerging, is one in which it is recognized that no change of government wlil produce any far-reaching change in internal conditions or foreign relations. It is also felt that, despite protests from various groups, any other party in power will imply a narrower outlook in the administration, greater curtailment of civil liberty and more high-handedness. There used to be a feeling that a non-Congress government would mean more corruption and nepotism. It must be attributed to Congressmen themselves that that faith has been shattered. In spite of all the professions and the preachings, Congressmen have not been alert enough in checking evils and some of them have not been scrupulous enough to avoid all taint of suspicion. All this has converted what was a distinct asset into a serious liability and has led to an increase of political cynicism. But that, again, is only one more indication of the party having been held to a point above its capacity by the outstanding personality of Gandhiji. With the removal of this force, the principles proclaimed all these years are left in mid-air, lost in the confusion of principles and eccentricities which was so characteristic of the Gandhian programme. And there is no one clear-sighted enough to insist on a complete overhaul of the Congress, and a re-adjustment of party programme, policy and outlook more in keeping with conditions in the country and with national needs. A river does not flow higher than its source, and it is equally futile to expect a political party to be better than the country in which it operates.

TRADE UNIONS IN POSTWAR BRITAIN

By Vincent Tewson
(General Secretary, British Trade Union Congress)

III

The measures taken to nationalize the mining industry, the electricity supply and the gas industries, the transport services and the iron and steel industry —still under consideration in Parliament—contain provisions relating to the position of the trade unions in these vital industries. In all the nationalizing acts there are provisions which require the controlling authority to cooperate with the unions in the establishment of advisory and consultative machinery, on a national and regional basis, and in the individual plants.

In the mining industry, for example, which was the first to be nationalized, the act specifically directs the board to secure, consistently with the proper discharge of their duties, the benefit of the practical knowledge and experience of persons in their employment in the organization and conduct of the operations in which they are employed. Another provision imposes upon the board the duty of entering into consultation " with the organizations representing substantial proportions of the persons working within the industry " in order to establish and maintain the machinery for joint consultations. In obedience to these statutory directives, the National Coal Board and the unions in the industry—there are only three major organizations, namely, the National Union of Mineworkers, the National Association of Colliery Managers and the National Association of Colliery Overmen, Deputies and Shot-firers—have set up an elaborate network of colliery consultative committees and area, divisional and national consultative councils.

Every question relating to safety, health and welfare, the organization and carrying on of the operations in which the industry's employees are engaged and all other matters of mutual interest to them and the board, come within the ambit of these consultative bodies; with the stipulation that matters which are normally the subject of negotiation between management and the trade unions under the industry's conciliation machinery, including questions of wages, methods of payment and terms and conditions of employment, must not be discussed at the consultative committees or councils.

Similar arrangements have been made in the electricity supply and the gas industries and in the national transport services.

There has not yet been time to test this consultative machinery as a method of meeting the full claims of the workers to a larger share in the management of industry. The T.U.C. General Council has been engaged in an examination of the structure and methods of carrying on nationalized industries with a view to ascertaining whether the existing consultative machinery is adequate for its purpose, and how the human relationships between workers and managements, the facilities for training and education within the industry, and other aspects of union-management relationships are developing. Enough has been learned to satisfy the T.U.C. General Council that, in all main essentials, the various nationalization measures and government settlements of policy concerning them conform to the lines laid down by the T.U.C. for such legislation.

The T.U.C. is satisfied, in particular, that the best form of authority for a publicly owned industry or commercial service is the public corporation. To insure ultimate public responsibility, all members of the governing boards of such public corporations, the T.U.C. believes, should be appointed by a Minister who is in turn responsible to Parliament; but the public corporation, not the Minister's Department, must undertake the day-to-day administration of the nationalized industry or service.

The T.U.C. also considers that members of the boards of public corporations should be appointed by the Minister on grounds of competence and ability to appointed to these boards should be persons whose rest. But in order to insure that the views of the industry's workpeople shall receive full understanding and consideration, it is essential that among those training and experience has been obtained in the trade union movement. These members, however, must be independent of the unions to which they belong, and accountable to no other interest than that of the public for their decisions on policy and administration dealt with by the board. The T.U.C. General Council has also taken the view that it should be consulted by the Minister concerned when persons are being appointed to the board of public corporations, and the T.U.C., in turn, would consult the appropriate unions.

In the setting up of boards for the nationalized industries these principles have been followed by the government. This nationalizing legislation leaves the trade union movement completely independent of the executive and employing authority of the nationalized industry. It is only in this way, in the view of the T.U.C., that unions can exert their power of independent criticism and carry out, without divided loyalties, their primary functions of maintaining and improving the conditions of employment of the workpeople. But the safeguarding of the independence of trade unions in this sense does not preclude them from bringing their influence to bear on the determination of policy and the principles of administration. This is secured to an increasing extent by the consultative and advisory machinery in the nationalized industries to which reference has already been made. Executive responsibility for the conduct of a nationalized industry remains with the public corporation. Consultation does not imply a diffusion of executive authority, but it does give the unions an influential voice in determining the policy of nationalized industry.

The trade union movement attaches much importance also to the development of training and education facilities as a means of enlarging the workers' participation in the conduct and direction of these industries. Considerable progress has been made in the planning of training schemes within the nationalized industries to develop the required administrative ability.

On all aspects of trade union relationships with the controlling authority in the nationalized industries, and the working of the consultative and advisory machinery, the T.U.C. is now collecting and collating the views of the unions concerned.

On the question of Communism, the T.U.C. General Council is taking active steps to counteract Communist influences inside the unions. It has directed the attention of trade union executives to the manner in which important executive and administrative offices were being captured by Communists. Executives of unions with an overwhelming majority in Congress have endorsed the T.U.C. General Council in this regard. Indicative of the attitude of the unions' vigilance, as a result of having their attention drawn to Communist activities, is the recent election of the Executive Committee of the Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workrs, which at the beginning of March defeated a Communist majority and now have only two Communist members on their Executive.

Politically, the Communist Party in Britain is a negligible factor. Communist candidates have stood in two by-elections since the general election of 1945. In both cases they have " lost their deposit," which means that they have not secured the necessary per-

centage of votes—one-eighth of the total poll—to save the 150 pounds which each candidate is required to entrust to the Returning Officer, and which is recoverable even by defeated candidates whose votes exceed this percentage. In the latest by-election, in a London division (North St. Pancras) the Communist candidate polled about 850 votes as against the official candidate of the Labour Party who won the seat, thus carrying on the unprecedented achievement of the Labour Party of having held in 32 by-elections every seat they secured in the 1945 general election, and losing none.

BENGAL—A PROBLEM PROVINCE?

By J. M. Ganguli)

I heard sometime back some people saying in a public square, where they had organised a demonstration, that the British Government had invited the Congress to take over charge when quitting India, because they knew that in the hands of the Congress the continuity of their economic and red-tape policy would be maintained. And I could hear them pointing out that British trade was as prosperous as before, and British commercial influence and position as strong as ever.

That people are grumbling there can be no doubt about, some of the leading Congress personalities are held in high esteem no doubt, and if the people were to vote freely they would spontaneously give their first votes to them; but clearly they have not the same confidence in the ability, integrity and worthiness of so many others, who have been drafted in the administration, and that too in the important and higher services. This is a serious weakness in a party government. Incompetent men who shout the party slogan and don the party cap, and who have also the potency of mischief-making if their own selfish interests are not satisfied, become a liability on the party when that party comes to power. They have to be provided, otherwise they create trouble. This is why when even those for whom people have a regard plead for eradication of corruption they do not impress the people who point to so many glaring instances, nepotism, favouritism and corruption in the Government itself. Even on making all allowance for the tremendous difficulties in bringing about an overhead change in a system that has been elaborately and methodically built from the base upwards for many years on quite different bases people find it difficult to believe that an earnest and straight-forward endeavour has been made in the right direction. The Congress High Command is shy about it. For one thing, it cannot think of getting disrupted by doing away with party support; and so it has to shelter and support its lieutenants. But that is a very short-sighted policy which cannot pay dividends long.

Pandit Nehru has come and gone. In the rush and roar in which he remained embedded it was hardly possible to grasp the situation, much less to analyse the deeper causes. He could not or rather did not think of contacting the detached, thoughtful non-party men who might have given him a truer picture, a more correct perspective and useful suggestions. To isolate Bengal and treat it as a problem province would be to shut one's eyes to things that are coming more and more into the glare in other provinces too. I have been travelling recently, and I have seen how public feeling is hardening against ministries at different places. The extravagences of the ministers some of whom are said to send their state cars thirty miles down hill to fetch neem-sticks for mouth-wash; their aloofness from the masses, the favouritism and nepotism freely indulged in by them, and perhaps above all the incompetence and lack of imagination of so many of them—these are common topics at different places. And no wonder; because, as it is, a minister's qualifications need be no more than some tact and shrewdness to form parties, supplemented preferably by a record of jail-going adventure and demonstration-leading bravado.

The Congress High Command should know better the axiomatic truth that qualities higher than such adventurousness, higher than that of slogan-shouting or procession-forming, qualities like keen intellect, creative imagination, independent judgment, etc., are oftener and more generally to be found in quieter people who are incapable of elbowing in a crowd and temperamentally unsuited for an election campaign. The formal administration of things might be in the hands of party members and election winners; and if the vanity and self-importance of the latter are to be tickled they can well be given exalted status and even higher emoluments than the ministers drawn from the ablest non-party men. But that may not be possible under the rules and conventions of democracy, though that alone can effectively stop the rot and usher in a welcome change. A general election may bring a change in the set of party men ruling, but the illusion of a change will quickly go and the general dissatisfaction will be deeper. The people want to see efficiency, productiveness, zeal, sincerity and earnestness and absolute impartiality in Government activities—and undertakings. They can see and well understand that it is in party interest and not in theirs that the Government have engaged so many ministers and have kept so many high-paid officers. They want genuine cuts and retrenchment at the top before being convinced of the need for retrenchment lower down. The heavy Congress defeat at the recent bye-election was really a reflection of such feelings in the public, rather than support to any of the mushroom parties that are being formed by ambitious people. The people have not lost faith in the Congress as a body yet, but certainly in the men who in the name of the Congress pose and seek advantages, and who have indeed definitely ceased to be workers and servants of the country; and who now appear to be standing at the counter for cashing in on their previous agitational work of one kind or the other. There is hardly any visible Congress activity anywhere now, except at the Secretariat. No public meetings, no approach to masses, no constructive work. Congress workers at headquarters or at district centres are recognised when they are procuring for themselves some rationed articles which are difficult for others to get. Over and above there is often very keen rivalry and jealousy between Congress workers themselves, Working Committee members being no exception, some of them planning and trying to down a Government so as to get a chance for office for themselves. The real well-wishers of the Congress should be alive to such serious dangers to disunity and disruption within. Though not believing in the promises and propaganda of other parties and elements the people are being pushed into their ranks. The Congress should either wind up and let its leaders stand on merit and individual popularity or it should re-register its members.

Another urgent thing to be done is to replace many absolutely inefficient officers in the Secretariat and in the police by better men, to find whom the Government will have to go very often out of the Congress ranks. Pandit Nehru's appeal to the Calcutta public will work only if he could supplement it by such bold changes, purgings, ministerial and Secretariat retrenchments and replacements and by an earnest and open anti-corruption and anti-nepotism drive, for which the advice and co-operation of sincere non-party men of vision and imagination would be needed.

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That people are grumbling there can be no doubt about, some of the leading Congress personalities are held in high esteem no doubt, and if the people were to vote freely they would spontaneously give their first votes to them; but clearly they have not the same confidence in the ability, integrity and worthiness of so many others, who have been drafted in the administration, and that too in the important and higher services. This is a serious weakness in a party government. Incompetent men who shout the party slogan and don the party cap, and who have also the potency of mischief-making if their own selfish interests are not satisfied, become a liability on the party when that party comes to power. They have to be provided, otherwise they create trouble. This is why when even those for whom people have a regard plead for eradication of corruption they do not impress the people who point to so many glaring instances, nepotism, favouritism and corruption in the Government itself. Even on making all allowance for the tremendous difficulties in bringing about an overhead change in a system that has been elaborately and methodically built from the base upwards for many years on quite different bases people find it difficult to believe that an earnest and straight-forward endeavour has been made in the right direction. The Congress High Command is shy about it. For one thing, it cannot think of getting disrupted by doing away with party support; and so it has to shelter and support its lieutenants. But that is a very short-sighted policy which cannot pay dividends long.

Pandit Nehru has come and gone. In the rush and roar in which he remained embedded it was hardly possible to grasp the situation, much less to analyse the deeper causes. He could not or rather did not think of contacting the detached, thoughtful non-party men who might have given him a truer picture, a more correct perspective and useful suggestions. To isolate Bengal and treat it as a problem province would be to shut one's eyes to things that are coming more and more into the glare in other provinces too. I have been travelling recently, and I have seen how public feeling is hardening against ministries at different places. The extravagences of the ministers some of whom are said to send their state cars thirty miles down hill to fetch neem-sticks for mouth-wash; their aloofness from the masses, the favouritism and nepotism freely indulged in by them, and perhaps above all the incompetence and lack of imagination of so many of them—these are common topics at different places. And no wonder; because, as it is, a minister's qualifications need be no more than some tact and shrewdness to form parties, supplemented preferably by a record of jail-going adventure and demonstration-leading bravado.

The Congress High Command should know better the axiomatic truth that qualities higher than such adventurousness, higher than that of slogan-shouting or procession-forming, qualities like keen intellect, creative imagination, independent judgment, etc., are oftener and more generally to be found in quieter people who are incapable of elbowing in a crowd and temperamentally unsuited for an election campaign. The formal administration of things might be in the hands of party members and election winners; and if the vanity and self-importance of the latter are to be tickled they can well be given exalted status and even higher emoluments than the ministers drawn from the ablest non-party men. But that may not be possible under the rules and conventions of democracy, though that alone can effectively stop the rot and usher in a welcome change. A general election may bring a change in the set of party men ruling, but the illusion of a change will quickly go and the general dissatisfaction will be deeper. The people want to see efficiency, productiveness, zeal, sincerity and earnestness and absolute impartiality in Government activities—and undertakings. They can see and well understand that it is in party interest and not in theirs that the Government have engaged so many ministers and have kept so many high-paid officers. They want genuine cuts and retrenchment at the top before being convinced of the need for retrenchment lower down. The heavy Congress defeat at the recent bye-election was really a reflection of such feelings in the public, rather than support to any of the mushroom parties that are being formed by ambitious people. The people have not lost faith in the Congress as a body yet, but certainly in the men who in the name of the Congress pose and seek advantages, and who have indeed definitely ceased to be workers and servants of the country; and who now appear to be standing at the counter for cashing in on their previous agitational work of one kind or the other. There is hardly any visible Congress activity anywhere now, except at the Secretariat. No public meetings, no approach to masses, no constructive work. Congress workers at headquarters or at district centres are recognised when they are procuring for themselves some rationed articles which are difficult for others to get. Over and above there is often very keen rivalry and jealousy between Congress workers themselves, Working Committee members being no exception, some of them planning and trying to down a Government so as to get a chance for office for themselves. The real well-wishers of the Congress should be alive to such serious dangers to disunity and disruption within. Though not believing in the promises and propaganda of other parties and elements the people are being pushed into their ranks. The Congress should either wind up and let its leaders stand on merit and individual popularity or it should re-register its members.

Another urgent thing to be done is to replace many absolutely inefficient officers in the Secretariat and in the police by better men, to find whom the Government will have to go very often out of the Congress ranks. Pandit Nehru's appeal to the Calcutta public will work only if he could supplement it by such bold changes, purgings, ministerial and Secretariat retrenchments and replacements and by an earnest and open anti-corruption and anti-nepotism drive, for which the advice and co-operation of sincere non-party men of vision and imagination would be needed.

" FRIEND OF INDIA "

"Charles Freer Andrews" by Benarsidas Chaturvedi and Marjorie Sykes—Allen and Unwin, London; Price 10s. 6d.—revive memories of C. F. Andrews. In my younger days, Andrews used to be a frequent visitor to our home at Bandra and a welcome one too. To us, the younger children, he represented the outside world—and that meant largely, postage stamps. As the youngest in the house, I exercised my privilege and exploited the visitor's fondness for children. Often I was told that Andrews had other things to do apart from getting stamps for me from his visits to other lands but naturally they did not seem, any of them, of any great importance. Once, I recall, Andrews reminiscently mentioned that in Fiji and in the Pacific Islands he had met little boys just like me. He must have been gratified at the obvious pleasure the news caused me but not when he found that it was because I felt this was a natural introduction to a dip in his pockets and the bringing out in a large hand of some stamps, crushed and creased no doubt but withal usable. Whilst he was looking at it from the point of view of broadening the young mind, the young mind regarded his excursions as possible aids to one philatelist. And experience of the ways of elders in general and of Andrews in particular, had given rise to the fear that what stamp-collectors valued was never understood. If only Andrews would have allowed one to rummage in his hand-bag and do one's own investigation and picking! But there was a limit and one much harried little boy whose persistence in troubling visitors had brought him much denunciation and rebuke, drew the line at this.

There was very little to fear in Andrews himself. In fact, it was a surprise that one so bearded should be so friendly. We had had others to our house—venerable grey, white, black and red beards—Brahmos, Muslims, college professors, Government officials, —but they had all seemed serious, intense, purposeful, more elder than our elders. When they spoke to us, there was a touch of condescension about it; when they spoke to our elders about us, it was to hint that we had been badly brought up and, if not put under discipline in time, would soon go to the dogs. I remember how terrific was the reaction of one guest at dinner who, insisting on saying grace with shut eyes and on all of us joining in it, felt shocked out of his worship by the crackling of potato chips, which always irresistible, had assumed all the glamour of forbidden fruit as they lay on my plate. But that is not relevant to Anderws who was quite tolerant of young foibles. Andrews came often and sometimes stayed for days with us, making himself quite at home. Two incidents show this: In our home, it was always—and still is—an eternal search for one damned thing after another. Then the most missing item was scissors. There were many claimants and fewer pairs. Father had asked for it one morning, then said that it really did not matter, and had quietly pursued the search by himself and was getting slightly annoyed. Andrews came in—he was a byword in the house for the number of baths he took a day, he was always either going in for a bath or coming out of one—and said, "Scissors? I know where they are," and, diving deep under a confusion of newspapers, papers and books, pulled out a pair, smiling all the time with the greatest benevolence. We had half a suspicion that Andrews was responsible for its disappearance, a natural frame of mind seeing that the blame invariably fell on one of us. But from then he came to be regarded as one of the family—the first to be tackled for "lost property." The other incident left a deep impression, of true consideration for others and a thoughtfulness one did not expect from a person so obviously other-worldly minded. It was the practice to end the day with a glass of milk, taken about an hour after dinner. Andrews fitted in into this, only he deviated from the time. He took it a little later. One night, with evident distress written all over his face, Andrews went up to my sister who kept house and told her that the cook had evidently forgotten to give him his milk. It had evidently caused him a great deal of thought to broach the matter and the final decision was influenced by the feeling that considerable embarrassment later would be avoided by immediately bringing it to notice.

It is an amusing sidelight that Andrews had a great feeling for the cook who, he said, looked an Ajanta fresco. To us who had the doubtful honour of daily observing this figure, the most Ajantesque characteristics of the man were a tendency to stand all the time as though he had dislocated his hip and an infinite capacity for accumulating dirt on his face. Andrews remarks, half-understood but wholly pleasing to the object of his admiration, led, I am afraid, to the man looking more and more and doing less and less until he had to leave us, shortly after the distinguished guest departed. Andrews, during those visits, used to be busy the whole time. He was preparing a rather special present for Rabindranath Tagore and everything had to be just right for it. In his beautiful handwriting, he was copying out Tagore's poems on to elegantly bound art-paper books which looked rather like autograph books. I think he filled two of these during a five-day stay at Bandra. On one of his visits, Andrews was accompanied by W. W. Pearson; somehow one has a recollection of an Andrews who was not only beardless but even chinless then. Both of them wore the **dhoti**, unusual at that period for Englishmen unless from theosophical circles. Father and Andrews drifted apart in later years. Father used to narrate that at a meeting at the Grand Hotel—I think it was one of Wilfred David's progressive groups—Andrews and Deodhar (president of the Servants of India Society, another informal, delightful and wholly incalculable character) warmly embraced each other. Father who was standing aloof watching this, laughed and said, "Andrews, you have never given me as warm a welcome." Taken aback, Andrews looked very serious for a moment, "But you will never let me. How often I have wanted to;" and then burst out laughing. Temperamentally, they were poles apart. Andrews was too intensely personal in his approach to all questions. (There is a reference to his leaving the church in which he had been born and brought up. Apart from the reasons discussed, he himself had another which he advanced at times—the doctrine of "original sin." Possibly, he left the church because he felt it isolated him from Indian Nationalists and nationalism—identified him too with the ruling class.) This led at times to a slurring of issues. This personal emphasis came out strongly in the latter years. There was a rather unpleasant incident in one of the larger cities of India in which a person who was known to both Andrews and myself was involved. Andrews exerted his influence very strongly to get the whole matter withdrawn and hushed up. I asked him, after the heat of the moment had subsided, whether he would have attempted the same thing in Britain and whether he thought it was right to have justice accessible to the few with influence. Andrews was rather taken aback. He was rather perplexed for a while and then he said, "I suppose you are right. But I never thought of it in that light." He passed through periods of misunderstanding and misrepresentation from the Indian side just as he passed through them from the British side. There was too, I felt, when I last met him, some of the anxiety about the personal future which disturbs

even those who have given it no thought throughout their lives. The present biography gives an adequate picture of one who proved ideally suited to link India and Britain.

S.N.

THE "VEIL OF MONEY"

Prof. Pigou's "Veil of Money" is a welcome departure from the traditional treatment of the subject and incorporates the theory of income fluctuations as an integral part of the theory of Money, following the lead given by Keynes in his "General Theory" nearly fifteen years ago. Part I of the book which is comparatively easy and which may properly be regarded as a sequel to his "Income, Introduction to Economics" mainly deals with the definition and functions of money, and points out money's role as an instrument through the pricing system of the distribution of supplies, the allocation of productive resources and as an adjunct of saving or investment. It also contains a clear definition of inflation, that much misunderstood word and which, though it may offend the orthodox by its 'paradoxical' results, is nevertheless logical and concise. However, all may not agree with Prof. Pigou that the distinction between balances on current and on deposit accounts is more formal than real and therefore bank money is composed of all bank balances, but there is much to be said for the suggestion of including overdraft facilities as part of money supply. For, after all if bank deposits are the right accorded by the banker to his clients for drawing cheques upon himself, overdraft facilities are not logically different. Altogether Pigou's treatment of the definitions and functions of money is highly refreshing and breaks new ground in a work on money particularly in the discussion of money as the base of the pricing system and therefore of the distribution of supplies and allocation of resources in an economy not run by **force majeure.**

Part II which deals with money income and the causes governing its fluctuations further develops and clarifies Prof. Pigou's ideas contained in his "Employment and Equilibrium" and to some extent of his earlier work "The Economics of Stationary States". It sets out to distinguish between the influences of a general kind upon which the magnitude of money income at any time depends from those which originate from the side of money itself and to examine the results of interaction of the various influences. The discussion is necessarily abstruse and requires a degree of concentration germane to a work of this kind. But it is an effort well worth making. In emphasizing the role of money incomes as the instrument through which disturbances in the governing influences, both monetary and non-monetary work themselves out, Prof. Pigou has focussed attention on a vital development in economic theory. The significance of the concept of income velocity of money and the relevant rate of interest and their interaction is pointed out in no ambiguous terms. However, lest it should be thought that this book contains only an arid and theoretical dissertion on the "dismal" science which has no relevance to our practical problems, it may be mentioned that the chapters on inflation, foreign dealings and cheap money in the second part attempt to put these burning topics in their proper perspective, though naturally no cut and dried solution of these problems is offered.

Finally it may be asked, how far Prof. Pigou has succeeded in tearing aside the veil off money? Or is it that he has only accomplished a thickening of the fog which surrounds this most widely discussed but most misunderstood entity? The answer to this question will depend upon the equipment of the reader. If he is capable of building images out of abstractions and is familiar not only with what Prof. Pigou calls "the small change of economic discussion" such as liquidity preference and balance of payments but also with what may be called the fluctuations in the economists' main interests or pre-occupations, such as trade cycles, full employment and planning, he will easily perceive that in some situations money may indeed act as a veil or garment of not much consequence, but in others it assumes a vital role, in other words, he shall have torn aside the veil off money. But if the reader is not gifted with the habit of concentrated thinking or is not familiar with the latest developments in economic theory, he will indeed find the second part difficult ground from which he will be well advised to step away until his mental equipment comes up to the necessary standard. For the student of economics, this is indeed an indispensable book.

NEW WRITING

The Penguin New Writing.. No. 36. Edited by John Lehmann. Penguin Books, Ltd., Harmondsworth, Middlesex.

When "New Writing" first appeared in the pre-war period, it was something new in the way of publications—something between the pure fiction magazines and the non-fiction cultural journals. It had not a very large readership until it came out in the Penguin edition. After that, this type of periodical has come to stay and conclusive proof of the fact is to be seen in its many imitators. The current issue is a fascinating collection of fiction and non-fiction, all the items provoking thought. Peter Brook's "Style in Shakespeare Production" is a notable discussion of how Shakespeare plays can best be made to reach the public. Brook's conclusion in a sentence is that every effort must be made to approximate the presentation as close as possible to notions held by the ordinary man of the present day (whichever the "present day" might be) of what Shakespeare's times were like. The purist might ask for accurate reproduction; the enthusiast might go in for Shakespeare in "modern dress"; but the play-goer seeks nothing but entertainment and both extremes place too great a strain on his imagination. Brook's essentially sober approach is an answer to brilliant Madariaga's recent thesis on "Hamlet" which argued for a study of Shakespeare's contemporary England to understand the meaning of the play. This is true no doubt but the scholar must first make general the true meaning of Shakespeare's play before the producer can work on it. But it is possible too that the producer might, given the imagination, put through a presentation which influences interpretation. "On Stony Ground" by William Sansom and "A Single Lady" by Mary Lavin are two short stories which hold one's interest; and Michael Nelson's "The Chest" has the touch of the unusual about it. The "Art" section is rather disappointing.

VOLUNTARY SERVICE IN A SOCIALIST STATE

(By Lord Beveridge)

The great scheme of social security for all, which is now being applied in Britain, has raised the question in the public mind as to whether there will now be need for that prviate effort and generosity which has previously provided hospitals, institutions and agencies for the help and protection of the sick or unfortunate. Lord Beveridge, himself the architect of much of the now-applied plan, gives the following answer:

The making of a good society depends not on the State but on the citizens, acting individually or in free association with one another, acting on motives of various kinds, some selfish, others unselfish, some

narrow and material, others inspired by love of man and the love of God. The happiness or unhappiness of our democratic society depends upon ourselves as citizens, not on the instrument of political power which we call the State....

We must go beyond the simple redistribution of money to the much harder task of ensuring production of goods and services, to provision not in money but in kind. We must continue to use to the full the spirit that fired the philanthropists of the past. It is necessary to face two new difficulties in the way of doing this.

First, it involves making and keeping something other than the pursuit of gain as the dominant force in society. The business motive is seen in continual or repeated conflict with the philanthropic motive, and has too often been successful. The industrial assurance offices exploited successfully for gain a universal desire to avoid a pauper burial. They have been succeeded by the buisness of football pools, dog tracks and cinemas, all exploiting in different ways for personal gain the increased leisure of the people. The business motive is a good servant but a bad master, and a society which gvies itself up to the dominance of the business motive is a bad society. We do not put first things first in putting ourselves first.

In former days there was a great alternative to the pursuit of gain, as the guiding force in society; there was force for good inspired by religious belief and based on membership of a Christian community. Now this religious force for good is less widely influential than it was in the nineteenth century. It must either be revived or be replaced by some equally good alternative, if that can be found. Perhaps it must be both in part revived and in part replaced.

Secondly, with the passage from class rule to representative democracy, little can be done except by influencing directly not a few leaders but the mass of the people. We shall not take the difficult steps of going beyond redistribution of money to provision in kind, unless we really want to do this, and "we" for this purpose means the whole people—the democracy.

In the unequal society of the past there were always dynamic individuals with social consciences, and, in giving their personal service, they could usually get the necessary help for their purposes from the superfluities of money and leisure among their friends. In the society of the future there will still be dynamic individuals with consciences, but they may not so easily find the material means of doing their work, and they will not find it in the same way. Democracy to-day has to show that in discarding the inequalities it can learn the virtues of aristocracy.

LET US TEACH OUR CHILDREN TO SEE

"To teach children to see" sounds rather a contradiction in terms, since the majority of children are born with perfect sight which becomes impaired in some cases only later through bad habits or conditions of life. But I am now using the term "to see" from the point of view of observation rather than in its literal sense. During their early years, children are full of natural curiosity; they ask questions about everything they see; "What is this?" "Why is this so?" "How does this happen?" Questions without end, from morning till night! They see things too which the adult, who is absorbed in the complexities of life, generally misses. They notice minute details; a shell on the seashore, a solitary flower at the roadside, which the grown-up companion passed by without a thought, are treasures full of delight to the child, who is just awakening to an acute sense of interest in everything around him.

This is the stage at which the grown-up can make or mar the power of observation in the child. This is the stage at which the mother and the kindergarten teacher, the two most important people in the life of the young child, must make up their minds how they will deal with the problem of answering his questions. The easier way, no doubt, when little John brings a bedraggled feather along and asks the inevitable, "Mummy, what is this?" is to say, "O-Oh, Johnny, how dirty. Throw it away!" or when little Mary carries home a bunch of jaded flowers clasped tightly in a hot, clammy hand,,"Now, Mary, those flowers are all dead. Throw them away!" The probable reaction on the part of John and Mary after a few such chilling replies, will be to stop collecting "treasures" and trying to find out more about them, for, after all, if the all-important grown-up is not interested, well, the treasures cannot really be very exciting after all. And so, perhaps through ignorance and perhaps through mere thoughtlessness, the natural and useful curiosity of the child is stifled before it has time to develop.

