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SWATANTRA

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
EDITORIAL	3
SOTTO VOCE	4
SIDELIGHTS	6
INDIAN AFFAIRS	9
'PATERNALISM' IN INDO-BRITISH ADMINISTRATION	12
ANDHRA-ORISSA BOUNDARY	15
THE STARTLING CONTRAST	19
PASSENGER AMENITIES ON RAILWAYS	22
THE VIRILITY OF AMERICAN POETRY	25
THE TEACHINGS OF SOCRATES	27
THE YOUNGER BRITISH SCULPTORS	30
TRIBUTE TO TENNETI VISWANATHAM	35
FILMS	37
CONQUEST OF ANTARCTICA	39
KUMARI VIJAYALAKSHMI	40
THE MADRAS ZOO CENTENARY	41
"... OVER A. I. R."	45
CRICKET AND RACE	47

ON THE COVER:

A section of the Madras Zoo whose centenary was celebrated last week.

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SWATANTRA

Vol. X. NOVEMBER 5 SATURDAY 1955 No. 40

UNILINGUALISM, A MENACE

PANDIT NEHRU declared at Surat the other day "India will remain one in spite of everyone." But he did not seem to be quite convinced of what he said. For he added in the same breath the warning that "if necessary every power of the Government would be used to meet any menace that might arise." If, "in spite of everyone India will remain one," where is the menace for the Government to meet, and what occasion will be there for the Government to meet it by using every power it can draw upon? These conflicting fractions of the Prime Minister's speech do not fit into each other harmoniously. They seem to indicate that he is assuming a confidence which he does not feel, apparently under the influence of a subconscious sentiment that if evil should come out of the proposed linguistic division of India there would still be power enough in the hands of the Government to fight disruptive forces and save the country from breaking up.

There is no doubt that the Prime Minister is endowed with herculean capacities; and he can achieve in India what none other can. Making all allowances for his outstanding supremacy of power, is it not wiser on his part to foresee the adverse consequences of a dangerous policy and put an end to that policy immediately instead of sticking to it with the hope of being able to tackle later on its untoward consequences by means of a firm application of executive power? The luxury of indulg-

ing in daring feats fraught with danger may confer on an individual leader the glamour of intrepid adventure, but when such feats are bound up with the national interests and affect the fortunes of millions, it becomes his patriotic duty to abandon the adventurous path and stick to safety. Everything that has happened even within the small period that has elapsed after publication of the Report of the States Reorganisation Commission only emphasises the menace to national unity involved in dividing the country on the basis of language as recommended by the Commission.

The dog fight now going on between various leaders for particular bits of territory which they claim for their own on linguistic grounds is crude and disgusting and amounts to a denial of a very precious concept that the people stood for when they fought for freedom—the concept that this country and every part of it belongs equally to all people in common and no part of it belongs exclusively to any class in particular. But the spectacle of the linguistic wrangle for land, for all its abominable clannishness, is not so outrageous from the standpoint of national welfare, as the mental attitude packed with a whole body of doctrine, prejudices, little aims, ambitions and hostilities, that has come to pass for virtue. Under this attitude Indian humanity is divided into people speaking one's own language and all others. All rewards, recognitions, privileges, favours and glorifications



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are to be reserved for the former. They are sought to be advanced with exclusiveness as the ruling passion. Under the impetus given by it to administration and the shape of our towns, large areas have already emerged in which people with other mother-tongues feel themselves exiled on an inhospitable soil where they were welcome till the other day but are no longer so. By grouping people multi-lingually in the administrative patterns they set up the British unified Indians for freedom. By splitting them up into unilingual categories, the National Government of Pandit Nehru is destroying the

patriotic sentiment of national consciousness and enthroning narrow linguistic regionalism in its place. The aggressive jealousies and conflicts of this regionalism will repeat the tragedy of ancient history and render the country powerless to face external danger from foreign invasion when it comes once again as it did as on so many occasions in the past.