Children's questions, trying and irritating though they very often are, are generally asked through a real thirst for knowledge, and it is through these questions that parents and teachers are able, not only to discover the interests of the child, but to stimulate those interests and to encourage the child to observe his surroundings more fully and accurately. If Johnny's mother takes an interest in the bedraggled feather and tells him it has come from the wing of a pigeon and if she encourages him to notice the colours of the pigeon and how the strong wing feathers help it to fly, Johnny will begin to watch pigeons more closely, and to see that there are different kinds of pigeons, and will soon start to compare the pigeon with other birds, and the possibility is that he will end up as an ornithologist, while it is certain that he will find his daily walk more interesting for he will have so many things to watch! If Mary's mother encourages her to take care of her flowers, and to put them in water, and if she explains that it is unkind to pick flowers and just let them die, for she is depriving others of their beauty, she too will be teaching a useful lesson.

Life is much fuller and more satisfying if we have the ability to see and appreciate the natural beauty around us instead of depending solely on the synthetic pleasure derived from films and other manufactured forms of entertainment, but that power to enjoy natural beauty, which is inherent in the young child, must be cultivated and encouraged. Nature study is the ideal means by which this interest and appreciation may be developed, but Nature Study must be a real "Study of Nature" and not merely a series of dull, dry notes on set subjects which the unfortunate pupil is expected to learn by heart and reproduce parrot-fashion with neither interest nor understanding. If in our homes and schools we encourage our children in their questions about the things they see around them, if we encourage them to grow things and to watch them growing naturally, if we teach them to treat all living creatures kindly and to realise that birds, animals and insects, and all the creatures that fly, swim, crawl and burrow, have lives of their own which are as wonderful in their way as all the complexities of our human life, we shall be able to feel that we have opened up before them a vast storehouse of knowledge and interest, and that we have helped them to develop a power of observation which will be of enormous benefit to them in all aspects of life.

D.R.

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"I will be as harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard".

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the LIBERATOR.

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NOTES

Interpreting India:—One of the duties of modern Ambassadors is to interpret their country's culture to the people of the country in which they are stationed, in a manner readily assimilated by their audiences. In this way they can help to promote the basic understanding between different peoples without which all international co-operation in economics and politics must remain at the level of diplomacy. This aspect of her work, Mrs. Pandit has grasped adequately. She seems indefatigable in lecturing to audiences of varying sizes. But one could wish that she spent more thought on what she says. To tell a selective audience at Columbia University that the message of Lincoln and Jefferson to-day " appeared to be in danger ", is to invite ridicule. Among her listeners, there must have been several who could have told her more on the subject than she can possibly know. Equally absurd is it for Mrs. Pundit to blame Western civilization as a whole for the two World Wars. But for the good manners of her audience some hecklers might well have questioned whether Indian civilization was responsible for the ghastly massacres that were committed in pre-partition India in Bengal or Bihar and in the Punjab after August 15, 1947. Nor can Mrs. Pundit deny that the Communists who are instigating lawlessness in various parts of India to-day are as Indian as she is. As a people we have every right to be proud of our heritage, of the values inherent in our ancient thought. But it is ludicrous to claim that ' the message of God ' we had discovered, is being translated now into our contemporary social life, into our commercial undertakings or our political dealings. Gandhiji attempted to do this but he himself admitted his failure. In that indeed lies his greatness. Propaganda to some extent may be necessary but surely it is unnecessary to be facetious. Individual Indians are kindly and generous even in their poverty. It is also true that the ideal of non-attachment extolled in Indian thought is still capable of inspiring idealism among a number of the people; it is yet attractive enough for many of us to prefer simplicity to ostentation and to shrink from commercialization. But industrialization has not killed idealism in the West either. And the main task of introducing into group activities ethical values is still to be achieved—in India as well as in the West. Mrs. Pundit, one feels, might well select concrete topics of Indian life for her lectures rather than indulge in vague generalities.

Overstatement:—Mr. Morarji Desai is a good administrator but a bad propagandist for the cause he cherishes. Excessive zeal on the part of a social reformer is apt to lose him not merely the neutrality of neutrals but even the sympathy of some friends. Mr. Desai would do well to remember this. Why he should have talked at all prohibition at all at a night school function is not clear. It could not have been encouraging for the audience to be told that facilities for higher education will not be available for all the deserving within the next fifteen or twenty years. The period may seem short for one who has had the good luck to enjoy these facilities himself. But for the aspiring and ambitious student it is certainly too long. The thought that one's efforts will be wasted for oneself must make for frustration. And frustration will do no good to anyone. Mr. Desai's other observations are even more baffling. He is reported to have said that Government could collect as many as fifty crores by opening liquor shops, giving licenses to gambling dens and starting cocaine booths. Since even the most ardent anti-prohibitionists have not asked Government to add to existing liquor shops and no one has made a plea for running gambling or cocaine haunts, Mr. Desai's defence is gratuitous. Indeed the opponents of prohibition are committed to accepting any increase of excise duty on alcohol Government may chose to impose if it is compelled to abandon its programme. It seems to us that Mr. Desai is chasing imaginary spectres quite unnecessarily. And there is a quality of despair implicit in his remarks that augurs ill for the success of prohibition. For to be on the defensive is to acknowledge to oneself that half the battle is already lost. However, there is another implication in Mr. Desai's reported speech that must be noted too. He seems to feel that he has to choose between helping his country to be morally rich and economically poor and its alternative-economic prosperity and moral laxness. This is definitely too gloomy an attitude to adopt. A developed moral sense is not the pri-

vilege of the rich, but poverty is unfortunately a social condition making for immorality. To deny this is to ignore all recent social research on crime and juvenile delinquency. It is to close one's eyes to the stark realities of industrial societies at any rate, under the system of private enterprise. And a people can become unseeing only at its peril.

Intentions and the Law:—During the week, two surprising developments have taken place: First, the Bombay High Court in considering the appeal of the Government on the acquittal of a city Editor for publishing a feature, "Drink like a man", as an infringement of Prohibition laws, observed that it could not be the intention of the Bombay Government to prohibit articles against Prohibition. What the intentions of the Legislators were, we do not profess to know but the Law seems very specific on the point. Even more extraordinary was their Lordships' contention that the words complained of might even be taken to be in favour of Prohibition, being a positive appeal to men not to behave like beasts. The journal has shown such a capacity for ridiculing the ways of those who do not accept the way of living familiar to its editor—a frequent jibe is "vegetarian editors" referring to the less inebriated in the profession—that the very idea of its being pro-Prohibition is laughable. Anyway, the Bombay High Court's excursion into the intentions of people is rather surprising and unusual for a court. The other instance is from the Constituent Assembly where Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari told those who objected to the Union President being given too much powers for an emergency that the Drafting Committee had not envisaged a condition in which the President would act apart from his Central Cabinet and without their guidance. What was envisaged by the Drafting Committee, we are afraid, will, when the time comes, like the "flowers that bloom in the spring tra-la", have nothing to do with the case.

R.S.S. Manoeuvres:—Mr. Golwalkar and his R.S.S. friends have commenced their "cultural activities" with a vengeance. Speaking at Nagpur, the R.S.S. Chief remarked categorically that no undertaking had been given by him to the Government of India. This might be put down by the charitable and over-tolerant to Mr. Golwalkar's necessity of riding the tiger—his followers. But it creates a difficult situation for the friends of Mr. Golwalkar who worked so hard to pull his chestnuts out of the fire for him. We take it that there has been no complicity between them. Taking advantage of the release, the R.S.S. is slowly seeping into the public imagination. From starting trouble in Kashmir and Jammu to spreading the report that the Union Food Commissioner had sought the co-operation of the R.S.S. for solving the food problem, the R.S.S. has been keeping itself before the public eye and that too with the deliberate assertion that nothing had happened to change its policy and its programme. Mr. Golwalkar has said that he proposes to discuss with Bombay's Home Minister the arrests of the R.S.S. volunteers in Bombay. There is really nothing to be discussed as these detentions are for breaking the law.

Mahasabha's Hopes:—Mr. Ashutosh Lahiri, General Secretary of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, has told the world that the final conflict is between Communists and the Hindu Mahasabha, the only two parties, in his opinion, having a clear-cut programme and definite views. He dismissed the Socialists as a group concentrating on urban areas when the bulk of the country is agricultural, and he did not expect much from the Congress. It is natural that Mr. Lahiri should hold forth a bright future for his party; otherwise, he would obviously have left it long ago. The conclusion at which he arrives is that the Communists will not secure a footing on Indian soil and will be thrown out. The hopes of Mr. Lahiri would not interest the public but for the fact that they will be worked up to by the Mahasabha. How this is proposed to be done is an intriguing question but there seems little chance of an answer. Mr. Lahiri is emphatic that there is little difference between the Congress and the Socialists. Let us hope the frequent reiteration of this view will really bring the two together. If this happens in the near future, it will be possible to avert the communal threat with less effort than, if the nationalist parties are left to engage in an idle controversy whilst communal prejudice once again raises its head.

Left Consolidation:—Mr. Jaya Prakash Narain, leader of the Socialist Party, on his election campaign visit to Calcutta, referred to the chances of a consolidation of the Leftists. Arguing logically, Mr. Jaya Prakash pointed out that Leftists who wanted to work with the Socialists, were welcome to join the party. It should not be forgotten that the Socialists had the opportunity to form a coalition with the Congress and turned it down. If rumour is correct, Mr. Jaya Prakash might to-day have been in charge of the important key-portfolio of Food and his followers could have built up contacts with the people which would have been of lasting benefit. The opportunity was turned down, presumably because Mr. Jaya Prakash is sufficiently wide awake to see the defects of coalitions. Moreover, Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose does not impress even the desperate as the man with whom it is wise to go tiger-hunting. And the Socialists are to-day far from desperate, fancying as they do the role of the second party.

The Sterling-Dollar Release:—In spite of the statement of Dr. John Mathai, India's Finance Minister, and the various comments on the India-U.K. agreement, there is a certain lack of clarity in the whole position. In the first place, the earlier agreement excluded India from the advantages of convertability which was extended to all other units of the Commonwealth but then India was allowed to have exclusive use of the dollars she earned by her own efforts. Now the discrimination is removed and India has to pass the extra dollars earned by her exports to the Central Reserve. In practice, this might not mean anything because India has suffered from too much imports and too little exports and it will need a lot of effort to pull out of this situation. But on the other hand the situation might change altogether with the intensive propaganda for Indian arts and crafts that is on. Secondly, the Indian access to dollars was made out at 60 million dollars and the area was defined as the U.S.A., Canada, South America and the hard currency areas of Europe. Now these areas are excluded and the limit has been modified. These are the two aspects that have not been commented on, and need serious attention. The third is the paradoxical assertion that though we have agreed to cut 25 per cent of dollar imports, we have access to more dollars.

THE INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, August 6 1949.

EMERGENCY PROVISION

The question of second chambers is agitating political opinion in the country. The Constituent Assembly has made a distinction between Second Chambers in the units and the Upper House in the Central Legislature. Dr. Ambedkar referred to the difference and said that greater powers had to be reserved for the Central Upper House because the Constitution was federal in character. This explains why the Upper House at Delhi should have effective powers but it does not dispose of the claims of the units which feel that they should have an Upper House. There is something to be said for an effective Upper House; there is something to be said for not having it at all. But there is little purpose in an Upper House which cannot act as a useful restraint on the Lower House. In all countries, the Upper House is a select legislative body where persons who are necessary for the stable government of the State but who cannot expect to win popular favour, are to consider matters of public interest. Usually it is—there is no need to disguise the fact—born of a distrust of undiluted democracy. No one will contend that there is no need for such an institution in the India of to-day. As a matter of fact, the principle might be said to have been accepted by the Constituent Assembly. In the circumstances, it is desirable that there should have been greater importance given to provincial Second Chambers. The "*Hindu*" of Madras in an editorial refers pointedly to the rashness with which provinces have plunged into legislation in the Lower House and expedited procedure to the point of defeating the object of three readings. It might be pointed out that a Second Chamber need not necessarily be so placed as to avert thoughtless legislation. But more to the point is the extraordinary powers reserved to the Union President to declare a state of emergency in any unit. The necessity for this is not denied. But, since rule by the ordinary process of law is always better, safer and wiser than rule by emergency, it would have been well if every care had been taken to save a province from all danger of being rushed into an emergency. There has been experience enough to warrant caution. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's recent appeal to the provinces to go slow with their reform schemes has had to be virtually turned down because it comes too late after plans have been implemented to the point of finality. An effective Second Chamber would have interposed a weighty body of opinion which would either have restrained the Ministry or made an appeal from the Centre difficult. The State Upper House is shorn of all authority now. It has power to hold up a bill adopted by the Lower House only for three months; and it can be established or abolished by a mere two-thirds vote of the Lower House. Considering that we are passing through a long transition era, these conditions are to be deplored.

The extensive powers for the Union President will be accepted as necessary and fitting. A proposal to oblige the President to consult his Cabinet before declaring an emergency was turned down on grounds which, if seriously meant, will involve the set-up in considerable embarrassment. The Central Cabinet might not like to assume the responsibility for a proclamation; on the other hand, it might be drawn into pressing for an emergency for political reasons and it would be impossible for the Union President to resist this pressure. The President, it is assumed, is above parties and he can be depended on to take a larger view of the situation than a party government. Instead of placing the argument on this ground, Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari pleaded that the Drafting Committee envisaged consultation between the President and the Cabinet. This is almost ridiculous suggestion because in the first place what the Drafting Committee thinks is not law and secondly there is no point in refusing to incorporate in the Constitution what is in the minds of the law-framers. Mr. Krishnamachari has now implicated the Cabinet without acceding to representations to this effect in the Assembly, and one fails to see what has been gained by this. It is definitely wrong for a party government to be entangled in emergency declarations in a unit of the Union. It might either act too soon or delay too long.

SALT

Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President of the Constituent Assembly, was guilty of an extraordinary outburst on Friday when he sought to retain in the Draft Constitution a ban against any tax on Salt. The drafting committee has recommended the removal of this article and the very idea stirred Dr. Rajendra Prasad to his very depths. He seemed to feel that the clause was a text of devotion to Gandhiji and he was not prepared to give in. The later consideration of the article was finally agreed to. This is one of the most ridiculous positions into which loyalty to a leader can place even a man of known common sense. Dr. Rajendra Prasad has once before declared that he would rather trust the lead of Gandhiji than the promptings of his own reason and acting on that basis had landed the country into the mess of decontrol. The later efforts to return to the earlier control policy would have been less strenuous had Dr. Prasad kept a better grip of his emotions. But this present lapse into hysterical insistence of the no-Salt Tax stand is an astounding revelation. The removal of the Salt Tax has produced more trouble than benefit, and any sane man would not persist in a policy which has proved utterly useless. Yet we are to stick to it because Gandhiji was very firm in advocating this. Dr. Rajendra Prasad evidently thinks that if it is reimposed there is going to be a whirlwind campaign against the Government. Strange that the Congress veteran should slip into these delusions. We sincerely hope that in the time for thought that still remains, Dr. Prasad will allow reason to triumph over his emotion.

United Front in Industry:—The decision arrived at by the Indian National Trade Union Congress and the Hind Mazdoor Sabha to work together in the Labour field is a far-reaching one. The first has its roots in the Congress; the second in the Socialist Party. Mr. Asoka Mehta has declared that the decision was influenced by the economic crisis and the need for closing the ranks of the trade unions. It is true that he has thought it necessary to add strong condemnation of the Congress for its methods of tackling the economic problem but this might be regarded charitably as a peace offering to his more turbulent followers. It would be a tragedy if the two parties tried to exploit the undertsanding to further their own ends and to down the other. They are trying

OPPOSITION AND COUNTER-REVOLUTION?

Between the extravagance of Government members like Mr. Morarji Desai, Bombay's Home Minister, who coins a new phrase, "criminal liberties", to suggest lawlessness and the disruptive mind, and the follies of champions of individual liberty, one is left bewildered. It is difficult to question the need for strong action by the Government in emergencies. On the other hand, it is indiscreet to concede the necessity for firm government lest the admission is misused for enforcing all kinds of fancies. No one wishes to say this because it would be unpopular in the existing circumstances, but the Congress during the Gandhian decades accumulated a number of oddities which it was expected would be shed once it got into power. (As a matter of fact, it was not expected to get into power quite so soon.) On some matters these expectations have been fulfilled. Khaddar, for instance, is not insisted on for men who aspire to power and position in the State though it is necessary for being somebody in the Congress. Even here, the insistence on spinning has slowly slid into the background. Anyway, the performance of weeding out ideas of the opposition day has not been as full as the expectation of those radically opposed to the Congress outlook. People who had hoped for the sobering influence of responsibility and a mellowing of the Congress, once it assumed office, are disappointed and disillusioned—and this is not a matter of mere sentiment which other considerations of personal advantage might overrule, but a hard reality that touches them at every point. And the embarrassment is not rendered less by the periodic reports indicating a mood of indecision in the Congress ranks itself. But for the fact that there is no armed attempt to capture power and an eagerness to persuade the Congress leaders rather than to oust them, it might be said that here we have a counter-revolution in the making. Men like Sarat Chandra Bose and Jaya Prakash Narain are wasting their breath talking of an opposition when they have all the raw material of a revolt and are shutting their eyes to it. By elections, there is not likely to be a change of governments for some years to come. It is not the first time, however, that Indians are erring through taking Democracy for granted. On the other hand, a counter-revolution will achieve little, apart from removing the present leadership, that can now be anticipated; and much that might well be feared. The fear of the Communist in the wings is, for Sarat Bose and Jaya Prakash, the beginning of political commonsense—we almost said wisdom.

There can be no getting away from the fact that between the men in power and their vocal opponents lie not mere political differences but a way of life. The men in office are Indian in the sense in which nationalism the world over manifests itself in the middle class. Even when they have been abroad and acquired foreign ways and broader horizons, they have deliberately turned their backs upon them, disdaining the "fleshpots of Egypt". Something of the gulf that separates the Gandhian Congressman from other members of the species, Political Man, can be sensed from the irritation that Gandhiji and his ways caused to men like Setalvad and Cowasji Jehangir who have not had the opportunity that Jinnah had to carve out a separate exclusive world and resist the influence. To these people who to-day are leaderless and almost characterless, the Nationalism that has been reared on Gandhian principles—with its additional angularity of postulating a life midway between the city-dweller and the villager—is something which creates a feeling of oppression, more stifling than any political persecution could be. It is not a question of sincerity so much as a matter of mutual distrust of the sincere intentions of each other in the two groups and a painful disappointment on the part of those who detest the ways of Congressmen, at their discovery that the Congress leadership is seriously determined to have its programme implemented. It is no use telling these people that the Congress was known to have Prohibition on its plank when it was elected to office; nor even that the first Ministry had made tentative moves in this direction. They had expected that once full freedom was won, all these angularities would have been worn off and a plain normal "bourgeois" political party would come into being on the basis of a remodelled Congress. What is more, they had expected that, as the most steeped in the British system—the clothing in the superficialities of Western life is often taken by this section to be culture and civilization—they could consider themselves the rightful heirs of the British whose advice and assistance would be indispensible. We are not ignoring the fact that some adjustment has been made and many of the top men of the preceding regime have been able to save both their reputation and their place. Both ideologically and practically, these adjustments are due to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's influence with and understanding of both groups. But the adjusted do not welcome these controversies which tend to split their personalities.

The fact of the matter is that there is a social conflict which takes precedence over political differences. The vocal opposition, to which we refer earlier, has a great following in the urban and industrial areas. Sardar Vallabhai Patel, in the years of Congress opposition, had several hard things to say about people in cities; and even Gandhiji declared a repeated preference for the villager and the simple rustic. In other words, the attitude of Congress in power is one which favours reducing the difference between the classes in India; whilst the non-Congress opponents are somewhat disposed to concentrate on that section of the community which supplies foreign tourists for other lands, the "cosmopolitan" crowd. The first has to draw upon Indian history and tradition for much of its propaganda; the second is mostly innocent of all this. It would be extremely surprising if the latter derived any hope from a substitution of Sarat Bose and his following for the men who now hold office. And it requires no great political genius to discern the strong antipathy of this section to the Socialists and to anything that smacks of Labour sympathy. Naturally frustration is the result of all this and the aim is to induce the Congress itself to change rather than to aid an opposition to come into power. Therefore, the main interest is in drumming in the view in season and out of season that public opinion has left the Congress, magnifying public grievances and generally attacking the mental outlook of the Congress. It must be conceded that the Congress in office too has not done all it could to lessen its difficulties.

RECIPROCAL SIMULTANEOUS DISARMAMENT?

Certain State Department functionaries and some Members of Congress have been giving respectful consideration to a plan for disarmament urged by Frederic C. Smedley, Waterbury, Connecticut, attorney, which is designed to break through the present disarmament deadlock and produce a rallying point for peace-minded groups in many countries.

Smedley proposes a Congressional Resolution as follows:

Resolved, etc., That the President is authorized and asked to request the United Nations, in a manner approximating the procedure so successfully used by the International Labour Organization in procuring agreement among many compet-

ing nations on labour matters, to call an international conference for the purpose of preparing a draft convention enacting complete national disarmament together with all necessary international controls to insure its rigid enforcement against all individuals who may attempt to violate it, such convention to be submitted to all national legislatures for immediate passage, but not to become operative until and unless it is universally adopted and coming into effect simultaneously in all nations and all territories, territorial waters, ships and airplanes under their jurisdiction.

In this necessarily stilted language is a three-fold idea: any single-nation disarmament on a voluntary basis is impossible of achievement at present; the proposed move would start the entire U.N. facing up to the disarmament question; it would electrify the world and reach into the popular mind, eventually, even in countries under dictatorship.

It could be argued that the idea would fail because through its provisions no substantial disarmament could be expected until the most reluctant power in the world agreed to it. Against this argument, the measure's friends contend that a bold move is necessary at once to start discussion on a world scale: that the United Nations is the proper body to initiate the plan, once it has been asked to do so by the strongest power on earth; and that temporary failure would put on the spot any recalcitrant U.N. member state and show unmistakably which country is holding up disarmament.

MEXICO'S PAST RECAPTURED

ART AND LIFE IN ANCIENT MEXICO by C. A. BURLAND (Published by BRUNO CASSIRER-OXFORD; distributed by FABER & FABER; Price 16 sh.)

Once one has mastered the initial shock administered by the bright orange cover and the shiningness of the paper, particularly displeasing to read from in electric light, Mr. Burland's book is all absorbing. He is obviously a scholar—painstaking and meticulous—but he is also an artist who treats his subject with insight and imagination. His reconstruction of life in Ancient Mexico, therefore, reads like a story—strange and weird in parts and quaintly familiar in others. There were capricious demons then, wild-eyed and maniacal priests, warriors brave and barbarous in their brutality and crafty chieftains well-versed in the tricks of diplomacy and propaganda. There was all the horror of blood sacrifice and the inevitable lunacy accompanying contradictory and badly co-ordinated beliefs. But life was not entirely grim and ugly. Its uncertainties may have made people resort to solicit frequent advice from priests and fortune-tellers and thus enmeshed them in a system run for the benefit of medicine-men, but there was joy derived from the customary cheer of village life. Mr. Burland acknowledges this sympathetically and he pays eloquent tribute to the feeling of solidarity within the tribe. "These barbarous Indians did not often think of 'I'; but 'We' became the centre of their ambition. It was thus that they were able to do great things with poor tools." Some of the customs he recounts, are delightful to note. For example, the love of flowers prevailing among the Aztecs. "In almost every ceremony flowers were used. It was a sign of good breeding in a man that he carried a bunch of flowers and occasionally smelt the side of it. Never the centre—that was reserved for the gods, and who knew what great spirit might be among the bees and butterflies that thronged around?" Here is another: There was not a man or woman in the Mexican village of old who was not skilled in some handicraft. The workshops were in the homes of the people, but, in bigger undertakings that required organization such as the building of a temple, the whole people of the district participated by carrying mortar and stones, by burning lime and by performing "ceremonies and dances which they regarded as necessary for the success of the enterprise." But of course the skilled work of carving and cutting was done by the tribal specialists "who were accorded, not extra wealth, but honour." The status of the artist in Ancient Mexico, Mr. Burland describes with quiet enthusiasm; "The Indian artist was not working for the equivalent of money. He was using his skill, probably a family skill taught by father to son, for the good of his people, and the better his work the more would be thought of him. Greatly was such an artist honoured in that simple society. The harder and the more painful his work the more the gods would be moved to compassion for their suffering devotee and the more earthly prosperity they would shower upon his community." There is a faint nostalgia creeping into this passage natural in one who is living in a commercialized age. Mr. Burland's admiration of the artistic achievements of the ancient Mexicans is great; happily the numerous illustrations included in the book give the reader an opportunity to share his appreciation. Nevertheless he is too much of a scholar not to take note of the irrationality of its symbolism which he ascribes to "the contradictory and insufficiently co-ordinated beliefs" of the people. In his summing up he admits that it is but natural for the modern observer of ancient Mexican art to feel "an intense admiration for its style and form as well as a quite indefinable but clear sense of repulsion." And he observes that the "beauty of the Aztec domestic pottery and the amazing fine quality of their sculpture when not overlaid with symbols reveal a free spirit and an appreciation of the artistic necessities of their material which leads one to understand something of the true greatness of spirit of this last of the Nahua-speaking tribes to become civilized." Here is stated an implicit truth. Art like thought cannot be limited by custom or tradition but needs must transcend both to become truly great. The individual may not be able to live in isolation from the main thought stream of the community. Yet no society can attain maturity when it seeks to absorb him completely and inexorably.

RADHAKRISHNAN'S "Mahatma Gandhi"

Mahatma Gandhi,—Essays and Reflections on his Life and Work.—Edited by S. Radhakrishnan (Allen and Unwin, London; 15s.)

In his forward, Dr. Radhakrishnan tells the reader that this birthday gift to Gandhiji on his 70th birthday was to have been presented, revised, on his 80th. But it has now had to appear as a memorial edition. Considering that there were ten years for the revision—the original book in itself was a remarkable collection—one feels that a better volume could easily have been put out. Three letters to the Editor have been included in the later edition as well and there is no purpose in any of them: Why should Lord Halifax's pressure of work be immortalised in a Gandhi Memorial Volume or Mr. Arthur Compton's desire to have his high appreciation of Gandhiji conveyed to him? And Lord Halifax has corrected his time lapse by contributing to the new Memorial Section. There are other evidences too of the book having been got together as a spare-time business. In none of the added articles is there anything which says "This must go into a Gandhi Memorial", on the contrary much provokes the feeling that it is unnecessary. There are two things, however, that strike the reviewer—wholly irrelevant no doubt but still: The first edition marked as it were Radhakrishnan's stepping

forward into public life, half-intruder, half-welcome and wholly at home. Secondly, Radhakrishnan, so unlike C. F. Andrews, has one common point: Both came to the Mahatma via Rabindranath Tagore, Dr. Radhakrishnan's earliest book being an appraisal of the Poet.

THOUGHT AND REASON

THE RIGHT WAY TO EFFICIENT THINKING, REASONING AND CONVERSATION

By T. A. Ryder, B.Sc. (Hons.) Ph.D., F.G.S. Published by Right Way Book Co., Glade House, Kingswood, Surrey. Pages 189. Price 5s.

Any number of best-sellers are coming out of the printing presses these days, aiming at making a super salesman out of you, a millionaire from nothing and to clothe you with a dashing personality—all in twelve chapters; in short to make a man out of the proverbial mouse. Dr. Ryder's book resembles in appearance and title these efforts at the mass production of synthetic charm, efficiency, and success. But it is refreshingly free from the psychological clap-trap which is the foundation of "winning personality" books. It gives in simple language an analysis of the common thought process in the individual mind. Much of this is taken for granted and much confused thinking results from that attempt. Dr. Ryder might seem at times to be straining at the obvious. But it is an obvious fact that needs tracing. Attractively presented "The Right Way" will draw its reader first into detecting the unreasonableness of other people's theses and, in time, to turn the searchlight inward. Inspite of the rather pretentious title this book ought to have an educational value.

CHASE FARM

I have often been asked how my interest in Nature Study was first aroused, and how it is that country life and lore are still so dear to me although I have been a suburbanite for so many years! To answer this question, I shall have to go back many a long year to my early childhood, the memory of which is still very vivid and clear. I was born on a farm in the South of England thirteen miles from the nearest town, and two miles from our nearest neighbour. Our farm was at the top of a very steep hill, which, in bad weather, proved a severe obstacle to would-be visitors—for it must be remembered that the days of cars had not yet arrived, and such a journey by pony and trap was something of an ordeal! It was a real paradise, that early home of mine. The country sloped away towards the South, and on clear days we could look over the fields and woods and see the sun gleaming on the English Channel some twenty miles away "as the crow flies". My life was bounded by the limits of the farm, and I was free to roam at will all over the countryside. My interests were country interests—in the Spring there were the baby lambs and those orphaned at birth, by some mischance, automatically became the property of "Miss Doris", to be brought indoors and wrapped in blankets before the fire, and fed with warm milk in a feeding bottle, an easy job at first, when they had initially learnt to appreciate this artificial diet, but as they grew bigger and stronger, I had many a toss as they rushed up for their feed! Dogs and cats, of course, abounded on the farm; outside there were the dairy cats and the stable cats, with devils which were little removed from their wild ancestors, but which are essential in farm buildings to keep down the rats and mice. Indoors there were always three or four pet cats sitting before the fire. Then there were the dogs. There was Bob, the sheep dog, with more sense in his wise old head than many a human! His end was unfortunate—in a violent summer thunderstorm he was struck by lightning which paralysed his hind legs and he had to be shot. Tragedies such as this certainly taught a child the useful lesson of bearing losses stoically. Then there were Jack, the retriever, Denny, the spaniel, and always two or three terriers about the place. Besides these, I had my pet rabbits and guinea pigs, which reproduced at such a rate that we were forever giving some away to cousins and friends! One particular rabbit, a lovely white, long-furred, pink-eyed Angora, given to me as a birthday present, met with an untimely end through the "sporting" tendencies of one of the terriers, (Nipper, I think it was) which made me lose faith in the efficacy of prayer for many a long year, for while I was praying fervently, as perhaps only a child can pray, that the rabbit should be brought back to life like Jairus's Daughter, it was quietly smuggled away and buried. So much for the efficacy of prayer!

The farmyard was always a joy. On one side were the stables where the cart-horses slept at night. Colonel and Captain (cart-horses always seem to be given martial names) and two or three others were lovely animals, well-groomed and gleaming of coat—and how they worked, drawing plough or harrow, wagon or dog-cart from morning till night, and doing all the work that a tractor does now on a farm. Though everyone realises how much more modern and efficient a tractor is, I think every farmer, and certainly every old-fashioned farm labourer, mourned the passing of the cart-horse. In the evening, after the day's work, when all the heavy harness had been removed, and their coats had been curry-combed till they shone, the horses were led out to drink and then, strange as it may seem, the stable cats which had been so wild at the approach of humans, seemed to welcome their stable companions and would rub round their huge, shaggy legs and even curl up on their backs as they stood munching their corn in their stalls.

The second side of the yard was bounded by cowsheds, and morning and evening the cows would amble in from the fields, each going instinctively to its own stall to be tied up and milked. Our cows had such names as Strawberry, Primrose, Bluebell or Daisy, though how ingenuity ever produced names for the fifty or sixty cows we always kept I cannot imagine! Sometimes, as a great treat, I was allowed to "help" to milk the cows, but looking back, I feel rather doubtful about the quality of the help I gave. Next to the cowsheds there was a stall which I always passed very quietly on tiptoe and with trembling knees, for inside lived the bull—a fierce creature with vicious eyes, pointed horns and a ring in its nose. Poor thing, it was never allowed out except at certain occasions, and then I was discreetly taken for a walk at the other end of the farm!

Then there were the pigs. They were not favourites of mine, they were smelly and dirty and on one occasion they made a meal of my new rag doll stuffed with bran, which I had thoughtlessly left out in the yard. I retaliated by pouring the contents of a full tin of Brasso into their feeding trough. It was well worth the punishment that followed.

Last of all there were the riding and driving horses. Flirt, equally good to ride to hounds and to drive to market, was a beautiful animal, dark brown, with a white star on her forehead and three white feet, and a long flowing tail. We always wondered how her coat was so shiny until one day we discovered that a hen laid its egg daily in her manger, and she ate it up directly the hen flew off, cackling on her achievement. My pony was "Sandy", a dumpy little thing bought from the gypsies. Sandy followed me like a shadow everywhere I went and she had one great trick learnt from her former owners which she liked to show off—she could drink beer from a glass (and she enjoyed it!) The disadvantage about Sandy

was that she was too well fed and had too little work, with the result that her back was almost too broad for my small legs to straddle!

The gardens were a joy. In the flower garden I knew every flower which had lots of honey to suck. There was an enormous wistaria on the back verandah, and roses, red and yellow, climbed over the front porch. I don't think I shall ever smell a Gloire de Dijon without recalling the summer days of my childhood. The huge lawn was beautifully kept and was used for tennis or croquet in the summer. At one end, the garden merged into shrubbery, with laurels, lilacs and orange buddleias overshadowed by the huge dark cedar tree on which my swing was hung. The "kitchen garden" was a large, walled enclosure with rows upon rows of potatoes, peas, beans, cabbages, cauliflowers and the like, and each plot was bordered with mint and thyme, sage and parsley. More popular with me were the nut bushes and cherry trees, strawberries and gooseberries, apples and pears, and I am afraid the birds and squirrels, though they did their share, were not the only ones responsible if the fruit and nuts disappared!

Going further afield, there was the park, with its hawthorns and crab apples, hollies and beeches, growing in the smooth, closely-grazed grass and beautifying it at different seasons of the year. And I must not forget the mistletoe, for Christmas would not have been Christmas without the holly and mistletoe and the Christmas tree and ivy all gathered within a few yards of the house. Those were the days when we expected and generally had a "white" Christmas with snow dazzling as far as the eye could see. Indoors, we sat before a roaring fire and ate bowls of ice-cream, made of snow mixed with sugar and cream and tinted with cochineal and it was better than all the ice cream that ever came out of a refrigerator!

Beyond the park were the cultivable fields, each with its name, "Cherry trees.", "Top Ground", "West Field" and the like. How lovely these fields were at all times of the year: In the winter, roughly turned and rich brown, with rooks and seagulls following the plough to pick out the insects brought to the surface as the soil was turned; in the Spring, tender green with the young wheat or oats; in the Summer, sweetly scented with their crops of pink or white clover or red sainfoin, all alive, with the hum of a million bees, or thickly covered with their crop of growing corn, interspersed with scarlet poppies and sky blue cornflowers; in the Autumn with the corn golden and waving and ready for the harvest.

All the farm activities were treats to an only child—the regular walks with my father as he planned the work for the following day, hay-making, harvesting, sheep shearing and sheep-dipping, (how the sheep resented these operations and how bare and unnatural they looked at the end!) All these were fun to the child, though they meant working overtime to the farmer and his men.

Almost surrounding the farm were woods, woods of hazel nuts whose bushes were used for hurdles and faggots. In the Springtime, when the leaves were just bursting, these woods were a dream with their carpets, first of primroses, anemones and dog violets and later of bluebells and purple orchises. In Autumn we used to go out gathering nuts for the Winter, and then we rustled through the fallen leaves, while those overhead were gold and russet and red We rarely visited the woods without meeting Old John, the woodman. He seemed to me as if he had always been old. His face was weather-beaten and wrinkled from constant exposure, his clothes the colour of his beloved wood; he could neither read nor write, but there was always a twinkle in his eye and some fine surprise for "Miss Doris". He, it was, who introduced me to the so-called "Bottomless Pond" fringed with bulrushes, at the end of an overgrown little path off Firtree Avenue. He, it was, who showed me where the wild daffadown-dillies grew in Spring. He, it was, who gave me hibernating dormice in Winter and birds with broken wings, and who showed me how to recognise the tracks of animals and birds in the snow. Dear old John—he never saw a car, never knew of cinemas or airoplanes, but he was happy as the day is long, and he was good through and through.

All the labourers were good to me. However hard they had to work—and the farm labourer does work hard even if he does look as if he never hurried—they always had time to talk to me and to answer my questions, to show me birds' nests, and to give me posies of wild flowers. My father once found me, at five years old, in Flirt's stable, smoking one of his pipes with the groom! Unfortunately, the lesson he hoped to teach me, by making me finish the pipe, failed in its purpose, for I was not sick as he expected! On another occasion, I found some lovely cherries lying in a tempting heap, and sat down for a mid-morning feast. When I was called in for lunch I found my legs strangely weak and ineffective, and I had a very acute sense of humour, for everything I saw made me want to laugh. This was not altogether surprising, for the cherries were the remains of a jar of cherry brandy, and were well pickled in best liquor brandy! The hens and pigs found them after that, and intoxicated hens and pigs are a much funnier and decidedly less revolting sight than intoxicated humans!

Those were heavenly years, but they came to an end when my Father died and we left the farm and all its happy freedom behind.

D.R.

TRADE UNIONISM IN AUSTRIA

BY FRITZ KLENNER

(Editor-in-chief of the official orgen of the Australian Fderation of Trade Unions.)

The trade union idea came to life among Austrian workers more than 100 years ago when mechanics in various trades—the printers first of all—began to form trade associations. Because the laws of the period did not permit the organization of trade unions in the modern sense, these associations took other forms. But in 1870, when the parliament which existed under the Austro-Hungarian monarchy passed the so-called Coalition Act, the way was open for organization of genuine free trade unions which could represent their members on all matters affecting working conditions. They fought for higher wages, were able to pay benefits to strikers and blacklisted union members and, somewhat later, to press successfully for social legislation.

In 1892, the Austrian trade unions joined in the Trade Union Commission which called its first convention in Vienna in 1893.

Until the beginning of the First World War in 1914, the Austrian trade unions showed a steady growth. Immediately after the war, the development went ahead at an accelerated tempo. At their peak in 1921, the unions had a membership of 1,080,000. But after that, a decline set in and in 1921, the membership was only 583,000. In 1934, free trade unions were dissolved altogether and were replaced by a so-called "Unified Trade Union" which existed until 1938 when Hitler marched into Austria.

When Austria was liberated by the Allied armies in April, 1945, the leaders of the old free trade unions who had survived the Schuschnigg and Hitler regimes met on April 30, 1948, to found the Austrian Federation of Trade Unions.

A broad, democratic basis underlay the work of

the Federation from the beginning. Membership is voluntary and every Austrian wage-earner may join. It is made up of 16 industrial unions in a highly centralized structure, within which the Federation holds the chief financial and organizational authority for its member unions. This means that unions which are weak either in members or funds have aid from the bigger organizations.

An indication of the strength and growth of the Austrian unions is given by the following membership figures: 1945—298,000; 1946—925,0000; 1947—1,238,000; 1948—1,278,000. The present membership represents 66.4 per cent of all wage and salaried workers.

More than a quarter of the members are women, whose special interests are cared for by a Women's Department.

Up to 1934, wages and working conditions, in so far as they were not regulated by law, were determined by collective bargaining which was conducted both with single firms and on an industry-wide basis. Since 1945, however, the Federation has endeavoured to fix wages and conditions exclusively though industry-wide agreements, in which the Federation represents the workers and deals with the employers' associations. This means that while only 155 collective agreements have been signed, they nevertheless cover the entire union membership.

Wages and conditions for the large proportion of the membership which is in government employ or working for national industries—civil service employees, employees of county and city governments, railroad personnel and post-office employees—are regulated by law and are subject to control by parliament.

Up to the present time, union representatives in drawing up contracts have shown a great deal of understanding for Austria's very difficult economic situation. The war left Austria with a tremendous job of reconstruction before it and with many of its factories and resources destroyed. So far, it has been possible to work out problems without resorting to any major strikes. This understanding for the necessities of a difficult situation which has been demonstrated over and over again is clear proof of the maturity and sense of responsibility of the workers.

Austrian workers believe—and rightly so—that their system of social legislation is among the foremost in the world. Most of labour's demands have been incorporated in national law. These include the 8-hour day paid vacations for both manual and office workers which amount to at least 12 workdays per year and go up to 24 work-days for people with 15 years of employment, and 30 work-days after 25 years of employment (the latter for salaried employees only); maternity protection and child labour laws covering all workers under 18 years of age; and 10 paid holidays a year.

A new law on hours is now under consideration in parliament which would provide for a maximum work-week of 48 hours for men and 44 for most women. In addition, the law would grant one free day a month to all women with household responsibilities to give them time for such domestic tasks as laundry and shopping.

Health insurance for all manual and office workers is compulsory in Austria. The insurance is handled by regional funds for all privately employed workers and by special funds in the public enterprises. Premiums are paid partly by employers and partly by workers. These premiums are paid by a withholding tax on wages.

Representatives of workers, employers and government form tripartite boards which govern the various social insurance funds.

Workers' rights are further protected through the Chambers of Labour, which are semi-official state institutions, and Labour Courts with jurisdiction in conflicts arising out of labour-management disputes.

An unemployment act regulates unemployment compensation.

After the Second World War, it would have been very easy to place upon the workers the burden of economic reconstruction, but the unions saw their chief function to be that of protecting the worker as much as possible by spreading the burden over the whole population. After a reasonable standard of living was secured for the workers— measured in terms of the limited possibilities in the situation—the unions showed great insight into the difficulties presented by a heavily damaged economy. While, on the one hand, the unions succeeded in avoiding strikes which might have crippled production, on the other, they worked hard at increasing man-hour productivity. It was possible to do this because they gave their members the plain facts about Austria's economic capacity. This extensive educational programme in the unions helped to raise the level of production from a very low point immediately after the war to a figure very near the pre-war level.

All this would not have been possible without generous UNRRA aid and, from 1948 on, the European Recovery Plan. It was the delivery of adequate amounts of food-stuffs, raw materials and machines to Austria which provided the basis for the level of productivity which has now been achieved.

The Austrian unions have consistently advocated maintaining controls on rations and prices of food as well as raw materials until such a time as the national economy could guarantee an adequate supply of consumer goods at reasonable prices. The unions feel that a premature lifting of rationing and price control would inevitably lead to a lowering of the workers' standard of living, and thus jeopardize the largest group of consumers—the group most in need of financial protection.

In the parliamentary elections of 1945, the Communists were only able to get four seats out of 165. The Communist party, therefore, has practically no influence on legislation. The Austrian Federation of Trade Unions, which has no party affiliation has in its membership representatives of both major parties—the conservative Austrian Peoples' Party and the Socialist Party of Austria—as well as Communists and members without party affiliation. The Socialists make up more than two-thirds of the membership while the Communists comprise about 8 per cent and the rest is divided between adherents of the Austrian Peoples' Party and those without party affiliation.

Communist activity in the unions consists chiefly of creating difficulties for the two democratic parties in carrying out the tasks of reconstruction. A constant Communist tactic is to blame the "wrong policy" of the democratic majority for every economic difficulty that may come up. When friction arises in labour management relations; the Communists throw their weight on the side of a strike. They consistently refuse to co-operate in constructive measures, giving the excuse that "a capitalist economy has to be undermined." That the daily bread of the Austrian workers and their families depends on this self-same "capitalist economy" is none of the Communists' concern.

Communist opposition within the unions has proved almost entirely ineffectual, since they represent only a powerless minority. After their experience with Hitler, Austrian workers as a whole have only loathing for totalitarian mtehods.

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"*I will* be as harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard*".

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the LIBERATOR.

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NOTES

The Middle Class:—The famous reference by Defoe in his "Robinson Crusoe" to the middle class as the backbone of society has caught the imagination of succeeding generations. But Defoe's middle class was a very different species to that which we have known in India and which we are seeing to-day struggling against heavy odds. Defoe's middle class was a prospering burgher community, confident of its value to society and secure of the future. Marooned on a desert island, Robinson Crusoe found his man, Friday, without difficulty. And a whole history is unfolded in the relation that grew between the two. Indian middle classes are vastly different. Until very recently drawn for the most part from the limited field of government servants of the inferior grade, the middle class, as it is known in all but a few industrial centres, spent its days in an isolation from the rest of the population. The artificial distinction between education in the humanities and vocational education further served to drive home the distinction. There was yet further confusion wrought by socio-economic conditions by which the emphasis was placed on general education rather than technical training. The Sapru Report on Educated Unemployed in the U.P. drew pointed attention to the fact that men who had both a general education and a specialised vocational training, were again and again forced to fall back on their Arts degrees for employment. A colonial system which leaves no room for any but a retarded industrial development, brings on this state of affairs. Political agitators in all countries are drawn from the middle classes and, though the Governor-General asked the middle class public to discard its prejudices and prepare themselves to take up any work, it is doubtful whether employers would elect for middle class workers who will be more conscious of their rights and more inclined to protest against working conditions. Meanwhile, we are faced with the steady impoverishment of the middle classes who bear the major burden of taxation and who to-day are faced not with prospects of self-improvement but with the danger of seeing themselves dragged down to proletarian levels. As a matter of fact, men from the middle class generally suffer less from inhibitions regarding work than the working class men and women. In the recent sweepers' strike, Bombay saw the middle class sending out some volunteers but there were none from the workers. Mr. Rajagopalachari, under the guise of denouncing caste, actually underlines class distinctions. This is all the more significant because of the Congress prevailing tendency to talk of a classless society. A day later, Mr. Gulzarilal Nanda, Bombay's Labour Minister, was unconcernedly repeating the shibboleth about classless society. Rajaji was without any doubt regarding the value of the middle class, using Bombay's Premier, Mr. Kher, as an object lesson of the thrift and industry of this section of the community. But where will there be middle classes if there are to be no classes at all? Of course, a little thing like this will not trouble our leaders.

The National Language:—The lead given by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad regarding the adoption of the Nagri script for Hindustani and Pandit Govind Vallabh Pant's equally sensible suggestion that the time in which English should be replaced by Hindustani should be decided by the non-Hindustani speaking units of the Union have cleared the air of all controversy. It should not be difficult for the Constituent Assembly to arrive at a decision on this vexed subject and there will be little debate when the question is taken up. The suggestion that there should be two scripts was not a feasible one. It would have entailed considerable hardship on officials who would have required to be familiar with both scripts and the written language would in consequence have suffered. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad has shown considerable statesmanship in his approach to the language question and his lead will be useful in determining the attitude of Urdu enthusiasts who are not necessarily Muslim by religion. Pandit Pant's remarks on the transition period recognise that the burden of adjustment will fall on the non-Hindustani public and seek to lessen it appreciably. It will be reasonable if the period is fixed at fifteen years in order that the administration is not thrown out of gear. The Maulana and the Pandit were addressing the Congress Assembly party members. Subsequent developments show that the lead was lost on them as it will be in the larger Constituent Assembly itself. The party has decided to adopt Hindi, with some vague hints from members like Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru

that it should really be Hindustani; and there is an effort to force it earlier than the fifteen years sought by the non-Hindi speaking leaders. An acute controversy is now due on the relative positions of English and Hindi during the transition years. The Hindi section asks for a gradual replacement of the first by the second, whilst the rest desire things to be undisturbed.

Salt Tax Incident Closed:—Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru settled the salt controversy which had been stirred by Dr. Rajendra Prasad by giving a kind of assurance that neither his Government nor any Government which succeeded it would think of imposing the Salt Tax. With this declaration, the path was smoothed for removing the clause against imposition of this tax in the draft constitution. Dr. Prasad too was less impulsive, probably second thoughts having induced a balance in his outlook. The removal of the clause takes away a provision which would have exposed us to the ridicule of future generations and proved a stumbling-block at a later stage. Though the incident is closed, it has left a bad taste, and Dr. Prasad's invoking Gandhiji's name and service to secure a point of prejudice will take long to live down.

B.P.C.C. Reorganisation:—Sunday's newspapers carried the news that the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee was to be reorganised. All the members were to resign and there were to be fresh elections. There have been rumours floating for some time about the Committee's reorganisation at the instance of the Congress Working Committee. They have been contradicted. The President of the B.P.C.C., Mr. S. K. Patil, observed that the resignations were quite voluntary. This need not be doubted. The Congress has for some time been worried about the existing confusion in the Provinces, in several of which the Congress Ministry has met with bitter criticism from the Provincial Congress Committee. Bombay has generally been the most undisturbed but for the Maharashtrian agitation. But the Bombay Ministry has not had that support from the B.P.C.C. which it was entitled to expect. The present move is to be followed by consultations between the leading men in the re-elected B.P.C.C. and representatives of the Congress Ministry in the Province with a view to arrive at a full understanding. Once that is done, the task of explaining the Congress objectives to the public will be undertaken more enthusiastically and effectively. This is an urgent necessity in the face of the clamour for an opposition. It is essential that, before an opposition is formed, there should be a party devoted to the Congress cause and intent on popularising the measures of the Government. The new B.P.C.C. will be formed of men who can devote six hours a day to the party work and care will be taken to enforce party discipline. Men with a "bad record" will be dropped. Presumably "bad record" refers to party work in the past rather than the record of social and anti-social activities. One can be a good party member without being a good unit in society and vice versa. A section of the press has rushed prematurely to the conclusion that a change of heart is impending and the efficacy of the contemplated changes have been questioned. The announcement which came on the eve of the issue of a new party daily newspaper is significant. It suggests that the Congress will launch on a publicity campaign.

Professional Politicians:—The insistence on six hours party work in the day indicates that the Congress is taking to politics in a professional manner. It will only be possible to enforce the demand if Congress workers are paid for their service. There has been some payment in honoraria in the past but it is hardly adequate. The Congress will find itself obliged to take a leaf out of the hated Communist book and to impose stern discipline, rigorous training and close vigilance. How far this is feasible remains to be seen. For the important need of co-ordinating the Ministry and the Party, it will be necessary to have either Provincial Committee personalities of outstanding character on the Ministry or to include Ministers in the Provincial Committee. The first is hardly feasible since the Bombay Ministry has just been expanded to include two more, Dr. Jivraj Mehta and the ruler of Phaltan. It would be well, therefore, if the more prominent Ministers stood for election to the B.P.C.C. Three names stand out in this connection: Mr. B. G. Kher, the Premier, Dr. Jivraj Mehta, now Minister in charge of the P.W.D., and Dr. M. D. Gilder. Their presence on the B.P.C.C. will ensure stability and complete co-ordination. It will also secure that the burden of Congress work is evenly distributed instead of resting on one man as it has so far. Whilst men like Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya are talking vaguely of moral improvement of the Congress, practical realists are busy rebuilding the organisation into a fighting machine. The growth of outside opposition is an ostensible reason but equally important is the struggle for power within the Congress. This kind of political manoeuvre has happened in other countries and the outcome has been a warning which is rarely heeded. It is something which neither adds to the integrity of political life nor to the status of the nation, but it is an inevitable concomitant of democratic politics in an undemocratic society.

States Finances:—The report of the Krishnamachari Committee on the integration of States' finances with the finances of the Union is a four volume document, dealing exhaustively with the subject. It recommends early integration, fixing April 1950 as the date, and suggests a system of adjustment well calculated to distribute the burden. The report has been well received by the press and it is generally recognized that the proposals are equitable. The main points of the Report are a rejection of the claim to compensation by merging States and the Units into which they have merged, allocation of provincial and central interests, and adjustment of the burden of taxation on the people of the States who are suddenly brought under a heavier tax system. The Privy Purses of rulers presented a difficult problem but the Committee has tackled it by suggesting an easing of the burden on the Centre if Privy Purses are charged to Federal Finances. The Committee is also particular in separating the Privy Purse from charges for the maintenance of the family and relatives of the rulers, which, it maintains, rightly belongs to the units. Proposals have also been put forward for integrating Defence expenditure which will have inevitable consequences on administrative integration as well. Irregular forces, maintained in several States, are not taken into account but no room is left for any impression that they will be continued after integration is completed. Dismissing the idea of gradual financial integration as impracticable, the Committee rightly advise abolition of inland customs duties and imposition of Income Tax, administered by officers of the Central Government as early as possible.

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RAJAJI ON EDUCATION

Mr. C. R. Rajagopalachari's views on education are delightfully confused. On primary education he is positively facetious. Speaking at the opening ceremony of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan's new building he observed that attendance at primary schools could be confined to three days in the week. On the other four days, children, he thought, could be left to work with their parents, for despite compulsory primary education they will continue to adopt the traditional occupations of their parents. And, added he, "we find that the teacher of weaving in a Government school knows less about weaving than the pupil's father." That Rajaji's extraordinary suggestion is the result of economic considerations is more than obvious. He himself declared that his scheme would double the capacity of schools and would lessen the financial problems involved in introducing compulsory primary education all over the country. True, he also thought that it would reduce the strain on the children; but as Rajaji is not a professional teacher he is not competent to decide on this. As regards his belief that children would adopt the occupations of their fathers, one would have respected the opinion more if he had stated frankly that they would have no option to do otherwise, since free education is to be limited to the primary stage within the next decade or two at any rate. There is more than something ignoble in making a virtue out of necessity; and the uncharitable critic will be tempted to see ancient prejudices at work. But this is not so. Rajaji has obviously not seen the full implications of his remark. In a subsequent interview, he breezily stated that he was not concerned with urban areas but with the rural community, whom he wanted to see enlightened. This unconcern with a section of the population—a growing one at that as India aims at developing her industries—is ludicrous. The State, presumably, does not intend to have one educational system for the cities and another for the rural areas. If it does, it would certainly cut at the root of all industrial progress, since increased industrial labour must be recruited from among the surplus population of the rural areas, and since national interests require an easing of the population dependant on the land. That being the case it is pertinent to note the effects of Rajaji's suggestion on city homes. Are children expected to work four days in the week with their parents in mills and factories—in surroundings that are not ideally hygienic? Or are the parents, both of whom are probably working, to give up their work for four days of the week to endeavour to widen his mental horizon, to tion'? Rajaji might be surprised to hear that, during the holidays, children even of the middle classes are thrown on their own resources for finding an occupation with which to while away their time. But other Indians know this to be true. In any case whether Rajaji's scheme is applied to rural areas only or to cities as well, one might well ask him what primary education is intended to do. Is it merely to provide the child with an occupational skill or is it at least to endeavour to widen his mental horizon, to help him live as fully as possible in a modern community? If the latter be the aim, are the majority of Indian parents whose children will attend free primary schools, really qualified to teach them for four whole days of the week—whilst working? It seems futile to ignore the prevailing percentage of illiteracy in the country. Nor does it serve any purpose to be unduly optimistic about the future achievements of the existing social education schemes. Immediately they can at the most hope to make people literate, to give them a smattering of rudimentary knowledge. Under Rajaji's brilliant scheme the exceptional may well discover like the exiled Prince "tongues in trees, books in running brooks" but the average village lad, one fears, will be ill equipped even to farm intelligently in the modern way. However, there is another basic problem—that of the hapless teacher. Will the young child of seven settle down easily to the atmosphere of even the most congenial classroom after a recurring break of four days? Perhaps with small classes of ten or even fifteen. But if the country cannot afford to have a five or five-and-a-half-day week's schooling for its children it is doubtful whether it can indulge in having small classes.

As one proceeds to scrutinise more closely Mr. Rajagopalachari's enunciations on education one is well nigh driven to despair. Learning, it seems, was never so despised in India as it is now. And the tragedy is that a man who extols Indian culture should attach so little value to it. The Brahmin of old enjoyed social prestige not because he possessed power or wealth or martial ability. But the people looked up to him because he was versed in the arts of scholarship and therefore wiser than other men. If learning was identified with religion, it was because religion was synonymous with philosophy. Shankaracharya was indeed a mystic but he was also the greatest scholar of his time. And his mysticism ran deep and true because it was derived from concentrated thought. From Rajaji's views on education, however, there is little solace to be derived by those who look forward to any educational progress in the country. For he was equally unreflective about University education. With one big sweep he condemned all the efforts of Indian Universities—they were training men for a life which was no longer desirable in modern India, he observed. But since Rajaji himself is a product of an Indian University, one presumes they did manage occasionally to inspire their pupils with a desire to live the way of life he finds necessary for modern India. Universities, he added, were intended to develop character and to furnish leaders for administration of districts and towns. The simple term of administrator rather than leader would have been preferable. But this is incidental, since the best of men has his prejudices. What is more to the point is that Rajaji might have defined his notion of character, and tried to indicate at least how Indian Universities were erring. There is a passage in Cardinal Newman's book which describes vividly the defects under which the University system is operating. Their defect is 'not to load the memory of the student with a mass of undigested knowledge, but to force upon him so much that he has rejected all.' Their error has been one 'of distracting and enfeebling the mind by an unmeaning profusion of subjects; of implying that a smattering in a dozen branches of study is not shallowness, which it really is, but enlargement, which it is not; of considering an acquaintance with the learned names of things and persons, and the possession of clever duodecimos,

and attendance on eloquent lecturers, and the membership of scientific institutions, and the sight of the experiments on a platform and the specimens of a museum, that all this was not dissipation of mind but progress." The factors responsible for this trend in university education might well have been analysed by the Governor-General. Then, indeed, he would have been able to set his audience working on how to remedy things. Instead, he confined himself to observations which needs must make one feel that all higher education is so much wasted, or even perverted, effort, and that the best men are those who have a smattering of literacy. Yet to-day there is urgent need of men and women who can make a stand for principle, without reckoning the cost to themselves, of men and women of character and wide tolerance. All this cannot come without sound grounding in values and in the methods of social building. Only then will the leaders of the country who will largely arise from the university group, be men who can be trusted to bring patience and understanding to difficult situations, to resist tempting but illusory short-cuts to achievement, and to pursue the right at all costs.

COUNTRY RAMBLES AND THE CITY

Leaving Chase Farm, which had been my "world" for the first eight years of my life, was a wrench, and I felt it badly, though at first we lived in a neighbouring village only four miles away. Near as it was, it seemed a completely different world. For some time we stored our furniture in one of my Uncle's cottages, and slept there, spending our days at the farm-house. My Uncle and Aunt had six children, most of them much older than myself, and I, who had been used to the solitary existence of the only child, found it very difficult to fit into such a large family. One of the cousins, Frank, was my age, or a few months older, and as he, too, did not care much for his older brothers and sisters, he and I became inseparable companions.

By this time, of course, school took up a lot of my time, but summer evenings, Saturdays and Sundays and holidays, Frank and I spent, as far as we were allowed, exclusively in each other's company. We roamed the countryside, sometimes on foot and sometimes by cycle, and knew every bird's nest within a radius of miles. We knew where the fox had her den and watched her playing with her young ones at dusk at the entrance of the hole. We collected wild flowers and identified them, and vied with each other in friendly fashion for new, rare specimens. We made a water garden in the meadows, diverting a streamlet with great labour (a labour of love) and planted the island we had made with wild yellow iris, meadowsweet, golden kingcups, pink ragged robin and blue water forget-me-nots. We caught minnows and stickle-backs in jam jars and watched the lazy trout apparently asleep in the deep pools. We discovered that if we laid the delicate, blue flowers of the harebell on a nest of red ants, the bells turned pink if the ants ran over them.

In the winter, no matter how cold and wet the weather, we walked miles trying to keep in sight of the hunt on fox hunting days, and they were red-letter days indeed when the hounds "met" in the village. The red coats, the prancing horses, the sleek, well-fed, tan and white hounds were a lovely sight, and the thrill of the hunting horn heard at intervals during the day as the hounds drew first one covert and then another sent quivers of excitement through us that made us oblivious of the biting wind and chilling rain. Even to-day the sight of a hunt arouses almost the same degree of thrill!

In summer there were picnics in the hayfields, picnics in the harvest fields and picnics on the downs. Food always seems to taste more appetising when eaten out of doors, and somehow it doesn't seem to matter if a grasshopper hops into a teacup or a wasp sits on a slice of bread and jam—at least, when you are a child. One memorable picnic we had when Frank and I insisted on taking the billy goat with us. The idea was to harness it to a large tea-tray and let it pull us down the hillside! Unfortunately the goat rebelled and, leaving us sitting on the tea-tray, it ran away by itself and landed in the midst of the tea-cups. This provoked acid comments from the grown-ups, who were tired after the long walk in the sun, and the goat was not allowed at picnics after this. So much for our Summer tobogganning.

Every summer, we went to Weymouth for a fortnight in the holidays. This was exciting from beginning to end, for first it meant a railway journey, the only one in the year, and then there was the strangeness of the sea. Somehow I never remember having bad weather during these seaside holidays. We spent most of our time on the sands, building sand-castles and mud-pies, collecting sea-shells and sea-weeds or paddling in the shallow water. Perhaps we watched the Punch and Judy show, or went on the Pier to listen to the military band. At least once during the holiday, we were taken for a row round the harbour, and the dear old fishermen, with their kind, twinkling blue eyes, were always ready to allow the children to try their skill at rowing. Then there were the donkey rides and drives along the front in gaily-painted, little goat-carriages. Oh, there was no lack of amusement for children at the seaside in those days, in spite of the fact that World War I was in progress only a few miles away over the Channel. If the grown-ups felt sufficiently energetic, they took us to Abbotsbury to see the Royal swans. Hundreds and hundreds of these glorious snowy birds sailed majestically on the smooth water and we felt that they had conferred a great honour on us when they allowed us to feed them with pieces of stale bread.

Another "'treat" was the annual visit to the Old Pier, which had fallen into disuse since the building of the large new pier at which the Isle of Wight boats arrived. The Old Pier was a long narrow stone wall, rounded and railed in at the end, from which we could watch the huge, rainbow-coloured jelly-fish with their long fringes of tentacles, as they moved slowly through the calm, blue water, and I always seem to associate these jellyfish exclusively with this particular spot.

On one occasion at Weymouth, Frank disappeared. He was not at home for lunch, he did not reappear at tea-time. Just as my Aunt had gone to the Police and enquired at the Hospitals for a lost small boy, he walked in, tired it is true, but otherwise quite master of the situation. It seems that he had been scolded in the morning, and so he decided to walk home, a distance of forty miles! He set off after breakfast, of course without a penny, and arrived at Dorchester. There he decided that the walk home would be too far and that he would not arrive before nightfall, so he retraced his footsteps and returned to Weymouth! He was a greater hero than ever in my eyes after this escapade!

This kind of life lasted for only about two years. The war came to an end and the village celebrated the Armistice with bonfires, fireworks and speeches, and the presentation of hideous mugs, bearing the pictures of the King and Queen, surrounded by the flags of the Allies. The war was over, the world was going to be a wonderful place once more, our men would come back and life would be exactly as it had been before September 1914.

In the meantime there was to be another change in my life. We went to live in Essex, so that I could go to a big girls' school with my other cousins. Again there was the wrench of parting with the world I had, after a short time, grown to love. How I hated Essex. We lived in a town for the first time in my life and I could not get used to the hard pavements, the crowded houses and the rush and bustle of the people who were so different from our slow-moving kindly country folk. And the school! From a small private school, I now found myself in a school where there were thirty-five girls in a class. It just seemed impossible to get away from people, people, people, and I hated it. The holidays, which were spent with Frank and his family, alone made life bearable, but even this was not the same as living there, for all the time there was the feeling, "Only a few more days and then this will be over."

At fifteen I went to Boarding School, a very select boarding school for Young Ladies on the South Coast, and of this I have mixed memories, in which the dislike of constraint and confinement, and of going for walks in "crocodile" along the quietest roads to the end of the sea front away from the town, was counterbalanced by my affection for both my English and my Mathematics mistresses. We played hockey, netball, cricket and tennis, and the occasional matches against other equally select girls' schools helped to break the monotony. We went to bed at seven o'clock!

Then came College, a kindergarten training college on the outskirts of London, and really a lovely place. The College was housed in a perfect old mansion dating from 1777, decorated by Robert Adam, and it stood in some forty-five acres of grounds including woodland and a lake. We were next door to the famous Richmond Park with its beautiful walks where herds of Spotted Deer roamed at will. Here, near London, strangely enough, my love of Nature Study had full scope, for nature study is considered, and rightly so, one of the most important subjects for the kindergarten teacher. During the first year, zoology and botany took up almost half our time and I remember what extremely good professors we had. They insisted, above everything, on the importance of practical observation, and allowed book knowledge only as a means of supplementing our own observations. We fished in the lake for caddises, newts and tadpoles, we collected caterpillars and dragonfly larvae and watched their metamorphoses. We kept an aquarium. We sat for hours watching a spider constructing its web or a pair of birds feeding their nestlings. We tracked animals and birds in the snow and made casts of their foot-prints. We had an extremely good library of nature books and I sat for hours poring over Seton, Thompson, Cherry Kearton and Fabre.

We had holidays, too, with our Zoology and Botany lecturers, when we used to stay at a farm near Arundel for perhaps a fortnight at a time, and the whole time was given up to rambles during which we learnt to identify the birds of the district by their song or flight, or collected wild flowers, or gathered specimens for the college aquarium. In the evenings there were discussions on the finds of the day and observations to be noted down.

From all that I have said, it may seem that we concentrated only on nature study! Indeed we had a very full course, and the three years I spent in College taught me what work really was, and we were quite ready for the long vacations when they came along. Handwork was another very important subject, and our handwork lecturer also organised holidays for us, in Paris and Italy, holidays very different in character from those spent at Arundel but equally enjoyable.

My three years in College came to an end all too quickly. I was grown up. I was a fully trained teacher. I must get a job.

D.R.

SPANISH WORKERS ISSUE WORLD APPEAL

Reaching America through the "Worldover Press" from Spain via the anti-Peron underground in Argentina, this message is timely in view of efforts at Washington and in the United Nations to rehabilitate the Franco Falangist regime. Noteworthy is the unity shown by the Confederation National del Trabajo, mainly anarcho-syndicalist, and the Union General de Trabajadores, chiefly Socialistic, the former centring in Barcelona, the latter in Madrid.

This comes to you from the workers of Spain represented in the C.N.T. and the U.G.T., the workers of a noble country, rebellious now because it is enslaved by a system of government that Hitler and Mussolini gave to the world. It is a nation with no chance to join by its own will in the task of resolving the crisis which scourges humankind.

This appeal is sent by workers who, day by day, minute by minute, stake liberty and life to exercise human rights—rights that you, free workers of free peoples, use in your defence and in the highest interests of all.

High is the wall which separates Spain from the rest of the world, thick and heavy the screen that prevents the passage through, from here to the outside, of ideas formulated by a people which struggles, after the injuries of war, to forge a new philosophy. But that wall is not so dense that we fail to hear what happens outside when someone raises his voice, false and self-seeking, to defend the ignominous regime under which we strive.

We note that from dark corners, voices which love and trust reaction are counselling aid to Franco, taking advantage of the split world to emphasize the strategic usefulness that Spain might theoretically have. In such a way are the promises, judgments and solemn declarations of democracy in the last war betrayed.

But you—what are you doing? To counter-act such cynicism, what solidarity do you offer, you of the French and the Italian C.G.T., you of the American C.I.O. and A.F.L.? To us here the blunt answer seems, Nothing. While time passes, we see too many of you making a dubious gesture, saying, "This is a problem for Spaniards." Meantime international reaction and Francoism are busily at work. We ask from you help you have an obligation to proffer, a help you have the right and the strength to give.

Thirteen years have passed, and in Spain the fundamental rights of citizens are mocked and attacked. Four years have gone by since the Allied victory, and here in Spain resides the last vestige of Nazi Fascism. The problem of your help must not be faced in terms of party faction, or narrow sect. Humanity is above all this; it is a whole people, without distinction of classes, parties or factions, that suffers, that struggles, and that dies.

This is the point at which your help can count; an attempt is being made to give a favourable view of the present regime in Spain, the regime imposed on us by arms. There is even an effort to give this regime an international juridical status. There are those who try to show that life in Spain is better than that in any other part of the globe. That friction between capital and labour has disappeared by decree. That we are in accord with the humiliating government which has been foisted upon us.

—*Worldover Press.*

INTERNATIONAL MISUNDERSTANDING

(By DEVERE ALLEN)

Chances are, the quickest way to insult a Russian Communist is to be sorry for him. The Comrades are proud, and many of them have become worn and stooped from carrying an over-sized inferiority complex on their shoulders. But I've been sorry for Andrai Vishinsky ever since I read the statement he made to "Pravda" and "Izvestia" on his return from the Paris meeting of the Foreign Ministers.

Suspicion was deeply embedded in Mr. Vishinsky's mind about the Marshall Plan, of course. But he had reasoned out an apparently satisfying proof that it had failed, even in the sight of the White House. "Indeed," he said, "if the Marshall Plan proved to be successful, what is to explain the fact that the author of this plan has been removed from the post of Foreign Minister of the United States and replaced by another Minister?"

Nobody ever resigns in Russia; sooner or later he is kicked out, and sometimes liquidated. Though there may be exceptions, that is a fairly standard expectation. What gives you pause is the realization that many thousands of people under the Soviet banner are firmly addicted to this macabre, ghoulish idea of politics. "Anybody that thinks differently," you can almost hear the faithful Comrades saying, "is pitifully naive." So I'm naive. What a happy way to be, compared to the minds that have come to accept intrigue as the norm, and autocracy as the code. It tempts you to revive the tarnished old story of the Commie orator who asked, "Why did Lindbergh fly across the ocean? To divert the minds of the masses from the crisis!"

* * *

Ernest Bevin started something when he complained that the policy of unconditional surrender for Germany had been hidden from the British Cabinet during the war, until too late. He could hardly have anticipated Winston Churchill's defence that it was not he, but Franklin Roosevelt, who decided on the policy all alone, though Churchill did not favour it any more than the later preposterous Morgenthau plan, which he reluctantly initialled.

Once again we see a demonstration of war's totalitarian nature. President Roosevelt in a snap judgment, based on considerable ignorance of Europe, was able to put through a mad scheme that was certain to cause untold trouble to the whole world—and, incidentally, a scheme that was opposed in this column at the time. But Churchill, too, was under a totalitarain spell, else he would have ventured a protest in line with his convictions. And if Bevin was so worried when he found out what was afoot, why did he not, even then, speak up? Courage is fine, but somehow it seems less admirable when too little and too late.

* * * * *

Arguments at Washington against spending nearly a billion and a half dollars on arming West Europe have dealt with almost everything except one of the biggest questions of all. What hope can we have that European countries will escape the same divisions, rivalries, and dangerous exaggerations of nationalism that have resulted when great powers have armed weaker ones in other parts of the world?

In Latin America Uncle Sam poured out many dollars' worth of arms during the war, on the supposed, but not very serious, theory that this would somehow stop Hitler from landing in South America and marching a mammoth army all the way up to Detroit. Not only did this armament in practically every instance entrench dictators in power or inspire new ones to seize power; it gave such a boost to nationalism in many countries that they have not yet recovered from it.

In Eastern Europe the Russians have been finding the same result. At the end of the war they started sending military missions into the satellite countries, with a flow of armament. Instead of solidifying Soviet control, instead of producing any real unity, this practice actually was in no small measure responsible for the break-away of Tito, unrest in Bulgaria, and a reduction in Soviet prestige throughout the whole area.

It must be admitted that Russia did one thing that is contrary to American ideas for West Europe. The Soviet Union bitterly opposed any federation of East European states, whereas Washington has urged more federation on the West Europeans. Being no prophet, this writer is not absolutely certain that the armament of Europe would produce the usual outcome. But one thing is sure: there isn't the slightest reason to be impressed with the glib assurances that American arms would really strengthen Europe. Unless Americans are willing to spend a total of somewhere around $30,000,000,000 for this purpose, what they are doing is very much like reinforcing a building with a safety pin.

It must be said again and again that anything which weakens the economic come-back of West Europe plays straight into the hands of the very Communists of whom we profess to be afraid. That comeback can be stopped in its tracks by either of two moves from the United States. One way to halt European recovery would be to plead poverty because of the arms programme and make drastic cuts in recovery funds. The other way would be to get Europe's minds so imbued with a Maginot Line psychology that recovery efforts are put into arms manufacture, and production of essential goods delayed. Are Americans that foolish? Keep your eyes on Congress and you'll soon find out.

GERMAN HISTORY

(By HAROLD F. BING)

"If anyone must bear a larger share of responsibility than others for German aggression in the present century, that man is Treitschke, Professor of Modern History at Berlin during the critical late years of the 1800's. What a difference it would have made, if instead of Treitschke, that post had gone to another candidate, the Swiss historian Burkhardt!"

That statement was made at a conference on the teaching of history held recently here in the British Zone, attended by 80 representatives of teachers and administrators. The conference revealed trends of thought in slowly recuperating Germany, and produced some heart-searching discussions.

While there was little evidence of any desire to justify the Nazi movement, there were some who regarded it as the logical and inevitable development of German history over a long period. Others saw it as an alien force, a sort of demoniac possession which had burst into German history, thwarting a natural development along peaceful and democratic lines.

It was significant that the latter view appealed more to the older members of the conference, men in their sixties who had been moulded by the pre-1914 university traditions, who realized that something had gone wrong in German evolution but who could not explain the disasters of recent decades.

The younger men and women, those around thirty, took the former view and favoured a radical de-bunking of traditional history-teaching methods. They were critical of the concentration on local history and geography in the junior school, which gave the child a parochial outlook from the beginning and prevented him from learning about children of other lands.

Idealization and over-simplification were especially denounced in the more advanced teaching of history. Too much had been made of the so-called "German Middle Ages"—which created the impression that medieval civilization centred in Germany, that this period's achievements in art and literature, music and architecture, philosophy and theology, were the work of German artists and scholars.

This critical attitude of the younger historians and teachers is a hopeful sign because it not only marks a complete break with the past, but also seeks to interpret German history as part—and by no means always a leading part—of the history of western civilization.

But while thought is on the move, practical difficulties are appalling. Buildings are damaged or non-existent. A two-shift per day system is usual in town schools. Apparatus is lacking, and there are virtually no text-books. Overworked teachers cannot do the job of writing them in their limited leisure, with all the physical problems of obtaining adequate food and shelter. An appeal was made that a certain number of teachers be set free to write text-books, and it was reported that in the U.S. Zone such steps have been taken.

One difficult thing faced by present-day German teachers is the sceptical attitude of the old children, who remember what they were told during the Nazi regime, perhaps by these same instructors, and who compare the old teachings to the ideas taught to-day. Such youths tend to be critical of all authority. On the other hand, the teachers find it hard to descend from the authoritarian pedestal and cast off the omniscience they were traditionally supposed to possess. Said one teacher, "How can I stand before my pupils and tell them, 'I don't know?'"

—*Worldover Press.*

NEW LIFE IN TRADE UNIONS OF GERMANY

(By MARKUS SCHLEICHER)

In May 1933, the trade unions of the Weimar Republic were forcibly dissolved by the Nazis, with the aid of the state. Their leaders and officials were driven out, persecuted and outlawed. But though a great many of the pre-Nazi regime trade union functionaries have died since then, the idea of trade unionism and the spirit of trade union solidarity in Germany could not be wiped out.

The entry of Allied troops in Germany in the spring of 1945 not only tolled the knell of disappearance for the Nazi dictatorship; it simultaneously signalled the reawakening of Germany's democratic and trade union life. The last acts of the Nazis after their military defeat were aimed at the German people. They deliberately blew up bridges, highways and railroad tracks, destroyed light and power stations and waterworks, burned down supply depots and administrative institutions.

In those days of national catastrophe, joint action meant everything. Among the rescuers at all points were old trade unionists who took the lead in order to save the population. In the name of trade union solidarity, they called upon the working men and women to collaborate. Not revenge but service for the betrayed people was their answer to the injustice which trade unionists had suffered for 12 years.

A disheartening situation prevailed in Germany during the period when new trade unions were being formed. In 1945, their organizers could not use railroads or postal service, telephone or telegraph, radio or press—for such facilities were not functioning at that time. The formation of new trade unions began when the Germans were still prohibited by the occupying powers from going farther than six kilometers (approximately four miles) from their places of residence.

But when communication obstacles had been eliminated and the occupying powers had made known by a directive of the Allied Control Council their "principles for the establishment of trade unions," it became evident that, in spite of the different wording of local union statutes, the Germans were all of one mind in regard to the basic features of the trade unions about to be created. All trade union circles were unanimously agreed that it was not advisable to revive the former unions which had existed along political and denominational lines *(Richtungsgewerkschaften)*.

The new German trade union movement makes it a point to emphasize its neutrality with respect to party politics and religious principles as well as its independence with respect to employers and the state. Although it has developed into a mass movement, the young trade union organization has unanimously adhered to this basic attitude.

Their further development has brought about a universal realization that trade unions cannot be formed in an arbitrary manner or according to some preconceived idea. Trade unions have always been components of a certain social and economic framework. They must adapt their form of organization to the given political and economic conditions of the country in which they operate. But in the Germany of to-day, state forms and economic values have not yet been fully determined. For this reason, the development of trade unionism, its organizations and institutions, will remain fluid for a long time to come.

The structure and form of the new German trade union movement does not correspond in every respect to the free will of its members. It has been forced to depend—and will so continue for a considerable period—upon the policies of the victorious nations and the influence exerted by each individual occupying power.

In this light, it is easy to understand why there are at present in the three Western zones of Germany more than 100 autonomous industrial unions, formed into seven different federations. The largest is the trade union federation of the British zone with 2,700,000 members. In the American zone, there are three state trade union federations—Bavaria, Hesse and Wuerttemberg-Baden—with a total of 1,700,000 members. The French zone likewise has three state trade union federations—Rhineland-Palatinate, South Baden and South Wuerttemberg—comprising 400,000 members. Thus, the seven trade union federations of the three Western zones embrace 4,800,000 members. Of these, 3,930,000 are manual workers, 600,000 white-collar workers and 270,000 civil servants. Measured by the 12,000,000 workers employed in the three Western zones, these figures indicate that 40 per cent are organized in unions.

All trade unions have their roots in the shop. From there they expand, divided according to industries, into regional and local trade union organizations. It is upon this lower level that the real organizational life develops. Many thousands of unpaid union officials, in their free time, campaign constantly for their unions. Democratically elected executive boards of local and regional trade unions perform the administrative tasks—conducting negotiations with employers, enforcing wage terms and working conditions, settling grievances, giving members advice and information and communicating with the executive boards of the national unions.

In all larger towns and cities, trade union offices and buildings have once more arisen, created out of nothing. The same thing is true of the trade union press. Each trade union federation publishes a semi-

monthly paper, discussing general problems of trade union, economic and political life. However, because of the shortage of newsprint, the entire press run by the seven trade union organizations amounts to 2,500,000 copies—or about one copy for every two members.

It is sometimes charged abroad that the new German trade unions are nothing but the creations of some old trade unionists, symbolizing their nostalgia for the bygone days of the Weimar Republic. This charge is inaccurate. The current members who belonged to trade unions before 1933 amount only to 30 per cent; 70 per cent of all present members are simply too young to have been affiliated with the old trade unions.

It is likewise incorrect to charge that the core of the trade union leadership is too old. Actually, 52 per cent are between 41 and 60 years old, while only 8 per cent are over 60. As a matter of fact, the number of old and experienced trade union leaders is unfortunately much too small. Good will and idealism alone are not sufficient to enable the younger generation to carry out the task of rebuilding the German trade unions.

Accordingly, the education and training of new members is one of our main aims. The democratization of the German people is, to a large extent, the responsibility of the trade unions. The problem of finding schools and educational institutions, teachers and teaching materials is one of our major daily worries. But we are going ahead in this field as actively as possible under the circumstances. Courses lasting from one to several weeks are continuously held in our trade union schools; here we prepare young officials to handle their tasks in collective bargaining and to understand the role of the trade unions in the economy and the community. To a large extent, the trade union youth groups live their own life, with the right of self-administration and with the freedom to develop their own recreational and sports activities. However, in the trade union courses, young and old must share the same school benches.

The trade unions of the three Western zones are trying to solve the problems arising out of their multiplicity and the narrowness of state trade unions and state trade union federations. The economic merger of the American and British zones as well as the establishment of a bizonal economic administration, which also deals with the problem of industrial relations, has compelled the trade unions to collaborate on a basis overriding zonal lines. To cope with these new tasks, the trade union federations at the end of 1947 created the Trade Union Council of the unified zones. This highest central authority of the Western German trade unions takes care of the economic and social interests of labour in Anglo-American occupation territory.

This Council was also entrusted with the task of preparing a merger of the trade unions and trade union federations into a Western German body. As a first step, the 100 different state trade unions are to be transformed into 14 to 17 independent industrial unions whose jurisdiction is to be extended to the American, British and French zones. These independent groups will then become the pillars of the future Western German trade union federation. It is no easy task to form a homogeneous whole out of the existing motley array of trade unions. But where there is a will, there is a way. All the forces participating in this process of construction are convinced that the structure of the Western German trade union federation will be completed by the fall of 1949.

The next phase would be the creation of a trade union federation for the whole of Germany. Under normal conditions, unified unions should have been established, at the end of the Third Reich, throughout the entire German territory. There is to-day in Western Germany not one trade unionist who, in 1945, did not believe this to be possible. However, the world political situation has changed to the detriment of the Germans since then, with the result that the creation of a new trade union federation for the whole country has become a dream of the future.

Western Germany knows no more about trade union life in the Eastern zone of Germany than the outside world does. The interzonal conferences which formerly offered all zonal trade unions an opportunity for joint discussions were discontinued in the fall of 1948. These conferences grew more and more futile as the economic, political, social and trade union conditions of the Eastern zone became increasingly adapted to those of the Soviet Union. Even if we had desired, like the trade union leadership of the Russian zone, to support the Hennecke movement, we could not have done so without being chased away by our own members. (Hennecke is the German Stakhanov.)

Under Communist domination, the trade unions of the Eastern zone have become the executive organ of the Communist party and the servant of the Soviet State. As long as this situation continues, the formation of a trade union federation for the entire country remains utopian. The trade unions of the Western zones are well aware of that fact. Any deviation from this clear realization would lead to the same weakening of practical trade union work and to the same futile internal disputes that have characterized the Italian and French labour movements. To date, the Western German trade unions have been spared such symptoms of disruption.

Trade union collaboration in the international field and endeavours to assure international understanding and world peace have always been supported by the German trade unions. Some of our new industrial unions have already rejoined the International Trade Secretariats.

The Western German trade unions never affiliated with the World Federation of Trade Unions because we were not in a position to fulfill the conditions laid down by the W.F.T.U. It will be recalled that the W.F.T.U. made its acceptance of the German trade unions dependent upon previous creation of a unified trade union federation for the whole country.

The now-crumbling W.F.T.U. has given up this excessively ambitious aim and has invited the German zonal trade unions to affiliate individually. However, the Trade Union Council of the three Western zones has decided not to accept this offer. It will be up to the coming convention of the Western German trade union federation to determine the future international relations of these unions.

BLINDNESS IN SOUTH AFRICA

Appalling prevalence of blindness among South African natives has been brought to light by recent studies. In official figures, one out of every 84 non-white persons in the Union of South Africa is blind. But the reliable Race Relations News points out that private medical surveys show blindness to be far more common than these statistics imply.

Chief cause of the blindness is believed to be malnutrition. In some areas of the Transvaal, there are whole colonies of blind people "living aimlessly and guided by others with partial sight." In one region of the Northern Transvaal, 804 out of 1,249 people were afflicted with some form of eye disease.

Though the political authorities are notoriously indifferent to native rights and welfare, the Order of St. John, a religious body, has decided to start work at once on the first unit of the Union's two million dollar St. John's Opthalmic Hospital.

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"*I will* be as harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard*".

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the LIBERATOR.

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NOTES

Work:—In a rather unimpressive convocation address to Bombay graduates, Mr. B. G. Kher, the provincial Premier, made some remarks about the place of work which have a bearing on the general policy of the Government—Mr. Kher had said not very long ago that the Ministers were not kill-joys. Mr. Kher said:

> Work is a necessity and is the inevitable law of life. We should not avoid it. We have all heard of the four freedoms of Roosevelt, viz., freedom from want, freedom of worship, freedom of speech and freedom from fear and many States are doing their best to establish these four freedoms. There is, however, a fifth freedom which many people seem to consider desirable and which most individuals are pursuing vigorously, thinking that it will make them happy. This is freedom from work! The idea seems to have taken firm root in the minds of many that what is wanted for happiness is money and not work. This is a preposterous idea! The great struggle which you see around you for as little work as possible and as much money or pay for it as can be wangled is not a wholesome tendency. Most people suffer from the illusion that a person is happy to the extent that he has freedom from work and possesses money for which he need not work and which he can freely spend on his comforts and pleasures. I repeat that this idea is fundamentally wrong and anti-social. Economic wealth and human welfare are not synonymous terms. Lack of useful work is one of the greatest sources of unhappiness and idleness is a social crime, for an empty mind becomes the devil's workshop. It has been said that "conspicuous leisure" is an element of pride and satisfaction for the idle rich. Let us pray that none of us may be condemned to belong to that class or share its ideology.

Mr. Kher's panegyric on work is rather halting If it is "necessary and inevitable", then why say it should not be avoided? Nor is Mr. Kher fair when he accuses the present generation of seeking "freedom from work". And to branch off from this remark to a denunciation of leisure is rather astonishing. The Premier's convocation address revealed a continuous effort to maintain an anti-rich front, presumably the psychological reaction to much Communist propaganda and more anti-Communist insulation. Moreover it sets off any anti-Labour prejudice that might be read into Mr. Kher's earlier remarks on people wanting to work less and wangle more money. Mr. Kher referred to the desire to live without work as most anti-social and fundamentally wrong. It is interesting to hear what another observer, Frederick L. Schuman has to say about it:

> "To live without labour is the dream of every Western businessman, and indeed the secret hope of almost all men and women everywhere, since the species is allergic to work, craves luxuries, preferably on a silver platter, and prefers a horizontal to a vertical position whenever possible. The pecuniary elites of the West consist in part of hard-working and hard-driving executives and managers, and in part of the idle rich. The latter indulge in conspicuous consumption and live without work by virtue of astute selection of ancestors, schools, colleges, wives and/or business associates, affording access to (or skill in acquiring) adequate quantities of unearned increment. The leisure thus enjoyed is not wholly a social waste since in some cases a combination of talent and boredom drives idlers to notable achievements in sport, art, science or the professions. In the U.S.S.R., for better or for worse, leisure is all too scarce and no such group exists, or can come into being, so long as productive property may not be bought and sold, and so long as industrial capital is not raised by selling shares to individuals with private savings from which they hope to derive income without effort."

A factor which contributes to the usefulness of the idle rich in Amercia, is the social outlook by which possession of money is less valued than profuse spending. Geoffrey Gorer's "Americans" deals exhaustively with this aspect of American life. In India, with the current emphasis on simplicity, the emphasis is rather the other way about, and the development of Socialist and Communist ideas makes it wise for the rich to assume the external appearance of simplicity.

Class Hatred:—Mr. Schuman describes conditions as they are; Mr. Kher speaks of what India wishes to achieve without interfering with private enterprise. The Indian ideal becomes difficult to attain as it places a burden on the have-nots and seeks to dissuade them from aspiring after imitation of the rich. The result of this must necessarily be a propaganda which is aimed to bring the idle rich into contempt and in turn to drive deep the social divisions which Congressmen seek to eliminate. Mr. Kher himself, usually a balanced observer, was led into holding up the rich and the sons of the rich to ridicule, of all things in a convocation address. At the same time, the working class and the middle class will be inclined to

resent the remarks about leisure which Mr. Kher was not disposed to qualify sufficiently as specifically aimed at the idle hours of the workless rich, and to discount the insistence on work. Another point: in the old days, work was necessary to keep the individual engaged and from his point of view to give him the money to buy things. Now the position is very different. The national need for increased production calls for more work and the economy of the country requires austerity. In other words, the individual is asked to exert himself to the utmost and he is expected to deny himself many things which he might be inclined to buy. The old cliches about working for one's comforts are, therefore, very much out of place. And it would be well if this is recognized by our leaders.

Democracy in Asia:—Presiding over a debate held at the Delhi University Convocation Hall, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru referred to the main problem in India as one of providing the amenities of civilised life to the people and of raising living standards. The necessity is all the greater because of the threat of Communism which exploits the economic condition of workers and peasants in a society just emerging out of the confusion of a colonial state. The chief obstacle to the application of remedial measures is the obstruction of vested interests which is always shown when any burden is sought to be placed upon it. It is not only from the big capitalists that opposition comes. On the other hand, the long-range plans of Government, the need for earning foreign currency, the necessity of restraining spending all contribute to depress rather than raise living standards. Immediately, living conditions can be improved only if there is a policy of importing what people need rather than what the State requires for industrialization. But India has so much leeway to make industrially that such a policy would be ruinous in the long run. The result is that any foreign money that is secured on governmental level, goes to finance managerial interests, since government effort in industry is capitalist in the mixed economy which India has. The benefits of all the plans will accrue to the people only in the long run. At the moment, the calls to the public to practice austerity tell their own tale. It is not likely that matters will be much better under a Communist regime which will launch on industrialization forthwith but that does not prevent a Communist opposition from attacking the present Government. Whilst there will be general agreement with Pandit Jawaharlal's analysis, one regrets his failure to indicate how the Government of India proposes to meet the problem. It is true that the main concern of Indian leaders is to secure American practical assistance rather than theoretical advice. But the Americans are hard-headed people and they will be interested to know how their dollars will be expended before handing them over. It is possible that willingness to listen to their anti-Communist speeches and an attitude of having been convinced by them might break down resistance for the time being. But it would be well here to profit by the bitter example of Chiang Kai-Shek who worked the oracle temporarily this way and is now reaping the whirlwind.

World Bank Loan:—The Government of India had applied to the World Bank for a loan of some 460 million dollars on three enterprises: The first is the development of State railways; the second is the Damodhar Valley Project; and the third is a project for importing machinery for removing weeds in agricultural areas. A group of World Bank experts visited this country early this year to study the economic soundness of these plans and left, having given rise to a crop of speculation regarding the recommendations. It was loudly asserted that the experts had been unfavourably impressed by India's social reform schemes and that India could only hope for a third of her demand. The newspapers on Thursday carried the news that the World Bank had granted a loan of 34 million dollars for the railways expansion and maintenance scheme, and that Mr. Eugene Black, President of the Bank, had announced that another 41 million dollars would be loaned on the other two projects. Mr. Black expressed the hope that these loans would be a great help in raising living standards in this country. The loans are at 3 per cent, with one per cent deducted as commission. The money will be spent in the U.S.A. and in Canada, particularly the first 34 millions which are earmarked for locomotives and parts. They are for fifteen years and they impose on the Bank the power to supervise the spending of the money. The railways loan covers less than 42 per cent of the cost of the whole programme and the balance has to be found by India out of her own resources. Part of this balance will be sought from the International Monetary Fund, since there is no other way of obtaining foreign exchange. The loan is welcome because Indian railways need urgent assistance but it is a hard business deal. Nothing is gained by refusing to see this or to appreciate the obligations it imposes on India.

Prohibition Progresses:—The invitation to those of the public who have information regarding infringements of the Prohibition Laws to give, to communicate it under the seal of confidence to the Bombay Police, came as a shock to those Indians who have been brought up on the anti-tattle tradition—all decent-minded Indians in short. But it is a step which follows inevitably on a policy of Prohibition which has to be worked out on the most economical basis. The old Temperance jingle ran:

> There is a little liquor shop
> That everyone must close;
> It is the little liquor shop
> Right underneath the nose;

but Prohibition is not Temperance and it calls for enforcement rather than persuasion. The Bombay appeal to the public is an admission of the difficulties that confront the Government and of the necessity for public opinion putting itself behind the Law. But it is a trifle premature since very little propaganda has been done for the cause. It is difficult to justify the ways of Government to men but it does seem as though the Bombay Government, aware of the unpopulartiy of its move, is determined to see it through in as unattractive a manner as possible. We fear that this will jeopardise the cause. It is a great thing that the vested interests which had grown round liquor, have been scattered and left high and dry. There should have been some consideration for permitting time to educate the people to the reform. Legislation can at best be a prop to help people to progress, it cannot be made the main instrument. The public has been often charged with lack of independence and initiative and with seeking Government's aid in everything. Is it not equally true that Governments themselves are relying too much on the power of legislation?

THE INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER
BOMBAY, August 20 1949.

THE THIRD YEAR

The All-India celebrations of the second anniversary of Independence were on a quiet scale. The reviews of two years published in the press throughout the country are generally reassuring and the over-all picture is one which promises an early settling down to the constructive work of nation-building. The two years have been difficult and the tackling of administrative difficulties has been responsible to a great extent for the withdrawal of the leaders of the Congress, on whom the main burden of administration fell, from contact with the public. This development which was unavoidable, has not been very beneficial and it has presented a contrast to the preceding years when there was renewal of contact and constant association with the public. In a more politically conscious nation, it would not have been a serious thing but in India the consequences have been serious. Yet it is difficult to see how Indian leaders, busy with the adjustments resulting from partition and with the negotiations necessary with the United Kingdom to continue the relations that were snapped on August 15, 1947, could have kept themselves before the public. All these involved delicate discussions with other governments. Apart from that, internal adjustments claimed a good deal of attention. Hyderabad had to be brought into the general States integration and the Kashmir struggle placed a heavy burden on our armed forces, just out of the Second World War. Nor was it less arduous to integrate other States and bring about a group of some twenty units in all in the Union. The political arena too was disturbed with communal fanaticism—the R.S.S. demonstrations and pressure and the Hindu Mahasabha's return to political work being the peaks of this period. In the economic sphere, the Government is faced with constitutional agitation from the Socialists who are seeking to rally all the malcontents, and with violence and sabotage from the Communists of all ideologies who are attempting to break the Government down by riots, strikes and civil disorders. On the whole, the situation has been well handled and now that the Congress can once more appear on public platforms with definite policies and concrete programmes and achievements, it should win back a great measure of its popularity. Certainly there are indications that it will not give up the battle without a fight.

The major problems that confront the nation at the end of its second year of independence, are economic not political. Food, it has been realised, is the chief bottleneck. The plans to increase the production of foodgrains and to encourage the general use of substitute foods, depend for their success on the energy and devotion of lesser officials. Sufficient has been said by central and provincial ministers to impress on them the urgency of the food situation. More concrete action has been taken to see that programmes are implemented. There should be considerable progress towards the objective of covering the ten per cent gap which now exists. It has been said that the deficit is artificial and that by inflating population figures, by raising the adult equivalent, and other statistical devices, a graver situation is being presented. It has also been pleaded that understatement of prospective crops is traditional when the agriculturist faces the village official, the village official faces his higher ups and so on. All these need to be looked into. The *Economist* calls for incentives to the farmer. But these will involve a rise in food prices which constitute 60 per cent of the cost of living index. As the collection of food facts get standardised, it will be possible to arrive at a clearer picture of the problem. Interest is also shown in the procurement policies of different units of the Union and the need for uniformity is being increasingly felt. So far as food goes, the nation has reached a stage of awareness of the problem and of the need for early remedial measures. The coming year should see concrete results.

The question of civil liberties has been much in the air recently. There is a feeling that the Governments, Central and Provincial, are not sufficiently tolerant of criticism, that there is too great a tendency to lean on the repressive arm of the law, and that all differences are put down. Pandit Jawaharlal has pointed to adverse comment that is so frequent in a section of the press as evidence of Government's tolerance. There is force in this argument. But nonetheless members of the Government do tend to display a measure of intolerance of criticism and an attitude of righteousness that often provokes like attitudes in persons critical of official implementation of policies. The evils from which we suffer are by now well known; the remedies that are necessary are generally agreed upon. But, when it comes to applying them, there is a certain dilatoriness in the Government machine which is perhaps inevitable but which accords ill with the promises of the men in power and the blue-prints that are widely publicised. The pathetic insistence on the compulsion of circumstances, particularly shortages in material, is far from convincing. To solving all these problems the Congress Ministries will have to turn their attention. And in the coming year, the test will be crucial since elections are to follow shortly after. It is the knowledge that the immediate future will be a testing-time for all that has given a sombre touch to the celebrations of the third Independence Day.

THE DE GAULLISTS SPLIT

When General Charles de Gaulle organized his Rassemblement du Peuple Francais, or Rally of the French People, he declared it was not a political party, and he managed to bring into it a large number of widely divergent political figures. Opponents called it a slick dodge, and predicted that eventually de Gaulle would use the movement as a real party, to promote his own ambitions.

Events have tended to prove the critics right. The General, who has always been a lofty, semi-dictatorial personality, has so angered his followers that the movement is split wide open. Repercussions are likely to strengthen the middle groups and affect French international policy by turning it in a less nationalistic direction.

Apart from the General's own quirks, the most serious cause of the rift in the ranks is the dismay of de Gaullists in parliament, who have discovered that their opinions are rudely shoved aside, while major decisions are made either by the General or his closest subordinates, without any consultation.

—*Worldover Press.*

THE ABSENCE OF CIVIC SENSE

One hears a good deal of talk these days about our lack of civic sense. In this there is some consolation, for the first step in self-improvement consists in becoming conscious of one's limitations. The road is clear now for the second stage, which is to ask ourselves why we are wanting in this social virtue when as individuals we are as kindly and considerate as others. One reason is best illustrated by the incident that was commented on in the Bombay press over the week-end. A resident of Bandra found that his dog had developed rabies. Knowing that it had been out on the road during the day and had bitten some stray dogs, he took pains to ensure that the Municipality removed these animals along with his cat and the other dog he owned, personally assisting the dog-catchers. To his consternation he found both his cat and dog had returned home on the following day. Evidently the Municipal officials, who had caught the animals, had merely taken them away to another locality, and there released them, perhaps in the hope that they would die an accidental death. That the Municipality in question has done little to control the danger to the health of the locality is obvious. One can appreciate a reluctance to destroy all the animals, since there was no certainty that they had been infected with the disease. But surely some arrangement could have been made to keep them under observation or to give them the necessary treatment. After all their number did not exceed twelve. But what is to be deplored quite as much as the municipal casualness shown here is the effect that this half-hearted action will have on the public. It is bound to confirm the widely prevalent feeling that there is little point in being public-spirited because the authorities are either lethargic or incompetent. And there is no doubt that this belief prevents many from offering to the authorities their co-operation in public health measures and in the maintenance of law and order; in the latter case there is in addition the fear of being repaid with harassment. Yet official lethargy does not account for all our civic irresponsibility. It does not explain, for instance, why we have backyards littered with refuse even though a dust-bin is within easy reach. And, for all this, we are personally an extremely clean people. Why are our roads strewn with cigarette stumps, orange peels or banana skins? Why are our pavements and building walls discoloured with patches of horrid red made by betel-nut juice? Again, it does not account for our public gardens and walks being covered with dirty paper wrappings nor for the habit of picking flowers and plants from our neighbours' gardens. The roots of our unsocial conduct, one fears, lie deep within our contemporary social being. It would be easy but untrue to decide that we are not alive to beauty in our physical surroundings, that we are totally indifferent to details in our living, or that poverty has created insensitivity to ugliness. Partially all these things are true. But they do not constitute the whole truth. For the Indian is fastidious in his personal habits, except where winters are harsh and poverty is grimly acute; and the marvellous colour sense shown in women's dresses in remote villages and in the products of village craft prove that sensitivity to beauty is not killed when one is poor. Indeed the disease is most virulent in cities, and necessarily so for city-life to a section of its dwellers remains foreign still. The Indian worker—industrial and domestic—retains his roots in his village, even when he is living in the city along with his family. It is his village which he describes as his 'mulk'—his country, his home. For him the city is a place to make money in but his savings are reserved for investment in his village-home, to which he owes his allegiance and wherein are centred his affections. He has, therefore, little community feeling with his fellow city-dwellers, most of whom in any case are strangers to him since their ways of living are unfamiliar. It is a little more perplexing to analyse the apathy of the middle classes to the arts of community-living. That they are as indifferent as the worker is about public property is certain; my home is my responsibility but my backyard and the road in front of my house are no concern of mine—that is the general attitude. To some extent it derives from the nationalist sentiments of the pre-independence era when a distinct sense of antagonism divided the government and the people. And old sentiments like habits die hard. It was difficult then to have a sense of belongingness to a place, which was the centre of the way of living of one's rulers—who, consciously sometimes and unconsciously at others, created a gulf between themselves and those over whom they ruled by assuming that their ways were superior and that the 'native' had to be taught them. Adoption of Western ways meant improving one's social status, but the adoption was very conscious and was apt to be confined to an imitation of superficial ways. Good taste, in any case, is an elusive possession. Neither wealth nor learning by themselves help one to acquire it. And 'good taste' in a foreign culture is most difficult to attain. Besides, when incomes are modest the inclination of improving one's home is frittered away in buying cheap and tawdry goods—mass produced abroad generally. The lack of aesthetic sensibility which prevails in middle class homes derives immediately from this aspect of Indian life! But perhaps the main factor in preventing the development of a civic consciousness among the middle classes is their attachment to the family. For though the joint family may be disappearing, its psychological hold is still great. It is a fact that most Indian middle class men still help their more needy relatives—without fuss and naturally. They cannot, therefore, be accused of self-centredness, whatever their other failings may be. What has happened is that the middle classes have not been able yet to identify their own interests with that of the community at large. Actually the transference of the sentiment of 'belongingness' from the family to the community is a difficult process. In the West it has been accomplished by family loyalty being restricted generally to a small unit—the husband and wife and their children. This has its limitations, most glaring in a society which is not able to afford extensive social welfare schemes. That this feeling of 'belongingness' must be carried over from the family to the community at large is certain, at least if Indian city-life is to have an organic unity. And the initiative for doing so has to be taken necessarily by government and municipalities. Much of the anti-social behaviour can be controlled immediately—by the construction of public conveniences on city streets. There are still not enough dust-bins on Indian roads, no receptacles for waste-paper or cigarette-stumps, almost no public lavatories and no spittoons—though betel-nut eating is a universal habit, acknowledged to be more hygienic than smoking—even in large cities. When these elementary conveniences are not available to the people it is futile to ask them to be interested in the appearance or cleanliness of public thoroughfares, gardens, or by-lanes. What has to be changed also is the attitude of Indian officials to public complaints. There is a tendency to dismiss them as the fabrications of disgruntled minds; and this habit of treating a letter from a member of the public as yet another 'grouse' is fatal. That some complaints are of this nature cannot be denied, but officials frequently miss an opportunity of settling genuine grievances by their facile assumption that the public

is irresponsible and childish. The larger question of introducing a sense of unity within a big population—whose interests are conflicting and whose lives remain closed books to all except to the few within limited occupational or interest groups—is not merely an Indian problem. It is one that constitutes a problem for all modern societies, where increasing specialization of functions has tended to split people into distinct groups, whose common interests are few and superficial at that. The deterioration of 'culture' in the modern world, noted by thinkers everywhere, is no doubt due to the splitting up of the group personality as it were. There is a wonderful passage in T. S. Elliot's 'NOTES TOWARDS THE DEFINITION OF CULTURE' which Indians interested in the problem would do well to note. Mr. Elliot has put it simply and graphically when he says that "a growing weakness of our culture has been the increasing isolation of elites from each other, so that the political, the philosophical, the artistic, the scientific, are separated to the great loss of each of them, not merely through the arrest of any general circulation of ideas, but through the lack of those contacts and mutual influences at a less conscious level, which are perhaps even more important than ideas." If culture is to be revitalized in either India or the West the problem of making society an organic whole will have to be faced honestly and squarely. And then only will an urban community be really civic-minded. But this objective cannot be achieved by a harking back nostalgically to the ancient thought of any one country. Every country, it is true, will have to build the future on its present and past but it will not be able to ignore the needs of the future any more than it can afford to forget its past. International culture is sheer nonsense—there can be only a general appreciation of other peoples' cultures along with that of one's own. The term culture, it is useful to remember, itself signifies a way of life of a particular people living together in one place.

RUSSIAN AID TO CHINESE REDS

For a long time it has been argued by those who want a stiffer policy toward Communist China that Communist armies must have received help from Soviet armed forces. They have not, however, produced any substantial evidence that would hold up, and in the meantime, non-Communist observers familiar with Chinese Communism have insisted that the movement was indigenous, not closely tied to Moscow, and at any rate free from aid by Soviet troops.

Recent pronouncements by Chinese Communist leaders have rather dashed the hopes of those who expected them to become "Titos of the East," for there have been open and frank declarations of adherence to Russia. Members of Congress have recently received from anti-Communist elements a reprint from the "Daily Worker", New York Communist Party organ, which at least must be placed with other evidence for testing.

The "Daily Worker" for May 16, published a dispatch from the official North China News Agency which reads: "Dairen, May 15—A conference of the Communist Party in the Port Arthur-Dairen area at Dairen, attributed the outstanding successes of the Party work during the past three years in the area to the active assistance of the Soviet army, the correct leadership of the Chinese Communist Party's Central Committee and of its Northeast Bureau, and the support given to the Communist Party by the people and especially by the workers, peasants and other labouring masses."

—*Worldover Press.*

GOOD-BYE TO ENGLAND

(By D. R.)

When I left College, I found that "jobs" for kindergarten teachers were less easy to get than I had been led to expect. All the advertisements were for domestic science mistresses, and the schools which did want a Froebel mistress expected her to combine her kindergarten work with music or drawing or games for the whole school! After much searching, however, I found myself settled in a very interesting private school in London where I was put in charge of the kindergarten department, and I also taught English to a number of continental students of all nationalities and took them sightseeing all over London. I became very friendly with a lot of these students, who were almost my own age, and spent many pleasant holidays with them in their own homes.

At the same time, we built a new house for ourselves in the country, only a few miles away from my birthplace, and in the holidays there was the joy of making the garden from a bare field. As ever, our love for wild plants came into our garden planning, and we went for long rambles to gather primrose roots and dog violets, cowslips and anemones, honeysuckle and spindle for the wilder parts of the garden, and they repaid us a hundredfold by growing more luxuriantly than any of the more conventional garden plants.

So for a few years there were terms in London, with its noise and rush and bustle, its sooty sparrows and its pathetic plane trees, and holidays in the peace and beauty of the countryside. Life in the country still held the same measure of quiet happiness. Home and garden provided endless interest, and there were always things to do—first flowers to be watched for, a new rockery to be planned here, new groupings of plants to be arranged there,. for in a garden, as on a farm, it is never possible to rest on one's laurels and to live from day to day. Work has to be planned for months and years ahead. When you plant a sapling you see it in your imagination as a grown tree, when you arrange a flower border you keep in mind the times at which each particular flower will bloom, the height to which it will grow and the particular colour effect you wish to achieve. Oh, there is no end to the advance planning in a garden, and no end to the sense of achievement and satisfaction when you see a successful result to all your planning!

Our nearest town was now eight miles away, a sleepy old market town, drowsing under the shade of the Cathedral spire, which came alive only on Tuesdays (market days) when the lowing of cattle, the baa-ing of sheep, barking of dogs and shouting of drovers resounded through the usually quiet streets, and farmers and their families thronged the town. On Saturday evenings, too, all the country people "went in by bus" to do their weekend shopping and to go to the pictures, for by now there were actually two cinemas in the City! There were plenty of other attractive places within easy reach by car, Stonehenge and Old Sarum, the New Forest with its wild ponies, Bournemouth, Weymouth and the Hardy country, Shaftesbury with its memories of King Alfred, all delightful drives which took us through some of the prettiest scenery in England (though only a Southerner will agree with this statement, and then only one born in Wessex!)

When we built our house and made our garden I had no idea that after four years I would have left it all and come to India, but so it was! Apart from my short holidays in Europe, I had never contemplated going abroad—no one in my family had ever done it! However, I found myself, almost in a dream at the end, on board the Strahtnaver, and saying Goodbye

to England possibly for years. This was in the pre-war days when we stopped at several ports on the way. When we had recovered from the worst the Bay of Biscay can provide in the way of storms, we landed at Gibralter and then Marseilles and then went on through the Mediterranean passing through the Straits of Messina at night so that we saw the lovely "necklaces" of lights on either side. Stromboli, passed at close quarters, was as spectacular as ever, with streams of lava rolling down the cliff-side and steaming and foaming in the sea below. At Port Said we really felt we had reached the gateway of the East and the Suez Canal surprised all our expectations and brought to life all the dull things we had learnt in our geography books in school! At last we landed in Bombay and my first reaction was that everything was picturesque, the colours of saris and headdresses, the vendors crying their wares, the coolies and the gharries. I did not see the dirt and poverty and squalor below the surface. I had left a chill, wintry, foggy England, and here the sky was blue, the sun shone all day long, the trees were in full leaf, the palms, true sign of the East to me, rustled and swayed gently in the breeze. There were birds and butterflies even in the midst of the City of Bombay. I was happy. At first I was content just to gaze at and admire all my new surroundings and to enjoy everything I saw, then I wanted to know the names of all the trees and plants, birds and insects so that I could be as familiar with them as I was with those in England. Here I met with a disappointment. Few of my friends seemed at all interested, and most people were surprised that I should be interested. Books? very few and very expensive; I was desperate; here, even in a city, was a wealth of natural life and I could do nothing about it! At last, I discovered Whistler's Handbook of Indian Birds, and with that and a pair of field glasses I set to work. I studied that book till it was dog-eared but I managed to find out the names of the most familiar birds. Then I discovered the Dehra Dun Forest Research publication, Forty Trees Common in India—only forty, but at least they included some of those I saw every day. I often wonder what I should have done in those early days if I had not found those books, in a new country where everything was strange, a country of which I knew so little, a country of so many different languages where I could neither understand nor make myself understood by the majority of the people. I loved it all but I felt I must learn about its natural life so that I should have some anchorage and feel I really belonged. Little by little I found more books, and I became more familiar, or was it less strange? I found friends, though few who shared my interest in and love for nature study. I settled down. My children and I learnt together about the wild life in our garden, on the seashore and in the surrounding country—and we are still learning, still finding new things of interest, for now we go further afield. And I am more than glad that the children are growing up with this love for their own countryside, for I feel very strongly that a deep affection for one's country arises from an appreciation of its natural, intrinsic beauty, its scenery, its ruggedness and its natural life rather than from its city life, industrialism and its politics.

Two years ago, I visited England again, taking the children with me. They lived the life that I had led as a child and loved it. They roamed the countryside, searched for birds' nests, collected wild flowers, and soon knew as much of their surroundings as their English cousins did. We visited all the old haunts that I had loved as a child; at Weymouth they rode on donkeys and drove in goat carriages (I almost felt they were the same donkeys and goat carriages that I had enjoyed as a child! Certainly the man who owned them was the same for he told me he had been there, boy and man, for fifty years!) We thoroughly enjoyed those few months, though I must confess that I felt I no longer belonged but was just a visitor, for the England after World War II was not the same as the England I had left. At last we sold the house and the garden we had made with so much pleasure and said "Goodbye" to England, probably for the last time, for I realised, perhaps even more strongly while I was away, that India is now my home and I could never be happy elsewhere.

THE SWISS FEDERATION OF LABOUR

(By GIACOMO BERNASCONI)

The widespread impression of Switzerland as primarily a "nation of shepherds" is, of course, erroneous. Switzerland is one of the oldest industrial countries, the development of its industry following closely on that of England. In 1947, almost exactly one-third of the 4,500,000 inhabitants of Switzerland lived in cities.

Despite this growth in the number of workers, the idea of trade unionism made relatively slow progress in Switzerland. This situation can be traced back to several peculiar features in the economic and social development of the country. In the beginning, Swiss industry did not develop chiefly in the form of industrial factories but on the basis of the contractor system and as home industry. The concentration of labour in large industrial cities was retarded for a long time, and Swiss industry is still widely dispersed.

Obviously, the more scattered industrial workers are, the more difficult it becomes to organize them in trade unions. Moreover, a large number of workers considered industrial employment as something to do mainly during off-seasons in agriculture and forestry.

Another obstacle was the polyglot character of the Swiss population. In this small country of 4,500,000 inhabitants, four languages are spoken—German, French, Italian and Romansh. In addition, the different tongues reflect different cultures and, in turn, different social and mental attitudes in each section. It was, therefore, natural for the Swiss trade unions, in their early attempts to organize the workers, to follow the example set by the trade union movements of the several countries neighbouring these different sections. However, these disparities have largely been overcome. The Swiss workers today are organized in national trade unions.

Although the Swiss Federation of Labour is not the only body of its kind in the nation, it is by far the most representative trade union organization. Its affiliates include 16 trade unions which total 380,000 members.

Besides the Swiss Federation of Labour, there are the Association of Swiss White-Collar Workers with 70,000 members; the Christian-National Federation of Labour (Catholic) with 45,000 members; the Union of Protestant-Workers and White-Collar Workers with 13,000 members; and the National Union of Free Swiss Workers (Radical-Democratic) with 15,000 members. In addition, there are a number of unions which are not affiliated with any central organization —including bank and insurance employees, teachers, technicians, etc.—which comprise a total of about 45,000 members. In other words, about half as many organized workers as the number belonging to the Swiss Federation of Labour stand outside it. The causes of this lack of unity would require extensive discussion, but it is enough to say here that it has not been to the advantage of the Swiss labour movement.

Wages, salaries and specific working conditions in Switzerland are not determined by the state. The Swiss trade unions feel that these things are best

regulated by freely negotiated agreements concluded between employers' and workers' organizations in the form of collective contracts. According to a survey of the Swiss Federal Board of Industry, Trade and Labour, there were at the end of 1947 a total of 1,251 collective agreements. Of these, 72 were national agreements, 445 were regional, cantonal and local agreements, and 468 were agreements negotiated with individual employers. No less than 985 were concluded by unions affiliated with the Swiss Federation of Labour.

During the war, the cost of living increased in Switzerland slightly more than 50 per cent; wages, however, went up only about 30 per cent, in accordance with the government's position that compensation for price increases should not surpass 50 per cent in order to prevent inflation. Although the Swiss Federation of Labour has never approved this policy, it exercised great restraint in regard to wage demands. Since the end of the war, however, the wage gap has been more than filled. Official statistics show that since 1939, real wages have increased about 10 per cent.

However, since the fall of prices in the world market took a longer time to materialize than had been anticpiated, prices began to climb again in 1947, and there was the danger that labour would lose the advantages it had secured in the first two years of the post-war period. This was prevented by a voluntary agreement on price and wage stabilization concluded by the trade unions and employers' associations. In the one and a half years that it has been in force, the agreement—which was, of course, opposed violently by the Communists—has fulfilled its purpose. The price level has remained stable, and wages in those areas which had lagged behind could nevertheless still be slightly increased. The inflationary spiral which had threatened was thereby avoided and the Swiss franc has maintained its purchasing power.

In social legislation, Switzerland has long played a prominent role, although it has unfortunately fallen behind in this field during the last two decades. Perhaps the chief reason arises from the fact that the First and Second World Wars accelerated social legislation in countries affected by these wars to a much sharper degree than Switzerland. Thus, it took a long time before an old age and survivors insurance system was established in Switzerland. Such a programme is now in existence—brought into being by the Swiss people tnemselves through the memorable referendum of July 6, 1947, when 862,036 voted for it and only 215,496 against it.

The programme went into effect on January 1, 1948, and its beneficial results can already be seen. This social insurance system covers every resident of Switzerland, citizen as well as foreigner, self-employed as well as employed and unemployed persons. This programme is justly regarded as the acme of Swiss social legislation and the Swiss Federation of Labour is proud to have fought in the front line for its adoption.

The Swiss Federation of Labour continues to play a leading role in the work of social legislation. A number of laws in this field are obsolete and need to be revised, and several new ones must be enacted—among them, disability and maternity insurance. When this work is completed, the many schemes of social insurance will then have to be unified into a comprehensive porgramme such as the one that exists to-day in England.

The economic situation of Switzerland is very sound. Quite unexpectedly, the post-war period has brought the country industrial prosperity; as a result, in addition to the Swiss workers, 150,000 foreign workers were employed in the last few years. Although a slight recession set in recently, the employment situation is still good and workers who have been laid off in certain industries, such as textiles, readily find jobs in other fields.

We are, however, well aware of the fact that with the advancing recovery of the war-ravaged countries, new and perhaps serious problems will confront us. Nevertheless, the Swiss Federation of Labour has warmly welcomed the economic co-operation of the European countries inaugurated by the Marshall Plan. Even though Switzerland does not need foreign help, it is taking a prominent part in the activities of the Organization for European Economic Co-operation (O.E.E.C.). Europe and the world can buy Swiss high-priced quality products only if their economies are sound.

As obedient servants of Moscow, Swiss Communists have condemned the Marshall Plan and the economic co-operation of Europe. However, they represent only a negligible minority of the Swiss people, and they do not play a decisive role in the unions.

At the beginning of 1946, the Swiss Federation of Labour affiliated with the World Federation of Trade Unions—but with reserve and scepticism. Our apprehensions concerning the predominantly political character of that organization were even outstripped by the actual developments. The Executive Council of the Swiss Federation of Labour will soon engage in discussions over the new situation created by the departure of the British T.U.C., the American C.I.O. and the Netherlands Federation of Labour from the W.F.T.U.

Thus, a sombre chapter in the history of the international trade union movement is brought to an end for Switzerland. Unfortunately, the very principle of international trade union relations has thereby also suffered, and it may well be that the Swiss trade unionists will be highly suspicious of any new international body. These suspicions can be overcome only if the new body is a genuinely democratic federation of free and independent trade unions in which the views and experiences of small organizations are treated with the respect they deserve.

CANADIAN CATHOLICISM MOVES LEFT

(By W. S. EDGAR)

Quebec's asbestos miners, most of them employees of the Canadian Johns-Manville Company, are back at work after a bitter strike lasting three months, but the Quebec labour picture will never again be quite the same.

Leading to the worst outbreaks of violence in Quebec labour history, with strikers assaulting provincial policemen and suffering reprisals when a reinforced constabulary regained the upper hand, the strike brought the Duplessis Government into head-on collision with the Roman Catholic hierarchy which did so much to put the Government into power in 1944 and aided in its record-breaking victory of 1948.

The Roman Catholic clergy have definitely turned to the left. Monsignor Joseph Charbonneau, Archbishop of Montreal, declared from the pulpit of famed Notre Dame Church that the attempt to crush the strike was " a conspiracy to destroy the working class, and it is the Church's duty to intervene."

Intervene, the Church did, in style. The two leading prelates of the province, Charbonneau and Archbishop Roy of Quebec, ordered appeals for aid to the strikers to be read from every pulpit, with collections each Sunday for the duration of the struggle. From these collections came most of the funds which fed strikers' families throughout the three months of violence and privation.

—*Worldover Press.*

GLEANINGS

How Ill Are London Leaders?—

Prime Minister Clement Atlee's repute for equanimity is not due to a phlegmatic nature, but to self-discipline. He is more sensitive than some politicians, and possesses emotions. Warned that overwork would prevent a cure for his ulcer, he has had to face crisis after crisis. The dock-workers' strike finally wore him out because he had to get tougher than he wanted to when he saw a tottering economy menaced at a critical hour. With luck, he will continue to shake off the inevitable temporary set-backs in health and be able to fill his office for a long time to come.* * * **Earnest Bevin** has several times suffered a minor collapse, and he experienced a particularly bad one in mid-July. During a debate in the House, he had to retire to his office for emergency treatment by his doctor, Sir Alex McCall, after which he doggedly returned to the floor and made a speech, though shaky and short of breath and compelled to take medicine at one point in his address. Bevin has a bad heart and a tendency to asthma. He was a worn man, from wartime efforts, when he became Foreign Minister in 1945. Yet his great physical courage keeps him bouncing back, and in private conversation he usually displays a vitality that belies his press photos. But he will increasingly have to guard his health, and has hinted at a possible early retirement. * * * * * **Sir Stafford Cripps** has long been troubled by a delicate digestion which is largely responsible for his reputation as a puritan ascetic. His treatments at Lake Zurich consist mainly of diet and rest. He will doubtless be back in good shape by fall· * * * * * **Herbert Morrison,** the other member of Labour's Big Four, is none too robust. In fact, many of the Party's less famous functionaries—in the Cabinet, in Parliament, and in administrative posts—have been pushing themselves to the danger point. The Government has had to solve domestic and world crises while engaged in a tremendous drive to enact into law the Party's principles. Now they are heading into a crucial and strenuous election.

The fatigue shown by the most popular old-timers is a source of concern to the rank and file, but from the political point of view this is less serious for Labour than it might be, since the Conservative Party has even fewer leaders with widespread popularity.

* * * * *

Britain's Atomic Research:—

Sir John Cockcroft's atomic research commission started, at the end of the war, with about as much technical know-how as the Americans had, and in some respects with more. They got some information from the U.S., and gave some in return. But the British had grown discouraged at the stalemate over the atom in the United Nations. Besides, they could hardly fail to note the increasing attacks of American business and conservative elements in Congress on British Socialism. They wondered whether they might count on U.S. aid in an emergency as confidently as they had previously hoped. They did not ask for any of the bombs now on hand in the United States. But they wanted three things:

First, the latest information that would enable them to make atom bombs on their own if they ever decided they must; furthermore, they do not think that The Bomb is the sole weapon to be theoretically developed from the basic techniques that produced it.

Second, they wanted the privilege of purchasing uranium from the Belgian Congo, with which the U.S. agreement was expiring. They have sources in Canada, but for reasons of finance and strategy alike, they would like to buy Congo uranium also. Furthermore, there's something in the wind regarding possible experimentation in the wastelands of South Africa: Sir John Cockcroft has been scheduled to make a trip there this month, for purposes which have been hush-hush.

Finally, the British have been moving closer and closer toward the development of atomic energy for peacetime industrial uses, a factor in which they have a keener interest than Americans because success might free them from many of their present economic handicaps. Their interest in technical information along such lines was even greater than their military curiosity.

* * * * *

Two Bills at Washington:—

For want of greater publicity, two bills before Congress, each of which has constructive value for better international relations, may fail of passage. One of these is H.R. 199, the Judd bill, which was passed by the House March first and which has been considered at hearings before the Senate Judiciary Committee's Sub-Committee on Immigration. In effect, the bill would repeal the Exclusion Act of 1924. It would grant the privilege of becoming an American citizen to all immigrants having a legal right to permanent residence, and set immigration quotas for Asiatic and Pacific peoples. * * * The other measure is designed to spend on foreign relief the equivalent of $ 1,247,018.47 earned by conscientious objectors who took jobs of national importance during the war, for which they were not paid wages. Technically this money is now the property of the U.S. and has been absorbed into Treasury funds. But Senator Sparkman has introduced a bill (S. 1998) and Representative Judd a similar bill in the House (H.R. 5186) which would authorize the expenditure of an equal sum. A poll taken among the C.O.'s in 1945 indicated that the men wished the money to go for overseas relief. * * * As originally conceived, the Judd-Sparkman bills would allocate the full amount to the CARE book programme, which calls for sending to Europe and Asia books from a selected list compiled by a committee of experts headed by Dr. Luther Evans, Librarian of Congress. But the State Department recently suggested that $ 1,000,000 be used for the CARE book shipments, and the rest for laboratory equipment.

* * * * *

An East Mediterranean Pact?—

When Chiang Kai-Shek, President Quirino of the Philippines and Syngman Rhee of Korea unite in proposing a Pacific Pact, British opposition is even stouter than that of Washington. Political leaders in the American capital fear that any Pacific Pact now, even if the military aspects were played down and emphasis be placed on economic unity, might inflame the whole Far Eastern situation. British Tories have announced that, if they win in 1950, they will press for an East Mediterranean Pact as the next defence step, a Pact supported by U.S. military power.

* * * * *

Making Goethe Really Great:—

From a current list of "Goethe Year" publications the Rheinische Zeitung, of Cologne, has picked the following titles: "Goethe's Toothaches," "Goethe's Sex Life," "How Goethe Drank Away His Royalties," "Goethe's Relations with the Swiss Cotton Industry," "Spelling and Delirious Love in Goethe's Youth."

For good measure, the paper adds one title from the recent Nazi past: "What Goethe Means to Us Aryans."

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"*I will* be as harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard*".

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the LIBERATOR.

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NOTES

Socialist Britain in the Pillory:—Charity demeans both him who gives and him who receives. Many a man who has helped his needy relatives has found out after a time that the recipients of his generosity reciprocated with cordial dislike rather than gratitude. And this naturally dismayed him. For was it not his right to keep a watchful eye on how his gifts were spent, to control the lives of those who profited by his bounty? To some extent the modern American is psychologically in the position of the old rich; and to that extent his present chagrin at British Labour publicists hitting back at him for his criticisms is understandable. Nevertheless, there is a difference. And the difference lies in the fact that the American is not helping the British or the Western Europeans through altruism, but because he knows that, if their common democratic way of life is to survive at all he can no longer live safely ensconced in his isolation. The present bickerings between British and American publicists are indeed unseemly. Yet the ball was started rolling in the U.S.A.; although the British would do well to remember that the American press is notoriously out of touch with American public opinion. American publicists who have nagged at the British for their social security schemes and their plans of nationalization to the point of insinuating that the Labour party no longer enjoyed the confidence of the public, have truly overreached themselves. But do they represent the vast bulk of American public opinion? It is more than likely that they are only a section of Americans—a small interested section at that, though a powerful one. And it may not be idle to hope, that the American people will remember to-day the part the English worker played in preventing the British Government of his time from recognizing the Confederacy and intervening in its behalf in the American Civil War. As regards the rest of the democratic world, particularly in the East, their sympathies are decidedly with the British Labour Party and their experiment in socialist democracy. It is probable that India, Burma and Ceylon would have won self-government even if the Conservatives had been returned to power in the last British general election. Yet it is unlikely that Pandit Nehru would have strained to keep India within the Commonwealth, or succeeded in doing so, if Britain had not been governed by Labour. And what is true of India holds with equal force in the case of Ceylon. For the sympathy that prevails to-day in Britain's erstwhile colonial dependencies for the Commonwealth and its aspirations is in no mean measure due to all that the Labour Party stands for in Britain. Americans should seriously note this. In their stand against the rising tide of Communism in the world, their greatest ally is the Socialist Britain of to-day.

Educational Reform:—The recommendations of the Universities Commission have been presented to the Government. From the press conference at Delhi at which Dr. Radhakrishnan, president of the Commission, explained the broad provisions, the report is an exhaustive one which has dealt with the central question of relating university education more closely to Indian life. The examination system is to give way to some manner of objective tests, taken from the technique in force in selecting officers for the United States Army and Navy and frequently utilised in business offices as well in the U.S.A. How this is expected to work we fail to see. The "tests" referred to by way of illustration are all meant to test the intelligence of the applicants before deciding on their fitness for the work that is to be entrusted to them; with universities the problem is just the reverse—men and women are examined to see how they have been equipped for the world by the training they have been given. In the last analysis, the "tests" of the army and navy and of business are intended to show how good the men are for the tasks that are to be entrusted to them, whilst examinations are meant to test how good the university training has been for the individual. It is a difference which cannot be ignored. In old times, a man could say that he had studied under this or that teacher; now he can carry with him a certificate to show that he has diligently pursued certain studies in one or the other university. The value of the record is proportionate to the prestige of the university. Much has been said to establish that objective tests will be less of a gamble than examinations but it is difficult to form an opinion until the full recommendations are available. In actual prac-

tice, it will be a change that is far less startling than newspaper headlines will lead men to think.

Co-Education:—The verdict of the Commission on Secondary Education is for separation of the sexes, though co-education is approved in primary schools and in advanced studies. This does not seem the best way of tackling this subject. If education is separate for the secondary stage, then it will be difficult to bring it together at the later period. In fact, there is reason to think that it will help most to retain co-education in the secondary stage too, so that the two may grow up together and get used to joint working. The Commission has said that it proposes to relate education to life in India and it contemplates the setting up of rural universities and institutions. It cannot be a step in this direction for separate education to be provided in secondary schools. This attitude is reactionary and it will need to be revised in the near future. It will be an inevitable consequence of separating classes that education itself will begin to differentiate between the sexes and irreparable damage must result from this. After all, we have to plan for a society in which the maximum service and the best results are desired.

Language—the Solution:—The suggestions of the University Commission on language are on the whole exceedingly reasonable. For higher secondary and university education, students will be required to learn three languages—their mother tongue, the federal language and an Indian language. This is in consonance with the intention to relate education to the Indian environment. The retention of English as the federal language is strongly favoured for an indeterminate present and Dr. Radhakrishnan was particularly careful in his remarks to insist that this did not mean postponement of the national language question till doomsday. Languages, say the Commission, have to grow and it is not possible now to fix a time-limit to the transition period. This obviously was not within the compass of the Commission as it depends greatly on political conditions in the countries. But generally the warning to go slow will be supported, as a balanced view. The degree of compulsion that can be resorted to, will not depend on academic considerations relating to the evolution of language but on the men and women who are to give effect to the policy. As these become available in sufficient numbers, the work of spreading the national language will take on a rising tempo.

National and Official Language:—It is now almost a settled fact that English will be retained as the official language for the next fifteen years at least. It is to be left to the Union President to decide on the manner in which the increasing use of Hindi is to be encouraged. After the fifteen years, the continued retention of English and the sphere in which it is retained is to be decided. That is about the most sensible decision that could have been arrived at. In the conference of provincial education ministers recently held at Delhi, there was some discussion on the learning of languages. Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad who presided, spoke of the dangers of compulsion. This, we are afraid, is an academic approach. So far as national language goes, there has to be compulsion. The Congress in its agitational years set off opposition to Hindustani by advocating the most extreme form of linguistic separatism. The two were conflicting and the moment the opportunity to give effect to policies arose the linguistic bias had to be countered. Much has been said of the threat to other language cultures if Hindi is alone encouraged as the medium in education and the means of communication not only between States but within States as well. This is a feeble objection. There is no danger of provincial languages dying out and, if they did in the cause of national unity, would it be so great a loss? Mr. Kher was confident that children could learn five languages without much trouble. This may be true—it largely depends on the child—but is there anything else that we could expect the five-language children to learn? A much better plan would be to use the transitional fifteen years for spreading Hindi among non-Hindu populations and getting the Hindi population to learn at least one other Indian language. So far as English goes, even if our law-makers were anxious to give it up, it is doubtful whether our children and their parents would be agreeable to the move. In Delhi some thirty school-children went on strike because the school had not been provided with an English teacher. The meaning is significant.

Evolution and Compulsion:—It is a common fallacy that evolution is regarded as something which has no room for compulsion. Yet there is no reason for this. Taking the case of English in the U.S.A., one has to accept that both the general acceptance of the language and the modifications that it has undergone after crossing the Atlantic are the result of compulsion. If English had not been forced on second-generation Americans, of whatever European origin, the language would have developed into something nearer the original, if it had grown into America's national language, though it would have naturally taken longer. The evolution of Hindi will need a certain amount of compulsion to bring it forward and it would be surprising if it remained very similar to Hindi as we know it. Dr. Rajendra Prasad and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru have both pleaded for a policy which will give Hindi flexibility and adaptability. Their immediate attention is on the agitation for a Sanskritised Hindi but it might equally relate to the influence of other Indian languages, besides the past effect of Persian, on the national language of the future.

The R.S.S.:—It is strange that the head of the R.S.S. who claims that his organization is devoted to the cultural uplift of the Hindus, should find himself unable to express definite views on the Hindu Code Bill. Mr. Golwalkar in a press conference at Delhi is reported to have dealt with a wide range of subjects from women's right to divorce to Communism. But his remarks on the social regeneration of the Hindus indicate that he has not devoted much thought to the subject so far. His excuse that he was prevented by imprisonment from studying the Hindu Code Bill, is a flimsy one. In fact, exclusion from political work ought to have afforded him the necessary quiet and peace for study had he been so disposed. Nothing exposes the hollowness of the claim to concentrate on Hindu society so much as this confession of lack of interest as it were in an important piece of social legislation that has been before the country for the last ten years. Mr. Golwalkar said that he was interested in all changes that made people happy and secure. This is a very vague approach to social questions which does not answer any problem. It is obvious that the R.S.S. leader is feeling his way and will yet need time to make up his mind. It is good to note, however, that he realises the need for change.

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MANNING THE SERVICES

It seems absurd to be perturbed over and over again at the occasional pettiness shown in the Constituent Assembly during debates on fundamental issues. And yet it is incredible that, in spite of all the talk about corruption and nepotism that has agitated the country, some members should still be provincial in their approach to the question of recruitment to the civil services. A profundity on the articles in the draft constitution concerning Public Service Commissions, for example, was that of an East Punjab member, who observed that recruitment should be made on a regional basis because "already the Central Secretariat is full of Menons, Swamis and Ayyangars;" another was the warning given by Dr. Punjabrao Deshmukh that there would be "a bloody revolution" if rural areas were not duly represented in the services. Considering the increasing emphasis that is being placed on the regional languages and the fact that familiarity with local conditions was always one of the factors determining the selection of candidates to provincial services, Dr. Deshmukh's solicitude is more than gratuitous. It is true that in the Central Services men were posted preferably to areas where they could be expected not to be influenced in their decisions by personal interests and loyalties. The reasons for this healthy convention, however, are so obvious that it seems unnecessary to dilate on them. The bureaucrat after all is human. There is also, of course, the minor point that Public Service Commissions—Provincial and Central—were concerned and will continue to be so with appointments to posts of the higher grade, that is with the selection of men who in time are expected to become senior and responsible administrators in their respective services. One would have assumed that Dr. Deshmukh would have realized the importance, therefore, of choosing candidates for excellence of qualifications rather than for their antecedents. Nevertheless, in spite of these lapses, much emerged from the debate that was gratifying. There was pre-eminently the fact that the members of the Drafting Committee and Congress leaders themselves have realized beyond doubt the necessity of keeping the services out of controversial politics, which are calculated to provoke party loyalties. This is no mean achievement. For in the pre-independence days, the hostility of Congressmen to members of the services derived mainly from the feeling that they were motivated always by self-interest. To belong to a service then was to damn oneself as anti-national. In some instances this was certainly true but not in all cases or even in the majority of cases. Experience with the day-to-day administration of the country now would seem to have made Congressmen wiser. And it may be assumed that, by and large, there exists to-day a realization of the connection between peaceful evolution, the greatest reason for democracy, and the existence of non-political administrative services staffed by men trained to execute their duties irrespective of which party is in power. The conflict that takes place occasionally between permanent servants and popular ministers, after a radical political change has occurred, is the inevitable result of the element of suspicion on the one hand and the jolt to self-confidence on the other. On the whole, however, permanent servants in virtue of their training speedily adjust themselves to new policies. That this has happened in India within the two years of independence is proved by the increasing reliance Congress Ministers are placing on the civil servants. It is pleasing to note, therefore, the efforts that have been made in the constitution to place the non-political character of the services on a firm footing. All appointments are to be made by Public Service Commissions, the Chairman and members of which are to be appointed by the President in the case of the Union Commission and by the Governor or Ruler in the case of provincial and State commissions. And in the instances when appointments are not to be referred to Commissions there is included a safeguard—that is the President or the Governor or the Ruler shall submit to the Legislature the reasons for not soliciting or accepting the advice of a Commission. The independence of the members of the Commissions is further ensured by the provisions which debar anyone who has once served on a Commission from taking office again after the expiry of their term of six years. In the case of members of Provincial or State Commissions the only other office that can be offered to them is appointment on the Union Commission or the Commission of another state. Members of the Union Commission, on the other hand, can be appointed only either as Chairman of the Union or States Commissions. An effort was made to allow members of the Commission to render 'honorary service to the country' after the expiry of their term. Dr. Ambedkar's reply to this suggestion was emphatic. He pointed out that 'pay was not the only thing which a person obtained by reason of his post'; and he explained firmly that it was desirable to eliminate all opportunities of "waypicking and pilfering" by excluding all types of appointments save the ones already mentioned. Perhaps Dr. Ambedkar struck some members as being unduly cynical, but considering the pitfalls of democracy one can only congratulate him on his realism. Another important provision included by the Drafting Committee to ensure that appointments would be made only on merit was the provision that 'one-half of the members of the Commission' should be service-men of ten years' standing. The opposition of some members of the house to this provision can only be explained on the grounds of the old suspicions that were entertained towards permanent servants. That the politician and not the civil servant is a menace to an honest and efficient administration is always difficult to grasp. For the bureaucrat is popular in no country except with the minister who works with him. Mostly he is blamed for the cumbersome routine within which he works. It is generally not appreciated that the red-tape is not of his making but originates in the system of check and counter-check within which he works. Yet it is difficult to substitute the system with a better one. It does provide a safeguard against corruption and nepotism, even whilst it is calculated to delay decisions, to develop a tendency to throw the responsibiilty of them onto the shoulders of others, to search for precedents even in new situations and to cherish rules above all. The correction of these tendencies, however, cannot be achieved by excluding officials from serving on Commissions. In the last analysis their own familiarity with the qualities required in a good administrator does make them more reliable as

selectors of candidates on merit than non-officials. One must welcome, therefore, Dr. Ambedkar's decision to alter this provision only in a minor way to read 'that as nearly as half the members should be officials of ten years' standing'. A corrective for the ease with which permanent servants slip into bureaucratic lethargy must be found, however. But the constitution cannot frame it. Its main concern is to devise the best system for selecting the best possible men for administrative posts. And this it has done admirably. Legislators who wish to improve the existing systems of selection adopted by the present Commissions would be well advised to turn their attention to the interview technique prevailing at the moment. It is undeniable that the standard of efficiency is higher in services which rely on written examinations as well as interviews for recruitment. Improved selection then might be secured by an insistence on a written test always along with the "viva". For at the moment interviews are mainly assessing the candidate's personality—an elusive thing to evaluate at any time. No one who has appeared even once before a Federal Public Service Commission Board can fail to have noticed the erratic character of some of the questions, or to be surprised at the fact that different candidates are asked very different questions indeed. In the circumstances, knowledge of how to do the job is hardly ever assessed and the 'halo effect' known to psychologists has full scope to assert itself. As regards the larger question of selecting men with integrity for public services this in the last resort must be left to be ingrained in the education imparted at Universities and other higher institutions and to the atmosphere and ethical code prevailing in the services. That is why Congressmen should not deride learning. The capacity to look beyond the immediate difficulty, to trust reason rather than emotion may not be developed in all University graduates. But where Universities are genuine seats of learning their trained young men will display these qualities more effectively than where Universities concentrate on mere professional training.

THE ART OF ADMINISTRATION

There is a great deal of confused thinking on the matter of civil liberties. It is not possible to question in this day the right or propriety of the State interfering in the lives of individuals. A reference to Mill is regarded as the last word by pseudo-liberals on civil liberties but it should not be forgotten that John Stuart Mill was opposed to even the ban on traffic in opium. Much more is expected of the State than was the practice in laissez faire England, and Mill himself was particular in stating that he spoke mostly for British conditions. Nor should it be forgotten that Britain, and to a less extent the U.S.A., has a unique political tradition. In the rest of the world, dependence on governments is far greater; it is the rule rather than the exception. A glance at countries, so widely separated as Austria and Japan, will make this obvious. In India particularly we have learnt from experience of municipal administrations that self-government is not common. It is to these conditions that political thinkers have to adjust their views on governments and the governed. For some time to come, interference in personal matters is inevitable. It is no use expecting public opinion to assert itself because there is no public opinion; what passes for it is manipulated. On the one hand, we have the oppositionists, ranging from the Socialists through Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose to the Communalists, all claiming to have "public opinion" with them; on the other, we find Governments acting in the name of "public opinion". A recent example is the Bombay Government's ban on smoking in buses, "in response to public feeling". It is a useful expedient but it means very little in the context of Indian conditions.

In these circumstances, it is more profitable to arrive at some principles which should govern administration. In his classic "Study of Administration", Woodrow Wilson some sixty years ago called attention to the greater care expended by autocrats in ensuring that their administrations were responsive to public sentiment, compared to the practice of democracies. Just because the autocrats considered themselves irremovable, they took care to let the reins of government rest lightly on the people. Democracies, on the other hand, were inclined to ignore the necessity of rendering administration in their desire to make the government responsible. It is, moreover, a political truism that tyrannies were invariably exercised in the name of the people. If in the Twentieth Century it is no longer tenable to assert that that government is the best that governs the least, some other working hypothesis has to be found. So far as can be judged, the only guide is that governments, to be regarded as successful, should preserve the semblance of not governing. Compulsions there will be but they must needs be compulsions which are not felt to be restrictive. Failure in this accomplishment creates a situation in which the Ministers are forced to assume that they are acting in the "public interest", even against public opinion, which in turn brings on a mental attitude of self-righteousness, intolerance of criticism and in time refusal to defend policies and programmes before the public. The result is that the critic is ignored consistently, ministerial whims are given their head, and the administration is neither responsive nor responsible. Instead of considering whether particular policies are practicable, governments in this state tend to concentrate on the ideal and to seek to force the pace of progress. It has often been said by Ministers that the people rely too much on the government. But very often these Ministers are themselves inclined to set an extravagant value on legislation and to expect far too much from the coercive arm of the State. The burden that is thus imposed on the administration and on the permanent services, is a heavy one which brings down the whole structure with a crash.

In India, this stage has been reached. The sincerity of the men who frame ministerial policies, is not in question. It is their realism which is deficient. Moreover, little attention is paid to mass psychology in placing heavy strains on the ordinary citizen. The three decades of the Gandhian Congress made heavy calls on the public. Political students were conscious of the fact that towards the end of this period a slackening of popular response was marked. But for this relaxing, the nation would have resisted much more strongly and effectively the partition of the country and other adjustments which ran against the grain of Congress agitation. Yet the Congress, on assuming office, continued making demands on the public. In the first year of Independence, it was a common feature of public statements that Indians were wanting in character and discipline. No attention was paid to an obvious truth that men and women cannot eternally live in the clouds; they have got to come to earth at some time, and the higher the pitch to which they are taken, the lower will seem the fall. It is only in the second year that there was some appreciation of the necessity for greater stress on organisational improvement; even now this fact is but dimly realized. Only there is increasing consciousness of the need for overhauling party machines and raising the leadership. On all hands, there is a call to train workers, instil

into them courage and devotion, and to make them more conscious of their responsibilities. But there is a danger here that failure to frame policies on practical lines will tend to overburden workers and isolate them from the people whom they have to convince. There is a further complication which has to be taken note of. Most ministries are headed by men who have some feeling for the constructive programme of the Congress; the provincial party-executives are manned by men whose skill in organisational work, has given them the leadership. Whilst the task of framing policies rests with the Ministries, the work of popularising these policies is largely for the party executives to perform. In the Centre, co-ordination has been secured by including the same men so far as the top leadership goes in the Central Party Executive as well as the Central Cabinet. Moreover, the Union Government feels, as provincial administrations do not, the impact of world forces. And the control of the Centre has still to be achieved over the provincial units. Something will have to be done to correct these conditions.

Underlying all these complexities, there is the corruption which threatens all measures of social and economic reform. It is not an easy matter to tackle this but much more could be done than has so far been attempted. All the great plans of the Congress—Food, Prohibition and increased production—must rest squarely on an honest and devoted body of lower officials. So far as public co-operation is called for, it also requires a corresponding body of public workers. That this should have to be said, might be regarded as deplorable. But here again, it must be asked whether sufficient care has been taken in framing policies to see that they carry official opinion with them. The Centre has of late been appealing for a go-slow policy and often in vain. If it is put on the ground that progress that carries many a little way, is preferable to a headlong rush forward which threatens to isolate the vanguard from the rest, it will secure more support. Nor should it be forgotten that more annoyance and opposition is roused by trifling matters which cannot be commended on rational grounds than by large policies which hold out benefits to the people and can be commended, and which are even endangered by rash experimenting on diversions. We have a feeling, for example, that the cause of Prohibition, in itself a great reform, is needlessly jeopardised by the Bombay Government's unnecessary and even wanton excursions into anti-gambling measures, and by trying to force the pace of Prohibition itself. It would have been well to have kept the first stage to ridding the country of the liquor interests and to intensive propaganda for the cause. What has happened is that the Province is bordering on Total Prohibition but there is very little propaganda that is being undertaken.

MARRIAGE AND SOCIETY

Sex in Social Life. Edited by Sybil Neville-Rolfe O.B.E: Published by Allen and Unwin. 21/-

"Sex in Social Life" is an anthology compiled from contributions by eminent experts in various branches of sex and social problems. The first part of the book, grouped under the heading "Sex and Science", consists of four parts; The Biology of Sex, The Physiology of Reproduction, Psychology and Sex, and Sex and the Family in Primitive Society. These four sections provide an admirable introduction for the latter part of the book which is entitled "Sex and Society". Most of us are singularly ignorant about our bodies and the structure and the functioning of our various organs. In these scientific introductory chapters we find by means of clear diagrams and simple explanations the answers to a number of the problems which may have puzzled us.

The latter part of the book, "Sex and Society", takes us through the whole circle of family life and its problems, beginning with a chapter on Parenthood, and following through with articles on such subjects as Sex Education in the Home, Adolescence, Preparation for Marriage, The Art of Love, Personal and Social Aspects on "Why Marriages Fail" and other chapters dealing with problems of sex for those who are abnormal.

It has long been felt that, while we spend years in preparing for various vocations in life, medicine, law, teaching and even stenography, very little attention is paid to serious preparation for marrigae, which is after all the most fundamental and universal career in the world! If parents, who are responsible for the training and care of the younger generation, have made little attempt to prepare for their own marriage and parenthood, it is not surprising that the children grow up in the same ignorance and with the same problems to face "If we wish to produce a generation of sexually normal and happy people, our first responsibility is to understand the fundamentals of normal mother-craft and parenthood. The Battle of Waterloo is said to have been won on the playing fields of Eton; many ding-dong battles against sexual difficulties in adolescents and adults could have been won quite easily in the nursery when the main reaction patterns of the individual in sex and character were being formed. So the beginning of a right understanding of sex lies in an understanding of parenthood, that is, an undertaking of the natures and needs of children," says B. D. Hendy in the chapter on Parenthood.

Until comparatively recently "sex" was a subject which was never discussed by "nice people"; it was considered something shameful, something to be hidden; something which the "not-so-nice" sniggered about in private and laughed at in risque music hall jokes. "Unfortunately," says Marjorie Hume, "the very fact that so many parents have grown up themselves with a warped and distorted outlook on sex makes it difficult for them to give good, sane sex education to their children." Children have been left to pick up knowledge of sex and the functions of their bodies in furtive ways from other children, or from adults who are by no means qualified to pass on the knowledge, with the result that the children grow up with a distorted attitude towards the subject; simply because their parents have been too ignorant or too self-conscious to answer frankly and honestly the questions they have been asked. The chapters on Sex Education in the Home, Adolescence, and Preparation for Marriage are a good guide to parents who wish their children to grow up with a healthy knowledge of themselves and to prepare for marriage and the subsequent training of their own families.

The chapters on Marriage will help to solve a number of the problems in the lives of parents themselves. So many marriages which start full of high hopes deteriorate into a mere humdrum existence or break altogether. The figures given in this book of applications for divorce in England and Wales are staggering. In 1913, 577 decrees were given and in addition, 5,000 separation orders were made by magistrates. In 1945, 20,000 divorces were granted and there was a waiting list of 43,000 cases of servicemen alone waiting to be brought before the Courts. It may be argued that divorce has been made much more easy to obtain now, and that people who, in the old days, would have made "the best of a bad job" and endured an uphappy marriage, now avail themselves of the opportunity of divorcing each other and of starting life again. But it is necessary to look

more deeply into the causes of these broken marriages and to see why there are so many cases of unhappiness and dissatisfaction that the Divorce Courts are faced with an ever-growing number of cases. During this century the world has passed through two major wars which have had their repurcussions and left their scars on every country. Life has gathered a momentum undreamed of fifty years ago. The average man tends to live a much less natural life than his grandparents, for fifty years ago the home was the centre of family life and most amusements were to be found in the home circle. To-day transport is easy, and cars, buses, trains and ships, to say nothing of planes, provide rapid and comfortable travel facilities. People tend to look for their amusements in cinemas, clubs and dance-halls, and the home-unit has lost its hold. The family frequently looks on the home as a hotel—a place where the members of the family meet only to eat and sleep when they have no more interesting engagement! Young people coming from these artificial homes and stimulated by a diet of films and modern literature, enter into marriage with no idea of all that it entails, all the petty details that arise every day, unprepared for the " give and take " essential to a successful marriage. Often they start their marriage on the understanding that there will be no children, obviously visualising just a continuation of their pre-married good times. After marriage, the husband realises that the woman who was such fun to go out with compares very unfavourably with his mother from the point of view of providing home comforts, and the wife finds that the man who was such a pleasant dinner and dancing companion is much less interesting and much more fussy as a husband! Neither husband nor wife can put up with a continuation of this state of affairs and the result is the Divorce Court. If all those contemplating marriage sat back and gave as much thought to the problems which might be expected to arise in it as they would before taking up a new job, there would be fewer broken marriages, for, as Herbert Grey ends his chapter on Preparation for Marriage, " Marriage is a great adventure. Few of us are great enough to make it a perfect thing. But when it fails it is we who are to blame not the institution of marriage! "

This is a book which deserves to be widely read by all those who wish to equip themselves and their children to use our modern freedom wisely, so that it will be a freedom of " happiness and not of disaster."

D.R.

WORKERS' COLLEGE JUBILEE

(By LIONEL ELVIN)

(Principal of Ruskin College, and Fellow of Trinity Hall, Cambridge University.)

Ruskin College, Oxford University, has just celebrated its Jubilee. It is famous the world over because it is a " Worker's College ". Among its former students are Members of Parliament, a former Cabinet Minister; many famous trade union leaders; while Mr. Attlee, the present Prime Minister of Britain, was once one of its lecturers.

Workers' education—and more broadly, general adult education—in Britain, has many sides. One of its oldest and most remarkable institutions is Ruskin College, Oxford University, England, which celebrates its Jubilee this year. Ruskin College is an independent foundation—it was actually founded by three Americans in Oxford, of whom the best known was Charles A. Beard, the historian—but it enjoys the support of Britain's trade union movement and of other working class bodies, is aided financially by Britain's Ministry of Education, and has cordial relations with Oxford University. After 50 years of often chequered history it is well established and larger than it has ever been before.

The trade union movement in Britain now enjoys unparalleled power and influence, reaching far beyond mere bargaining with employers, into every detail of national life. How have its leaders trained themselves for their present role? And how have the active supporters of the Labour movement fitted themselves for the responsibilities that they, too, bear?

The answer is, in part, by learning in the hard school of experience. But it has also been done by study, often against the severest discouragement. Without the organization of workers' education in Britain the part played by people in shaping their destiny, political and economic, could not be what it is to-day.

Students come to Ruskin College for a two years' course of study. Some come from other countries, including Commonwealth lands; the majority come, of course, from Britain. Every important industry is represented: miners, steel-workers, engineers, landworkers and the rest come from their work, usually after a long private or evening study. Not the least important element in college life is this mingling of workers and the rest come from their work, usually men and women with different experiences but united by some community of outlook and a common desire to relate book learning to living.

The majority of the students take courses in economics, social history, and political theory and organization, which will enable them to deal more effectively with the problems of their working lives. These students, at the end of their two years, take the Oxford Diploma in Economics and Political Science. A number of the students at the College elect, however, to take a course in English Literature and History. A good number study a foreign language. Experience has shown that there are many men and women in working life, who, though they may find fulltime study strange at first, nevertheless rapidly come up to the exacting standards of a university. These have won their places in Russian College usually against severe competition. Scholarships are awarded by the College itself, by the Trades Union Congress, by individual trade unions, and by other organisations; and for these the contestants are invariably far more numerous than the available awards Such scholarships are given through competitions in which written papers and interviews, feature. Other places—an increasing number—are awarded by local education authorities, and these have varying arrangements for selection.

Teaching at the College is partly by the traditional methods of lecture and seminar. But much more important is the weekly " tutorial " (as in the universities of Oxford and Cambridge) at which a student has an hour's personal discussion with his tutor and for which he prepares an essay or paper. At Ruskin the students have that personal teaching which Oxford and Cambridge have found indispensable.

In the College there is a full community life. Each student in the main College building has his own study-bedroom, but the life gives full opportunity for the informal interchange of experience and talk. Students' committees largely run the social life of the College, from football and cricket to the production of plays and an excellent College magazine.

There are now over 100 students (men and women) in residence, as compared with under 40 before World War II. This has necessitated physical expansion, and a large private house has been purchased in pleasant surroundings on the outskirts of Oxford, with 20 acres of ground. Here—if an appeal that has been issued in connection with the jubilee

of the College is successful—a new hostel will be built. It is clear that the increased demand for college education by Britain's workers is permanent, and that the pioneering work of 50 years is bearing fruit.

What happens to Ruskin men and women when they leave the College? Some go on to a university to complete their work for a degree; many go back to their old jobs, usually to play an increased part in local, social, political or trade union work; and some go on to new work in trade unions, politics, social service or other occupations. Among former students are over a dozen Members of Parliament (one a former Cabinet Minister and one a former Deputy Speaker of Britain's House of Commons), many officials of the Trades Union Congress and individual trade unions, and many tutors and organisers in adult education. It is one of the proudest memories of Ruskin College that the present Prime Minister, Mr. Attlee, was one of its lecturers long before he was known to a wider world.

TITO'S DEFIANCE

(By DEVERE ALLEN)

Marshal Tito of Yugoslavia, among all the graduates from Moscow's rigid discipline, is winning votes as the one most likely to succeed. He is rapidly becoming a legendary figure. The other day an inventive Italian newspaper had him about to set sail for Mexico. American radio and press commentators had him scheduled to be bumped off by Russian agents last March, again in May, and still again on August first. At this writing, Tito is still going strong.

How strong is not quite realized by those who fail to win quiz programmes on European geography. For as it happens, Tito stands squarely athwart the best propaganda route counted on by the Kremlin as a means of access to the West, and he is blocking any theoretical Red Army sweep to the English Channel if there should be a war. More than that—he is a sort of rough and ready guarantee that war is unlikely in the immediate future, even if that conflict were as sure as some of the excited Pentagonians would have us believe.

In order to see how disastrously he has shifted propaganda avenues, you have to comprehend what a loss it was to the Cominform when it gave up Belgrade as its centre and moved over to Bucharest. It's almost as if a political movement had got a license to make speeches and distribute literature in Times Square, New York, and suddenly was relegated to a remote island on a Maine lake. From Yugoslavia it was possible to send agents, appeals, and directives straight through Trieste to Northern Italy, thence into South France and onward. It was bad enough when Italy and France dried up as favourable centres; it was worse when Tito blocked off that roadway at its eastern end.

Military strategists have spent a lot of time since the end of the war, wondering whether or not, in the eventuality of combat, the West should make a stand on the Rhine, as the French first wanted; or on the Elbe, as they now suggest; or behind the Pyrenees, as proposed by those defeatists, military and moral, who lay hold of any excuse for patting Dictator Francisco Franco on the back. Until Tito broke with Stalin, East Europe had a strategic route that by-passed the Rhine altogether, swung south of the Elbe, and cut through France without even touching the green northern flanks of the lofty Pyrenees. Now it is quite a different picture.

Tito has gone too far in his defiance of the Kremlin for any foreseeable reconciliation. Does that mean that he has become a worthy candidate for admission to the western group of nations? Or that he wants to go that far? It must also be remembered that Tito, like Stalin, has eyes glued chiefly on East Europe and on his own objectives. When he recently called on Bulgarians and Romanians to rise up and throw off Moscow's dominance, he may have thought he could thus curry favour with the West, and strengthen his rickety economy. But he was doubtless hoping, in addition, to begin the second phase of a movement which he—along with many other East Europeans—would like to see upset the Moscow Politburo, and place himself in a decisive, dominant role.

What can Tito offer to the West, besides the negative restraining force he is exerting upon Russian expansionist ambitions? He has even now begun to export copper in substantial quantities to the United States, and in the grim rocky mountains of his highly ridged country-side are various other important minerals—minerals that excite the interest of peacetime industry no less than that of the more limited groups who want raw materials for a wartime stockpile. These minerals are being dangled before Western eyes as an inducement to supply all sorts of things that the needy Yugoslav economy must speedily obtain.

Mineral riches in the ground may be one thing, and getting them out another. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that Tito, if he could get help in building new roads and railways, plus mining machinery and technicians, would have a strong bargaining power in trade with the West. During the war, the Germans made significant new discoveries of bauxite, the ore from which aluminum is refined, and there was quite a bit of it before. There is manganese, which the United States imported largely from Russia until Moscow clamped down on it in retaliation for American trade restrictions. There are nickel, molybdenum, graphite, phosphates, and lead. And there is mercury enough to rival some of the sources in Spain.

In the current world situation, which is ruled by hard-boiled considerations more frequently than by moral factors, it appears likely that Tito will soon achieve a new status in the sight of Western diplomacy. Already he has been getting technical help from British firms, test loans from the United States, and will probably be in line for more substantial favours as long as he is such a help, even negatively, in the slightly cooler East-West conflict. But he is no friend of democracy in any positive, vital sense, and he may yet tempt the Moscow power too far.

On his behalf this much can be asserted, even in appraisal of his dictatorial personality from the angle of ethics and democracy. He resembles curiously some of the Latin American dictators who began their careers as tough babies, only to mellow into gradual practitioners of a quasi-democratic method. Witness Batista in Cuba, who moved from Fascist seizure of power to become a president, who promoted education, and who refused to violate the constitution by succeeding himself even when asked to do so. Tito in public is a chest-thumper, yet in private he is universally reported to be quiet, reasonable, very different. He was trained in Moscow as a Communist; but he saw there what intrigue and factionalism can do in a rigid Communist society, for his first wife, caught up in a struggle between Communist "factions," died in a Russian prison.

GLEANINGS

Was Churchill Taken in by Roosevelt?

Winston Churchill hasn't heard the last of his House of Commons statement that President Roosevelt decided on unconditional surrender for Germany without consulting him, so that he had to go along with the policy against his better judgment.

This is what Churchill said in the House on July 21, 1949: "I must say that the phrase unconditional surrender was not brought to me to agree to in any

way before it was uttered by . . . President Roosevelt. But I did concur with him after he had said it and I reported the matter to the Cabinet, who accepted my position."

But this is what Churchill said in the House of Commons on February 11, 1943, in discussing the recently-finished Casablanca Conference: "It was only after full and cold, sober and mature consideration of these facts . . . that the President, with my full concurrence as agent of the War Cabinet, decided that the note of the Casablanca Conference should be the unconditional surrender of all our foes."

Was Elliot Roosevelt merely leaning on imagination when he wrote, in his book "As He Saw It," of events on January 23, 1943? Describing how President Roosevelt suggested the phrase at a luncheon with Elliot, Harry Hopkins and Churchill, the younger Roosevelt wrote: "Churchill, while he slowly munched a mouthful of food, thought, frowned, thought, finally grinned, and at length announced: 'Perfect! and I can just see how Goebbels and the rest of em'll squeal.'"

Who Changed France on the Saar ?

Constant references have been made in dispatches from the Atlantic Pact Defence Staff talks to sharp differences between the British and the French. Those disagreements are in some measure due to personal rivalry among military chiefs. There are economic undercurrents, too. In one respect, the British feel that France cannot be given too large a role because they fear French nationalism. The French, in turn, think that they must play a decisive geographic part in defence, and should therefore occupy the centre of the stage in other particulars.

British distrust of French nationalism was given new strength when it became clear that France was hoping to separate the important Saar area from Germany, then arrange for a plebiscite, with pressure and propaganda, which might induce the people there to vote in favour of French annexation. It was Ernest Bevin who, in private talks with the French Foreign Minister, Robert Schuman, indicated an unbending opposition.

Schuman argued that the Saar is already a part of the French economy; but Bevin remembered that this step had been taken by French unilaterally as a **fait accompli.** Schuman also contended that the Saar has a legislative assembly of its own, and was not covered by the Bonn Constitution for West Germany, and therefore ought to be allowed to send representatives to the Council of Europe scheduled to meet at Strasbourg. Bevin was flabbergasted to discover the omission of the Saar from the Bonn document, which was a British oversight and which, he believed, might create endless trouble with the Germans. He also told Schuman that many dependencies had legislatures without getting a place on the Council of Europe. Bevin was stubborn; Schuman gave in.

Can Hong Kong be Held ?

If the United States is finding China an incandescent potato, so have the British a burning issue in Hong Kong. For 108 years they have had possession of this great trade outpost, which consists of 391 square miles of islands, rugged mainland, and water. Urged many times by liberal world opinion to give Hong Kong back to the Chinese, British governments including the present Labour Government, have turned deaf ears. With Communist forces likely to reach the border soon, voices have not been lacking, back in the United Kingdom and even in Hong Kong itself, counselling a return of the territory if the Communist régime makes the expected request.

But there are many critical considerations which recommend a contrary decision. If Britain should acceed to Chinese demands at such a juncture, would perhaps cost highly in prestige, and stimula new Communist uprisings in Burma, Malaya and els where. There are thousands of refugees who wou be harshly treated by the Communists. Yet if Brita hung on in the face of a Chinese Communist demarch this would add fresh fuel to the criticisms of whi western imperialism. And if somehow a trade de were made between Mao Tse-tung and the Britis Britain would become the target of attacks by th Western democracies opposed to any compromise wit the Communist forces.

Confronted with this series of dilemmas, th British are saying little and making extensive militar preparations. It is doubtful that they can muste more than 25,000 troops against a possible Chines force of eight times that number, and they must rel primarily on air power. But even should a successfu defence be put up in a showdown, again the effect o other sections of Southeast Asia would be portentous. The advances of Chinese Communism have produced many embarrassing and ticklish problems, but none is hotter than that of Hong Kong.

Why no U.S. Loan for Mexico's Oil Industry ?

After five months of negotiation for a loan of $ 203,000,000 from the United States to the Mexican Government, for the development of the oil industry south of the border, the talks were suspended by Mexico. Why ?

Neither the Associated Press nor the United Press can be blamed for any suppression of the reasons given by Mexican Government spokesmen, for both sent out frank, forthright, detailed stories. But singularly few papers devoted any appreciable space to the reports, and the news has made the radio seldom, or in extremely abbreviated form.

The reason for the breakdown of negotiations, as stated by no less a figure than President Miguel Aleman, and confirmed by Antonio Bermudez, head of the Mexican Petroleum industry, was interference by oil concerns of the United States which exerted pressure on Washington.

Mexico was willing to grant certain rights to U.S. oil companies, which could have gained royalties or shares in the oil developed under their technical skill and equipment. But according to Mexico, the oil firms high-pressured the U.S. negotiators into a demand on Mexico that they be allowed to buy, and exploit the oil on the basis that existed prior to the 1938 expropriation—as the price of the loan.

Protests have been rising, and President Truman has indicated that he may direct the start of new negotiations. But Mexico, which wants help from oil technicians if it can safeguard its own rights, appears adamant against a return to the old system. Once each year, on the anniversary of the expropriation, Mexican school children parade with placards signalizing the event as one of the most significant in the nation's history; they deliver orations, and in various other ways manifest the national determination never again to allow unregulated exploitation of this national resource.

It is admitted by some Mexican and visiting experts that there has been a good deal of inefficiency in the management of Petroleos Mexicanos, though Senor Bermudez has made many improvements. There is a lack of mechanical equipment which might develop oil output to a far greater degree. But Senor Bermudez declared that if the loan never comes through, Mexico will still manage to get along. The conservative Mexico City daily, Excelsior, said that Washington, in bowing to the oil companies, has made "an error which may easily be exploited by Communist agitators to endanger Continental unity."

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GLEANINGS

How Ill Are London Leaders?—

Prime Minister Clement Atlee's repute for equanimity is not due to a phlegmatic nature, but to self-discipline. He is more sensitive than some politicians, and possesses emotions. Warned that overwork would prevent a cure for his ulcer, he has had to face crisis after crisis. The dock-workers' strike finally wore him out because he had to get tougher than he wanted to when he saw a tottering economy menaced at a critical hour. With luck, he will continue to shake off the inevitable temporary set-backs in health and be able to fill his office for a long time to come.* * * **Earnest Bevin** has several times suffered a minor collapse, and he experienced a particularly bad one in mid-July. During a debate in the House, he had to retire to his office for emergency treatment by his doctor, Sir Alex McCall, after which he doggedly returned to the floor and made a speech, though shaky and short of breath and compelled to take medicine at one point in his address. Bevin has a bad heart and a tendency to asthma. He was a worn man, from wartime efforts, when he became Foreign Minister in 1945. Yet his great physical courage keeps him bouncing back, and in private conversation he usually displays a vitality that belies his press photos. But he will increasingly have to guard his health, and has hinted at a possible early retirement. * * * * * **Sir Stafford Cripps** has long been troubled by a delicate digestion which is largely responsible for his reputation as a puritan ascetic. His treatments at Lake Zurich consist mainly of diet and rest. He will doubtless be back in good shape by fall· * * * * * * **Herbert Morrison,** the other member of Labour's Big Four, is none too robust. In fact, many of the Party's less famous functionaries—in the Cabinet, in Parliament, and in administrative posts—have been pushing themselves to the danger point. The Government has had to solve domestic and world crises while engaged in a tremendous drive to enact into law the Party's principles. Now they are heading into a crucial and strenuous election.

The fatigue shown by the most popular old-timers is a source of concern to the rank and file, but from the political point of view this is less serious for Labour than it might be, since the Conservative Party has even fewer leaders with widespread popularity.

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Britain's Atomic Research:—

Sir John Cockcroft's atomic research commission started, at the end of the war, with about as much technical know-how as the Americans had, and in some respects with more. They got some information from the U.S., and gave some in return. But the British had grown discouraged at the stalemate over the atom in the United Nations. Besides, they could hardly fail to note the increasing attacks of American business and conservative elements in Congress on British Socialism. They wondered whether they might count on U.S. aid in an emergency as confidently as they had previously hoped. They did not ask for any of the bombs now on hand in the United States. But they wanted three things:

First, the latest information that would enable them to make atom bombs on their own if they ever decided they must; furthermore, they do not think that The Bomb is the sole weapon to be theoretically developed from the basic techniques that produced it.

Second, they wanted the privilege of purchasing uranium from the Belgian Congo, with which the U.S. agreement was expiring. They have sources in Canada, but for reasons of finance and strategy alike, they would like to buy Congo uranium also. Furthermore, there's something in the wind regarding possible experimentation in the wastelands of South Africa: Sir John Cockcroft has been scheduled to make a trip there this month, for purposes which have been hush-hush.

Finally, the British have been moving closer and closer toward the development of atomic energy for peacetime industrial uses, a factor in which they have a keener interest than Americans because success might free them from many of their present economic handicaps. Their interest in technical information along such lines was even greater than their military curiosity.

* * * * *

Two Bills at Washington:—

For want of greater publicity, two bills before Congress, each of which has constructive value for better international relations, may fail of passage. One of these is H.R. 199, the Judd bill, which was passed by the House March first and which has been considered at hearings before the Senate Judiciary Committee's Sub-Committee on Immigration. In effect, the bill would repeal the Exclusion Act of 1924. It would grant the privilege of becoming an American citizen to all immigrants having a legal right to permanent residence, and set immigration quotas for Asiatic and Pacific peoples. * * * The other measure is designed to spend on foreign relief the equivalent of $ 1,247,018.47 earned by conscientious objectors who took jobs of national importance during the war, for which they were not paid wages. Technically this money is now the property of the U.S. and has been absorbed into Treasury funds. But Senator Sparkman has introduced a bill (S. 1998) and Representative Judd a similar bill in the House (H.R. 5186) which would authorize the expenditure of an equal sum. A poll taken among the C.O.'s in 1945 indicated that the men wished the money to go for overseas relief. * * * As originally conceived, the Judd-Sparkman bills would allocate the full amount to the CARE book programme, which calls for sending to Europe and Asia books from a selected list compiled by a committee of experts headed by Dr. Luther Evans, Librarian of Congress. But the State Department recently suggested that $ 1,000,000 be used for the CARE book shipments, and the rest for laboratory equipment.

* * * *

An East Mediterranean Pact?—

When Chiang Kai-Shek, President Quirino of the Philippines and Syngman Rhee of Korea unite in proposing a Pacific Pact, British opposition is even stouter than that of Washington. Political leaders in the American capital fear that any Pacific Pact now, even if the military aspects were played down and emphasis be placed on economic unity, might inflame the whole Far Eastern situation. British Tories have announced that, if they win in 1950, they will press for an East Mediterranean Pact as the next defence step, a Pact supported by U.S. military power.

* * * * *

Making Goethe Really Great:—

From a current list of "Goethe Year" publications the Rheinische Zeitung, of Cologne, has picked the following titles: "Goethe's Toothaches," "Goethe's Sex Life," "How Goethe Drank Away His Royalties," "Goethe's Relations with the Swiss Cotton Industry," "Spelling and Delirious Love in Goethe's Youth."

For good measure, the paper adds one title from the recent Nazi past: "What Goethe Means to Us Aryans."

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way before it was uttered by . . . President Roosevelt. But I did concur with him after he had said it and I reported the matter to the Cabinet, who accepted my position."

But this is what Churchill said in the House of Commons on February 11, 1943, in discussing the recently-finished Casablanca Conference: " It was only after full and cold, sober and mature consideration of these facts . . . that the President, with my full concurrence as agent of the War Cabinet, decided that the note of the Casablanca Conference should be the unconditional surrender of all our foes."

Was Elliot Roosevelt merely leaning on imagination when he wrote, in his book " As He Saw It," of events on January 23, 1943? Describing how President Roosevelt suggested the phrase at a luncheon with Elliot, Harry Hopkins and Churchill, the younger Roosevelt wrote: " Churchill, while he slowly munched a mouthful of food, thought, frowned, thought, finally grinned, and at length announced: ' Perfect! and I can just see how Goebbels and the rest of em'll squeal.' "

Who Changed France on the Saar ?

Constant references have been made in dispatches from the Atlantic Pact Defence Staff talks to sharp differences between the British and the French. Those disagreements are in some measure due to personal rivalry among military chiefs. There are economic undercurrents, too. In one respect, the British feel that France cannot be given too large a role because they fear French nationalism. The French, in turn, think that they must play a decisive geographic part in defence, and should therefore occupy the centre of the stage in other particulars.

British distrust of French nationalism was given new strength when it became clear that France was hoping to separate the important Saar area from Germany, then arrange for a plebiscite, with pressure and propaganda, which might induce the people there to vote in favour of French annexation. It was Ernest Bevin who, in private talks with the French Foreign Minister, Robert Schuman, indicated an unbending opposition.

Schuman argued that the Saar is already a part of the French economy; but Bevin remembered that this step had been taken by French unilaterally as a **fait accompli.** Schuman also contended that the Saar has a legislative assembly of its own, and was not covered by the Bonn Constitution for West Germany, and therefore ought to be allowed to send representatives to the Council of Europe scheduled to meet at Strasbourg. Bevin was flabbergasted to discover the omission of the Saar from the Bonn document, which was a British oversight and which, he believed, might create endless trouble with the Germans. He also told Schuman that many dependencies had legislatures without getting a place on the Council of Europe. Bevin was stubborn; Schuman gave in.

Can Hong Kong be Held ?

If the United States is finding China an incandescent potato, so have the British a burning issue in Hong Kong. For 108 years they have had possession of this great trade outpost, which consists of 391 square miles of islands, rugged mainland, and water. Urged many times by liberal world opinion to give Hong Kong back to the Chinese, British governments including the present Labour Government, have turned deaf ears. With Communist forces likely to reach the border soon, voices have not been lacking, back in the United Kingdom and even in Hong Kong itself, counselling a return of the territory if the Communist regime makes the expected request.

But there are many critical considerations which recommend a contrary decision. If Britain should acceed to Chinese demands at such a juncture, it would perhaps cost highly in prestige, and stimulate new Communist uprisings in Burma, Malaya and elsewhere. There are thousands of refugees who would be harshly treated by the Communists. Yet if Britain hung on in the face of a Chinese Communist **demarche,** this would add fresh fuel to the criticisms of white western imperialism. And if somehow a trade deal were made between Mao Tse-tung and the British, Britain would become the target of attacks by the Western democracies opposed to any compromise with the Communist forces.

Confronted with this series of dilemmas, the British are saying little and making extensive military preparations. It is doubtful that they can muster more than 25,000 troops against a possible Chinese force of eight times that number, and they must rely primarily on air power. But even should a successful defence be put up in a showdown, again the effect on other sections of Southeast Asia would be portentous. The advances of Chinese Communism have produced many embarrassing and ticklish problems, but none is hotter than that of Hong Kong.

Why no U.S. Loan for Mexico's Oil Industry ?

After five months of negotiation for a loan of $ 203,000,000 from the United States to the Mexican Government, for the development of the oil industry south of the border, the talks were suspended by Mexico. Why ?

Neither the Associated Press nor the United Press can be blamed for any suppression of the reasons given by Mexican Government spokesmen, for both sent out frank, forthright, detailed stories. But singularly few papers devoted any appreciable space to the reports, and the news has made the radio seldom, or in extremely abbreviated form.

The reason for the breakdown of negotiations, as stated by no less a figure than President Miguel Aleman, and confirmed by Antonio Bermudez, head of the Mexican Petroleum industry, was interference by oil concerns of the United States which exerted pressure on Washington.

Mexico was willing to grant certain rights to U.S. oil companies, which could have gained royalties or shares in the oil developed under their technical skill and equipment. But according to Mexico, the oil firms high-pressured the U.S. negotiators into a demand on Mexico that they be allowed to buy, and exploit the oil on the basis that existed prior to the 1938 expropriation—as the price of the loan.

Protests have been rising, and President Truman has indicated that he may direct the start of new negotiations. But Mexico, which wants help from oil technicians if it can safeguard its own rights, appears adamant against a return to the old system. Once each year, on the anniversary of the expropriation, Mexican school children parade with placards signalizing the event as one of the most significant in the nation's history; they deliver orations, and in various other ways manifest the national determination never again to allow unregulated exploitation of this national resource.

It is admitted by some Mexican and visiting experts that there has been a good deal of inefficiency in the management of Petroleos Mexicanos, though Senor Bermudez has made many improvements. There is a lack of mechanical equipment which might develop oil output to a far greater degree. But Senor Bermudez declared that if the loan never comes through, Mexico will still manage to get along. The conservative Mexico City daily, Excelsior, said that Washington, in bowing to the oil companies, has made " an error which may easily be exploited by Communist agitators to endanger Continental unity."

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tice, it will be a change that is far less startling than newspaper headlines will lead men to think.

Co-Education:—The verdict of the Commission on Secondary Education is for separation of the sexes, though co-education is approved in primary schools and in advanced studies. This does not seem the best way of tackling this subject. If education is separate for the secondary stage, then it will be difficult to bring it together at the later period. In fact, there is reason to think that it will help most to retain co-education in the secondary stage too, so that the two may grow up together and get used to joint working. The Commission has said that it proposes to relate education to life in India and it contemplates the setting up of rural universities and institutions. It cannot be a step in this direction for separate education to be provided in secondary schools. This attitude is reactionary and it will need to be revised in the near future. It will be an inevitable consequence of separating classes that education itself will begin to differentiate between the sexes and irreparable damage must result from this. After all, we have to plan for a society in which the maximum service and the best results are desired.

Language—the Solution:—The suggestions of the University Commission on language are on the whole exceedingly reasonable. For higher secondary and university education, students will be required to learn three languages—their mother tongue, the federal language and an Indian language. This is in consonance with the intention to relate education to the Indian environment. The retention of English as the federal language is strongly favoured for an indeterminate present and Dr. Radhakrishnan was particularly careful in his remarks to insist that this did not mean postponement of the national language question till doomsday. Languages, say the Commission, have to grow and it is not possible now to fix a time-limit to the transition period. This obviously was not within the compass of the Commission as it depends greatly on political conditions in the countries. But generally the warning to go slow will be supported, as a balanced view. The degree of compulsion that can be resorted to, will not depend on academic considerations relating to the evolution of language but on the men and women who are to give effect to the policy. As these become available in sufficient numbers, the work of spreading the national language will take on a rising tempo.

National and Official Language:—It is now almost a settled fact that English will be retained as the official language for the next fifteen years at least. It is to be left to the Union President to decide on the manner in which the increasing use of Hindi is to be encouraged. After the fifteen years, the continued retention of English and the sphere in which it is retained is to be decided. That is about the most sensible decision that could have been arrived at. In the conference of provincial education ministers recently held at Delhi, there was some discussion on the learning of languages. Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad who presided, spoke of the dangers of compulsion. This, we are afraid, is an academic approach. So far as national language goes, there has to be compulsion. The Congress in its agitational years set off opposition to Hindustani by advocating the most extreme form of linguistic separatism. The two were conflicting and the moment the opportunity to give effect to policies arose the linguistic bias had to be countered. Much has been said of the threat to other language cultures if Hindi is alone encouraged as the medium in education and the means of communication not only between States but within States as well. This is a feeble objection. There is no danger of provincial languages dying out and, if they did in the cause of national unity, would it be so great a loss? Mr. Kher was confident that children could learn five languages without much trouble. This may be true—it largely depends on the child—but is there anything else that we could expect the five-language children to learn? A much better plan would be to use the transitional fifteen years for spreading Hindi among non-Hindu populations and getting the Hindi population to learn at least one other Indian language. So far as English goes, even if our law-makers were anxious to give it up, it is doubtful whether our children and their parents would be agreeable to the move. In Delhi some thirty school-children went on strike because the school had not been provided with an English teacher. The meaning is significant.

Evolution and Compulsion:—It is a common fallacy that evolution is regarded as something which has no room for compulsion. Yet there is no reason for this. Taking the case of English in the U.S.A., one has to accept that both the general acceptance of the language and the modifications that it has undergone after crossing the Atlantic are the result of compulsion. If English had not been forced on second-generation Americans, of whatever European origin, the language would have developed into something nearer the original, if it had grown into America's national language, though it would have naturally taken longer. The evolution of Hindi will need a certain amount of compulsion to bring it forward and it would be surprising if it remained very similar to Hindi as we know it. Dr. Rajendra Prasad and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru have both pleaded for a policy which will give Hindi flexibility and adaptability. Their immediate attention is on the agitation for a Sanskritised Hindi but it might equally relate to the influence of other Indian languages, besides the past effect of Persian, on the national language of the future.

The R.S.S.:—It is strange that the head of the R.S.S. who claims that his organization is devoted to the cultural uplift of the Hindus, should find himself unable to express definite views on the Hindu Code Bill. Mr. Golwalkar in a press conference at Delhi is reported to have dealt with a wide range of subjects from women's right to divorce to Communism. But his remarks on the social regeneration of the Hindus indicate that he has not devoted much thought to the subject so far. His excuse that he was prevented by imprisonment from studying the Hindu Code Bill, is a flimsy one. In fact, exclusion from political work ought to have afforded him the necessary quiet and peace for study had he been so disposed. Nothing exposes the hollowness of the claim to concentrate on Hindu society so much as this confession of lack of interest as it were in an important piece of social legislation that has been before the country for the last ten years. Mr. Golwalkar said that he was interested in all changes that made people happy and secure. This is a very vague approach to social questions which does not answer any problem. It is obvious that the R.S.S. leader is feeling his way and will yet need time to make up his mind. It is good to note, however, that he realises the need for change.

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"*I will* be as harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard*".

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the LIBERATOR.

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NOTES

Socialist Britain in the Pillory:—Charity demeans both him who gives and him who receives. Many a man who has helped his needy relatives has found out after a time that the recipients of his generosity reciprocated with cordial dislike rather than gratitude. And this naturally dismayed him. For was it not his right to keep a watchful eye on how his gifts were spent, to control the lives of those who profited by his bounty? To some extent the modern American is psychologically in the position of the old rich; and to that extent his present chagrin at British Labour publicists hitting back at him for his criticisms is understandable. Nevertheless, there is a difference. And the difference lies in the fact that the American is not helping the British or the Western Europeans through altruism, but because he knows that, if their common democratic way of life is to survive at all he can no longer live safely ensconced in his isolation. The present bickerings between British and American publicists are indeed unseemly. Yet the ball was started rolling in the U.S.A.; although the British would do well to remember that the American press is notoriously out of touch with American public opinion. American publicists who have nagged at the British for their social security schemes and their plans of nationalization to the point of insinuating that the Labour party no longer enjoyed the confidence of the public, have truly overreached themselves. But do they represent the vast bulk of American public opinion? It is more than likely that they are only a section of Americans—a small interested section at that, though a powerful one. And it may not be idle to hope, that the American people will remember to-day the part the English worker played in preventing the British Government of his time from recognizing the Confederacy and intervening in its behalf in the American Civil War. As regards the rest of the democratic world, particularly in the East, their sympathies are decidedly with the British Labour Party and their experiment in socialist democracy. It is probable that India, Burma and Ceylon would have won self-government even if the Conservatives had been returned to power in the last British general election. Yet it is unlikely that Pandit Nehru would have strained to keep India within the Commonwealth, or succeeded in doing so, if Britain had not been governed by Labour. And what is true of India holds with equal force in the case of Ceylon. For the sympathy that prevails to-day in Britain's erstwhile colonial dependencies for the Commonwealth and its aspirations is in no mean measure due to all that the Labour Party stands for in Britain. Americans should seriously note this. In their stand against the rising tide of Communism in the world, their greatest ally is the Socialist Britain of to-day.

Educational Reform:—The recommendations of the Universities Commission have been presented to the Government. From the press conference at Delhi at which Dr. Radhakrishnan, president of the Commission, explained the broad provisions, the report is an exhaustive one which has dealt with the central question of relating university education more closely to Indian life. The examination system is to give way to some manner of objective tests, taken from the technique in force in selecting officers for the United States Army and Navy and frequently utilised in business offices as well in the U.S.A. How this is expected to work we fail to see. The "tests" referred to by way of illustration are all meant to test the intelligence of the applicants before deciding on their fitness for the work that is to be entrusted to them; with universities the problem is just the reverse—men and women are examined to see how they have been equipped for the world by the training they have been given. In the last analysis, the "tests" of the army and navy and of business are intended to show how good the men are for the tasks that are to be entrusted to them, whilst examinations are meant to test how good the university training has been for the individual. It is a difference which cannot be ignored. In old times, a man could say that he had studied under this or that teacher; now he can carry with him a certificate to show that he has diligently pursued certain studies in one or the other university. The value of the record is proportionate to the prestige of the university. Much has been said to establish that objective tests will be less of a gamble than examinations but it is difficult to form an opinion until the full recommendations are available. In actual prac-

selectors of candidates on merit than non-officials. One must welcome, therefore, Dr. Ambedkar's decision to alter this provision only in a minor way to read ' that as nearly as half the members should be officials of ten years' standing '. A corrective for the ease with which permanent servants slip into bureaucratic lethargy must be found, however. But the constitution cannot frame it. Its main concern is to devise the best system for selecting the best possible men for administrative posts. And this it has done admirably. Legislators who wish to improve the existing systems of selection adopted by the present Commissions would be well advised to turn their attention to the interview technique prevailing at the moment. It is undeniable that the standard of efficiency is higher in services which rely on written examinations as well as interviews for recruitment. Improved selection then might be secured by an insistence on a written test always along with the " viva ". For at the moment interviews are mainly assessing the candidate's personality—an elusive thing to evaluate at any time. No one who has appeared even once before a Federal Public Service Commission Board can fail to have noticed the erratic character of some of the questions, or to be surprised at the fact that different candidates are asked very different questions indeed. In the circumstances, knowledge of how to do the job is hardly ever assessed and the ' halo effect ' known to psychologists has full scope to assert itself. As regards the larger question of selecting men with integrity for public services this in the last resort must be left to be ingrained in the education imparted at Universities and other higher institutions and to the atmosphere and ethical code prevailing in the services. That is why Congressmen should not deride learning. The capacity to look beyond the immediate difficulty, to trust reason rather than emotion may not be developed in all University graduates. But where Universities are genuine seats of learning their trained young men will display these qualities more effectively than where Universities concentrate on mere professional training.

THE ART OF ADMINISTRATION

There is a great deal of confused thinking on the matter of civil liberties. It is not possible to question in this day the right or propriety of the State interfering in the lives of individuals. A reference to Mill is regarded as the last word by pseudo-liberals on civil liberties but it should not be forgotten that John Stuart Mill was opposed to even the ban on traffic in opium. Much more is expected of the State than was the practice in laissez faire England, and Mill himself was particular in stating that he spoke mostly for British conditions. Nor should it be forgotten that Britain, and to a less extent the U.S.A., has a unique political tradition. In the rest of the world, dependence on governments is far greater; it is the rule rather than the exception. A glance at countries, so widely separated as Austria and Japan, will make this obvious. In India particularly we have learnt from experience of municipal administrations that self-government is not common. It is to these conditions that political thinkers have to adjust their views on governments and the governed. For some time to come, interference in personal matters is inevitable. It is no use expecting public opinion to assert itself because there is no public opinion; what passes for it is manipulated. On the one hand, we have the oppositionists, ranging from the Socialists through Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose to the Communalists, all claiming to have " public opinion " with them; on the other, we find Governments acting in the name of " public opinion ". A recent example is the Bombay Government's ban on smoking in buses, " in response to public feeling ". It is a useful expedient but it means very little in the context of Indian conditions.

In these circumstances, it is more profitable to arrive at some principles which should govern administration. In his classic " Study of Administration ", Woodrow Wilson some sixty years ago called attention to the greater care expended by autocrats in ensuring that their administrations were responsive to public sentiment, compared to the practice of democracies. Just because the autocrats considered themselves irremovable, they took care to let the reins of government rest lightly on the people. Democracies, on the other hand, were inclined to ignore the necessity of rendering administration in their desire to make the government responsible. It is, moreover, a political truism that tyrannies were invariably exercised in the name of the people. If in the Twentieth Century it is no longer tenable to assert that that government is the best that governs the least, some other working hypothesis has to be found. So far as can be judged, the only guide is that governments, to be regarded as successful, should preserve the semblance of not governing. Compulsions there will be but they must needs be compulsions which are not felt to be restrictive. Failure in this accomplishment creates a situation in which the Ministers are forced to assume that they are acting in the " public interest ", even against public opinion, which in turn brings on a mental attitude of self-righteousness, intolerance of criticism and in time refusal to defend policies and programmes before the public. The result is that the critic is ignored consistently, ministerial whims are given their head, and the administration is neither responsive nor responsible. Instead of considering whether particular policies are practicable, governments in this state tend to concentrate on the ideal and to seek to force the pace of progress. It has often been said by Ministers that the people rely too much on the government. But very often these Ministers are themselves inclined to set an extravagant value on legislation and to expect far too much from the coercive arm of the State. The burden that is thus imposed on the administration and on the permanent services, is a heavy one which brings down the whole structure with a crash.

In India, this stage has been reached. The sincerity of the men who frame ministerial policies, is not in question. It is their realism which is deficient. Moreover, little attention is paid to mass psychology in placing heavy strains on the ordinary citizen. The three decades of the Gandhian Congress made heavy calls on the public. Political students were conscious of the fact that towards the end of this period a slackening of popular response was marked. But for this relaxing, the nation would have resisted much more strongly and effectively the partition of the country and other adjustments which ran against the grain of Congress agitation. Yet the Congress, on assuming office, continued making demands on the public. In the first year of Independence, it was a common feature of public statements that Indians were wanting in character and discipline. No attention was paid to an obvious truth that men and women cannot eternally live in the clouds; they have got to come to earth at some time, and the higher the pitch to which they are taken, the lower will seem the fall. It is only in the second year that there was some appreciation of the necessity for greater stress on organisational improvement; even now this fact is but dimly realized. Only there is increasing consciousness of the need for overhauling party machines and raising the leadership. On all hands, there is a call to train workers, instil

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MANNING THE SERVICES

It seems absurd to be perturbed over and over again at the occasional pettiness shown in the Constituent Assembly during debates on fundamental issues. And yet it is incredible that, in spite of all the talk about corruption and nepotism that has agitated the country, some members should still be provincial in their approach to the question of recruitment to the civil services. A profundity on the articles in the draft constitution concerning Public Service Commissions, for example, was that of an East Punjab member, who observed that recruitment should be made on a regional basis because " already the Central Secretariat is full of Menons, Swamis and Ayyangars;" another was the warning given by Dr. Punjabrao Deshmukh that there would be " a bloody revolution " if rural areas were not duly represented in the services. Considering the increasing emphasis that is being placed on the regional languages and the fact that familiarity with local conditions was always one of the factors determining the selection of candidates to provincial services, Dr. Deshmukh's solicitude is more than gratuitous. It is true that in the Central Services men were posted preferably to areas where they could be expected not to be influenced in their decisions by personal interests and loyalties. The reasons for this healthy convention, however, are so obvious that it seems unnecessary to dilate on them. The bureaucrat after all is human. There is also, of course, the minor point that Public Service Commissions—Provincial and Central—were concerned and will continue to be so with appointments to posts of the higher grade, that is with the selection of men who in time are expected to become senior and responsible administrators in their respective services. One would have assumed that Dr. Deshmukh would have realized the importance, therefore, of choosing candidates for excellence of qualifications rather than for their antecedents. Nevertheless, in spite of these lapses, much emerged from the debate that was gratifying. There was pre-eminently the fact that the members of the Drafting Committee and Congress leaders themselves have realized beyond doubt the necessity of keeping the services out of controversial politics, which are calculated to provoke party loyalties. This is no mean achievement. For in the pre-independence days, the hostility of Congressmen to members of the services derived mainly from the feeling that they were motivated always by self-interest. To belong to a service then was to damn oneself as anti-national. In some instances this was certainly true but not in all cases or even in the majority of cases. Experience with the day-to-day administration of the country now would seem to have made Congressmen wiser. And it may be assumed that, by and large, there exists to-day a realization of the connection between peaceful evolution, the greatest reason for democracy, and the existence of non-political administrative services staffed by men trained to execute their duties irrespective of which party is in power. The conflict that takes place occasionally between permanent servants and popular ministers, after a radical political change has occurred, is the inevitable result of the element of suspicion on the one hand and the jolt to self-confidence on the other. On the whole, however, permanent servants in virtue of their training speedily adjust themselves to new policies. That this has happened in India within the two years of independence is proved by the increasing reliance Congress Ministers are placing on the civil servants. It is pleasing to note, therefore, the efforts that have been made in the constitution to place the non-political character of the services on a firm footing. All appointments are to be made by Public Service Commissions, the Chairman and members of which are to be appointed by the President in the case of the Union Commission and by the Governor or Ruler in the case of provincial and State commissions. And in the instances when appointments are not to be referred to Commissions there is included a safeguard—that is the President or the Governor or the Ruler shall submit to the Legislature the reasons for not soliciting or accepting the advice of a Commission. The independence of the members of the Commissions is further ensured by the provisions which debar anyone who has once served on a Commission from taking office again after the expiry of their term of six years. In the case of members of Provincial or State Commissions the only other office that can be offered to them is appointment on the Union Commission or the Commission of another state. Members of the Union Commission, on the other hand, can be appointed only either as Chairman of the Union or States Commissions. An effort was made to allow members of the Commission to render ' honorary service to the country ' after the expiry of their term. Dr. Ambedkar's reply to this suggestion was emphatic. He pointed out that ' pay was not the only thing which a person obtained by reason of his post '; and he explained firmly that it was desirable to eliminate all opportunities of "waypicking and pilfering " by excluding all types of appointments save the ones already mentioned. Perhaps Dr. Ambedkar struck some members as being unduly cynical, but considering the pitfalls of democracy one can only congratulate him on his realism. Another important provision included by the Drafting Committee to ensure that appointments would be made only on merit was the provision that ' one-half of the members of the Commission ' should be service-men of ten years' standing. The opposition of some members of the house to this provision can only be explained on the grounds of the old suspicions that were entertained towards permanent servants. That the politician and not the civil servant is a menace to an honest and efficient administration is always difficult to grasp. For the bureaucrat is popular in no country except with the minister who works with him. Mostly he is blamed for the cumbersome routine within which he works. It is generally not appreciated that the red-tape is not of his making but originates in the system of check and counter-check within which he works. Yet it is difficult to substitute the system with a better one. It does provide a safeguard against corruption and nepotism, even whilst it is calculated to delay decisions, to develop a tendency to throw the responsibiilty of them onto the shoulders of others, to search for precedents even in new situations and to cherish rules above all. The correction of these tendencies, however, cannot be achieved by excluding officials from serving on Commissions. In the last analysis their own familiarity with the qualities required in a good administrator does make them more reliable as

more deeply into the causes of these broken marriages and to see why there are so many cases of unhappiness and dissatisfaction that the Divorce Courts are faced with an ever-growing number of cases. During this century the world has passed through two major wars which have had their repurcussions and left their scars on every country. Life has gathered a momentum undreamed of fifty years ago. The average man tends to live a much less natural life than his grandparents, for fifty years ago the home was the centre of family life and most amusements were to be found in the home circle. To-day transport is easy, and cars, buses, trains and ships, to say nothing of planes, provide rapid and comfortable travel facilities. People tend to look for their amusements in cinemas, clubs and dance-halls, and the home-unit has lost its hold. The family frequently looks on the home as a hotel—a place where the members of the family meet only to eat and sleep when they have no more interesting engagement! Young people coming from these artificial homes and stimulated by a diet of films and modern literature, enter into marriage with no idea of all that it entails, all the petty details that arise every day, unprepared for the " give and take " essential to a successful marriage. Often they start their marriage on the understanding that there will be no children, obviously visualising just a continuation of their pre-married good times. After marriage, the husband realises that the woman who was such fun to go out with compares very unfavourably with his mother from the point of view of providing home comforts, and the wife finds that the man who was such a pleasant dinner and dancing companion is much less interesting and much more fussy as a husband! Neither husband nor wife can put up with a continuation of this state of affairs and the result is the Divorce Court. If all those contemplating marriage sat back and gave as much thought to the problems which might be expected to arise in it as they would before taking up a new job, there would be fewer broken marriages, for, as Herbert Grey ends his chapter on Preparation for Marriage, " Marriage is a great adventure. Few of us are great enough to make it a perfect thing. But when it fails it is we who are to blame not the institution of marriage! "

This is a book which deserves to be widely read by all those who wish to equip themselves and their children to use our modern freedom wisely, so that it will be a freedom of " happiness and not of disaster."

D.R.

WORKERS' COLLEGE JUBILEE

(By LIONEL ELVIN)

(Principal of Ruskin College, and Fellow of Trinity Hall, Cambridge University.)

Ruskin College, Oxford University, has just celebrated its Jubilee. It is famous the world over because it is a " Worker's College ". Among its former students are Members of Parliament, a former Cabinet Minister; many famous trade union leaders; while Mr. Attlee, the present Prime Minister of Britain, was once one of its lecturers.

Workers' education—and more broadly, general adult education—in Britain, has many sides. One of its oldest and most remarkable institutions is Ruskin College, Oxford University, England, which celebrates its Jubilee this year. Ruskin College is an independent foundation—it was actually founded by three Americans in Oxford, of whom the best known was Charles A. Beard, the historian—but it enjoys the support of Britain's trade union movement and of other working class bodies, is aided financially by Britain's Ministry of Education, and has cordial relations with Oxford University. After 50 years of often chequered history it is well established and larger than it has ever been before.

The trade union movement in Britain now enjoys unparalleled power and influence, reaching far beyond mere bargaining with employers, into every detail of national life. How have its leaders trained themselves for their present role? And how have the active supporters of the Labour movement fitted themselves for the responsibilities that they, too, bear?

The answer is, in part, by learning in the hard school of experience. But it has also been done by study, often against the severest discouragement. Without the organization of workers' education in Britain the part played by people in shaping their destiny, political and economic, could not be what it is to-day.

Students come to Ruskin College for a two years' course of study. Some come from other countries, including Commonwealth lands; the majority come, of course, from Britain. Every important industry is represented: miners, steel-workers, engineers, land-workers and the rest come from their work, usually after a long private or evening study. Not the least important element in college life is this mingling of workers and the rest come from their work, usually men and women with different experiences but united by some community of outlook and a common desire to relate book learning to living.

The majority of the students take courses in economics, social history, and political theory and organization, which will enable them to deal more effectively with the problems of their working lives. These students, at the end of their two years, take the Oxford Diploma in Economics and Political Science. A number of the students at the College elect, however, to take a course in English Literature and History. A good number study a foreign language. Experience has shown that there are many men and women in working life, who, though they may find fulltime study strange at first, nevertheless rapidly come up to the exacting standards of a university. These have won their places in Russian College usually against severe competition. Scholarships are awarded by the College itself, by the Trades Union Congress, by individual trade unions, and by other organisations; and for these the contestants are invariably far more numerous than the available awards Such scholarships are given through competitions in which written papers and interviews, feature. Other places—an increasing number—are awarded by local education authorities, and these have varying arrangements for selection.

Teaching at the College is partly by the traditional methods of lecture and seminar. But much more important is the weekly " tutorial " (as in the universities of Oxford and Cambridge) at which a student has an hour's personal discussion with his tutor and for which he prepares an essay or paper. At Ruskin the students have that personal teaching which Oxford and Cambridge have found indispensable.

In the College there is a full community life. Each student in the main College building has his own study-bedroom, but the life gives full opportunity for the informal interchange of experience and talk. Students' committees largely run the social life of the College, from football and cricket to the production of plays and an excellent College magazine.

There are now over 100 students (men and women) in residence, as compared with under 40 before World War II. This has necessitated physical expansion, and a large private house has been purchased in pleasant surroundings on the outskirts of Oxford, with 20 acres of ground. Here—if an appeal that has been issued in connection with the jubilee

into them courage and devotion, and to make them more conscious of their responsibilities. But there is a danger here that failure to frame policies on practical lines will tend to overburden workers and isolate them from the people whom they have to convince. There is a further complication which has to be taken note of. Most ministries are headed by men who have some feeling for the constructive programme of the Congress; the provincial party-executives are manned by men whose skill in organisational work, has given them the leadership. Whilst the task of framing policies rests with the Ministries, the work of popularising these policies is largely for the party executives to perform. In the Centre, co-ordination has been secured by including the same men so far as the top leadership goes in the Central Party Executive as well as the Central Cabinet. Moreover, the Union Government feels, as provincial administrations do not, the impact of world forces. And the control of the Centre has still to be achieved over the provincial units. Something will have to be done to correct these conditions.

Underlying all these complexities, there is the corruption which threatens all measures of social and economic reform. It is not an easy matter to tackle this but much more could be done than has so far been attempted. All the great plans of the Congress—Food, Prohibition and increased production—must rest squarely on an honest and devoted body of lower officials. So far as public co-operation is called for, it also requires a corresponding body of public workers. That this should have to be said, might be regarded as deplorable. But here again, it must be asked whether sufficient care has been taken in framing policies to see that they carry official opinion with them. The Centre has of late been appealing for a go-slow policy and often in vain. If it is put on the ground that progress that carries many a little way, is preferable to a headlong rush forward which threatens to isolate the vanguard from the rest, it will secure more support. Nor should it be forgotten that more annoyance and opposition is roused by trifling matters which cannot be commended on rational grounds than by large policies which hold out benefits to the people and can be commended, and which are even endangered by rash experimenting on diversions. We have a feeling, for example, that the cause of Prohibition, in itself a great reform, is needlessly jeopardised by the Bombay Government's unnecessary and even wanton excursions into anti-gambling measures, and by trying to force the pace of Prohibition itself. It would have been well to have kept the first stage to ridding the country of the liquor interests and to intensive propaganda for the cause. What has happened is that the Province is bordering on Total Prohibition but there is very little propaganda that is being undertaken.

MARRIAGE AND SOCIETY

Sex in Social Life. Edited by Sybil Neville-Rolfe O.B.E: Published by Allen and Unwin. 21/-

"Sex in Social Life" is an anthology compiled from contributions by eminent experts in various branches of sex and social problems. The first part of the book, grouped under the heading "Sex and Science", consists of four parts; The Biology of Sex, The Physiology of Reproduction, Psychology and Sex, and Sex and the Family in Primitive Society. These four sections provide an admirable introduction for the latter part of the book which is entitled "Sex and Society". Most of us are singularly ignorant about our bodies and the structure and the functioning of our various organs. In these scientific introductory chapters we find by means of clear diagrams and simple explanations the answers to a number of the problems which may have puzzled us.

The latter part of the book, "Sex and Society", takes us through the whole circle of family life and its problems, beginning with a chapter on Parenthood, and following through with articles on such subjects as Sex Education in the Home, Adolescence, Preparation for Marriage, The Art of Love, Personal and Social Aspects on "Why Marriages Fail" and other chapters dealing with problems of sex for those who are abnormal.

It has long been felt that, while we spend years in preparing for various vocations in life, medicine, law, teaching and even stenography, very little attention is paid to serious preparation for marrigae, which is after all the most fundamental and universal career in the world! If parents, who are responsible for the training and care of the younger generation, have made little attempt to prepare for their own marriage and parenthood, it is not surprising that the children grow up in the same ignorance and with the same problems to face "If we wish to produce a generation of sexually normal and happy people, our first responsibility is to understand the fundamentals of normal mother-craft and parenthood. The Battle of Waterloo is said to have been won on the playing fields of Eton; many ding-dong battles against sexual difficulties in adolescents and adults could have been won quite easily in the nursery when the main reaction patterns of the individual in sex and character were being formed. So the beginning of a right understanding of sex lies in an understanding of parenthood, that is, an undertaking of the natures and needs of children," says B. D. Hendy in the chapter on Parenthood.

Until comparatively recently "sex" was a subject which was never discussed by "nice people"; it was considered something shameful, something to be hidden; something which the "not-so-nice" sniggered about in private and laughed at in risque music hall jokes. "Unfortunately," says Marjorie Hume, "the very fact that so many parents have grown up themselves with a warped and distorted outlook on sex makes it difficult for them to give good, sane sex education to their children." Children have been left to pick up knowledge of sex and the functions of their bodies in furtive ways from other children, or from adults who are by no means qualified to pass on the knowledge, with the result that the children grow up with a distorted attitude towards the subject; simply because their parents have been too ignorant or too self-conscious to answer frankly and honestly the questions they have been asked. The chapters on Sex Education in the Home, Adolescence, and Preparation for Marriage are a good guide to parents who wish their children to grow up with a healthy knowledge of themselves and to prepare for marriage and the subsequent training of their own families.

The chapters on Marriage will help to solve a number of the problems in the lives of parents themselves. So many marriages which start full of high hopes deteriorate into a mere humdrum existence or break altogether. The figures given in this book of applications for divorce in England and Wales are staggering. In 1913, 577 decrees were given and in addition, 5,000 separation orders were made by magistrates. In 1945, 20,000 divorces were granted and there was a waiting list of 43,000 cases of servicemen alone waiting to be brought before the Courts. It may be argued that divorce has been made much more easy to obtain now, and that people who, in the old days, would have made "the best of a bad job" and endured an uphappy marriage, now avail themselves of the opportunity of divorcing each other and of starting life again. But it is necessary to look

way before it was uttered by . . . President Roosevelt. But I did concur with him after he had said it and I reported the matter to the Cabinet, who accepted my position."

But this is what Churchill said in the House of Commons on February 11, 1943, in discussing the recently-finished Casablanca Conference: " It was only after full and cold, sober and mature consideration of these facts . . . that the President, with my full concurrence as agent of the War Cabinet, decided that the note of the Casablanca Conference should be the unconditional surrender of all our foes."

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British distrust of French nationalism was given new strength when it became clear that France was hoping to separate the important Saar area from Germany, then arrange for a plebiscite, with pressure and propaganda, which might induce the people there to vote in favour of French annexation. It was Ernest Bevin who, in private talks with the French Foreign Minister, Robert Schuman, indicated an unbending opposition.

Schuman argued that the Saar is already a part of the French economy; but Bevin remembered that this step had been taken by French unilaterally as a **fait accompli.** Schuman also contended that the Saar has a legislative assembly of its own, and was not covered by the Bonn Constitution for West Germany, and therefore ought to be allowed to send representatives to the Council of Europe scheduled to meet at Strasbourg. Bevin was flabbergasted to discover the omission of the Saar from the Bonn document, which was a British oversight and which, he believed, might create endless trouble with the Germans. He also told Schuman that many dependencies had legislatures without getting a place on the Council of Europe. Bevin was stubborn; Schuman gave in.

Can Hong Kong be Held ?

If the United States is finding China an incandescent potato, so have the British a burning issue in Hong Kong. For 108 years they have had possession of this great trade outpost, which consists of 391 square miles of islands, rugged mainland, and water. Urged many times by liberal world opinion to give Hong Kong back to the Chinese, British governments including the present Labour Government, have turned deaf ears. With Communist forces likely to reach the border soon, voices have not been lacking, back in the United Kingdom and even in Hong Kong itself, counselling a return of the territory if the Communist regime makes the expected request.

But there are many critical considerations which recommend a contrary decision. If Britain should acceed to Chinese demands at such a juncture, would perhaps cost highly in prestige, and stimula new Communist uprisings in Burma, Malaya and els where. There are thousands of refugees who wou be harshly treated by the Communists. Yet if Brita hung on in the face of a Chinese Communist demarch this would add fresh fuel to the criticisms of whi western imperialism. And if somehow a trade de were made between Mao Tse-tung and the Britis Britain would become the target of attacks by th Western democracies opposed to any compromise wit the Communist forces.

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The reason for the breakdown of negotiations, as stated by no less a figure than President Miguel Aleman, and confirmed by Antonio Bermudez, head of the Mexican Petroleum industry, was interference by oil concerns of the United States which exerted pressure on Washington.

Mexico was willing to grant certain rights to U.S. oil companies, which could have gained royalties or shares in the oil developed under their technical skill and equipment. But according to Mexico, the oil firms high-pressured the U.S. negotiators into a demand on Mexico that they be allowed to buy, and exploit the oil on the basis that existed prior to the 1938 expropriation—as the price of the loan.

Protests have been rising, and President Truman has indicated that he may direct the start of new negotiations. But Mexico, which wants help from oil technicians if it can safeguard its own rights, appears adamant against a return to the old system. Once each year, on the anniversary of the expropriation, Mexican school children parade with placards signalizing the event as one of the most significant in the nation's history; they deliver orations, and in various other ways manifest the national determination never again to allow unregulated exploitation of this national resource.

It is admitted by some Mexican and visiting experts that there has been a good deal of inefficiency in the management of Petroleos Mexicanos, though Senor Bermudez has made many improvements. There is a lack of mechanical equipment which might develop oil output to a far greater degree. But Senor Bermudez declared that if the loan never comes through, Mexico will still manage to get along. The conservative Mexico City daily, Excelsior, said that Washington, in bowing to the oil companies, has made " an error which may easily be exploited by Communist agitators to endanger Continental unity."

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of the College is successful—a new hostel will be built. It is clear that the increased demand for college education by Britain's workers is permanent, and that the pioneering work of 50 years is bearing fruit.

What happens to Ruskin men and women when they leave the College? Some go on to a university to complete their work for a degree; many go back to their old jobs, usually to play an increased part in local, social, political or trade union work; and some go on to new work in trade unions, politics, social service or other occupations. Among former students are over a dozen Members of Parliament (one a former Cabinet Minister and one a former Deputy Speaker of Britain's House of Commons), many officials of the Trades Union Congress and individual trade unions, and many tutors and organisers in adult education. It is one of the proudest memories of Ruskin College that the present Prime Minister, Mr. Attlee, was one of its lecturers long before he was known to a wider world.

TITO'S DEFIANCE

(By DEVERE ALLEN)

Marshal Tito of Yugoslavia, among all the graduates from Moscow's rigid discipline, is winning votes as the one most likely to succeed. He is rapidly becoming a legendary figure. The other day an inventive Italian newspaper had him about to set sail for Mexico. American radio and press commentators had him scheduled to be bumped off by Russian agents last March, again in May, and still again on August first. At this writing, Tito is still going strong.

How strong is not quite realized by those who fail to win quiz programmes on European geography. For as it happens, Tito stands squarely athwart the best propaganda route counted on by the Kremlin as a means of access to the West, and he is blocking any theoretical Red Army sweep to the English Channel if there should be a war. More than that—he is a sort of rough and ready guarantee that war is unlikely in the immediate future, even if that conflict were as sure as some of the excited Pentagonians would have us believe.

In order to see how disastrously he has shifted propaganda avenues, you have to comprehend what a loss it was to the Cominform when it gave up Belgrade as its centre and moved over to Bucharest. It's almost as if a political movement had got a license to make speeches and distribute literature in Times Square, New York, and suddenly was relegated to a remote island on a Maine lake. From Yugoslavia it was possible to send agents, appeals, and directives straight through Trieste to Northern Italy, thence into South France and onward. It was bad enough when Italy and France dried up as favourable centres; it was worse when Tito blocked off that roadway at its eastern end.

Military strategists have spent a lot of time since the end of the war, wondering whether or not, in the eventuality of combat, the West should make a stand on the Rhine, as the French first wanted; or on the Elbe, as they now suggest; or behind the Pyrenees, as proposed by those defeatists, military and moral, who lay hold of any excuse for patting Dictator Francisco Franco on the back. Until Tito broke with Stalin, East Europe had a strategic route that by-passed the Rhine altogether, swung south of the Elbe, and cut through France without even touching the green northern flanks of the lofty Pyrenees. Now it is quite a different picture.

Tito has gone too far in his defiance of the Kremlin for any foreseeable reconciliation. Does that mean that he has become a worthy candidate for admission to the western group of nations? Or that he wants to go that far? It must also be remembered that Tito, like Stalin, has eyes glued chiefly on East Europe and on his own objectives. When he recently called on Bulgarians and Romanians to rise up and throw off Moscow's dominance, he may have thought he could thus curry favour with the West, and strengthen his rickety economy. But he was doubtless hoping, in addition, to begin the second phase of a movement which he—along with many other East Europeans—would like to see upset the Moscow Politburo, and place himself in a decisive, dominant role.

What can Tito offer to the West, besides the negative restraining force he is exerting upon Russian expansionist ambitions? He has even now begun to export copper in substantial quantities to the United States, and in the grim rocky mountains of his highly ridged country-side are various other important minerals—minerals that excite the interest of peacetime industry no less than that of the more limited groups who want raw materials for a wartime stockpile. These minerals are being dangled before Western eyes as an inducement to supply all sorts of things that the needy Yugoslav economy must speedily obtain.

Mineral riches in the ground may be one thing, and getting them out another. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that Tito, if he could get help in building new roads and railways, plus mining machinery and technicians, would have a strong bargaining power in trade with the West. During the war, the Germans made significant new discoveries of bauxite, the ore from which aluminum is refined, and there was quite a bit of it before. There is manganese, which the United States imported largely from Russia until Moscow clamped down on it in retaliation for American trade restrictions. There are nickel, molybdenum, graphite, phosphates, and lead. And there is mercury enough to rival some of the sources in Spain.

In the current world situation, which is ruled by hard-boiled considerations more frequently than by moral factors, it appears likely that Tito will soon achieve a new status in the sight of Western diplomacy. Already he has been getting technical help from British firms, test loans from the United States, and will probably be in line for more substantial favours as long as he is such a help, even negatively, in the slightly cooler East-West conflict. But he is no friend of democracy in any positive, vital sense, and he may yet tempt the Moscow power too far.

On his behalf this much can be asserted, even in appraisal of his dictatorial personality from the angle of ethics and democracy. He resembles curiously some of the Latin American dictators who began their careers as tough babies, only to mellow into gradual practitioners of a quasi-democratic method. Witness Batista in Cuba, who moved from Fascist seizure of power to become a president, who promoted education, and who refused to violate the constitution by succeeding himself even when asked to do so. Tito in public is a chest-thumper, yet in private he is universally reported to be quiet, reasonable, very different. He was trained in Moscow as a Communist; but he saw there what intrigue and factionalism can do in a rigid Communist society, for his first wife, caught up in a struggle between Communist "factions," died in a Russian prison.

GLEANINGS

Was Churchill Taken in by Roosevelt?

Winston Churchill hasn't heard the last of his House of Commons statement that President Roosevelt decided on unconditional surrender for Germany without consulting him, so that he had to go along with the policy against his better judgment.

This is what Churchill said in the House on July 21, 1949: "I must say that the phrase unconditional surrender was not brought to me to agree to in any

way before it was uttered by . . . President Roosevelt. But I did concur with him after he had said it and I reported the matter to the Cabinet, who accepted my position."

But this is what Churchill said in the House of Commons on February 11, 1943, in discussing the recently-finished Casablanca Conference: " It was only after full and cold, sober and mature consideration of these facts . . . that the President, with my full concurrence as agent of the War Cabinet, decided that the note of the Casablanca Conference should be the unconditional surrender of all our foes."

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