In view of the manifold diversities which provide combustible tinder for internecine strife in India, the destiny of India as a free nation

(Continued on page 7)

Sotto Voce

CHIVVING THE CALENDAR



"FOR Ottakkoothan's song an extra bolt." This is the legendary retort attributed to the irate Pandyan princess, who had bolted and barred her door against her Chola spouse, when she was serenaded by his laureate who had contrived to get her favourite poet Puhazhendi juggled. One is reminded of it by the appearance of the Report of the Government of India's Calendar Reform Committee while astrologers from all India are in session at Nellore. The astrologers entered a caveat in advance against the Committee's seeking to force "on the unwilling public a calendar that is not acceptable to them." The Committee insist on foisting upon us both a new solar Calendar and a brand-new *sampradaya*.

From the Committee astrologers were carefully excluded; their status with the Nehru Government is rather less than that of the vagabond players, jongleurs and acrobats of seventeenth century Britain. On the other hand there were included men who regard religion as dope. But the Committee ostentatiously defer to popular prejudices to the extent of not clearing at one fell sweep the unscientific junk represented by the lunar Calendar. That would, they point out, amount to a religious revolution. So they have decided to retain the lunar affiliations to *tithi* and *nakshatra* by which feasts and fasts have been immemorially regulated.

But, employing the wisdom of the secular serpent, they propose to

modify the ancient conventions by which the lunar year is pegged on to the solar year for this purpose. This is to be done ostensibly with a view to rectifying the erroneous calculations of *tithis* and *nakshatras* in the Panchangams. They are to be replaced by modern calculations given in the nautical almanac and modern ephemerides. But the cloven foot is seen all too plainly in the proposal to fix the religious holidays for the "central station of India," which the Committee fix arbitrarily at 32 degrees East and 23 degrees North, somewhere to the east of Jabalpure.

It might seem on the face of it singular that a State, which is aggressively secular, should propose to concern itself with religious holidays. The Committee's excuse is that on these days public offices have to be closed and it is necessary to ascertain the dates long in advance. The numerous Panchangas, which are as chronically given to diversity as doctors and clocks, are no help in this matter. And so the Committee would have the Government make their own Calendar and, incidentally, tell you when you may, if you like, perform your father's *shraddha*.

We have undoubtedly a number of annual "holy-days" which to the tidy-minded must appear whimsically erratic. The Upakarma, notoriously foot-loose, easily leads. But even the fairly staid Vinayaka Chaturthi and Saraswati Puja are subject to mutations. I have seen artless suggestions made that, in keeping with our new-found national status, all India should agree on one day for Upakarma; if you could agree on that, the argument runs, there should be no difficulty whatever in steam-rolling lesser rites. "Was the Sabbath made for man or man for the Sabbath?" But, be it the secular

State that asks this question in the spirit of jesting Pilate, or our neo-Hindus, hag-ridden by the demon of uniformity, the simple reply is, "Alas for modern man, he is of no more account today than the Sabbath he has renounced."

Rites and observances are a matter of faith. The Panchangas no doubt differ. But so do the *sampradayas*; and no one out of Bedlam would seriously suggest that all Hindus should be dragooned into allegiance to Adwaita or to Visishtadwaita. The Indian State is not yet a Godless State. In fact it finds it so difficult to get rid of ancestral *vasanas* that it must needs prescribe holidays not merely for Gandhi Day and Independence Day and so on, but also for Deepavali and Sankranti. It can have all the uniformity it likes in the building up of the new national mythos; why can it not leave Rama and Krishna alone?

The timing of rites, which are individual or family obligations, is traditionally determined. It may differ from place to place; it may differ with different sects. If the State cannot find general agreement on a particular holiday it can declare a public holiday on that day which is favoured by the largest section of those who might be concerned; and it can allow others individually to take a day off when they need it. Of all the crazy things proposed in the name of centralisation, centralising holidays is easily the craziest. The Government may arbitrarily favour the Saka era and fix the Indian New Year's day on 23rd March. They will be merely accused of seeking to bring euthanasia to the religious impulse. But the Tamils will stick to their Varsha Pirappu, the Telugus to their Yugadi and the Parsis to their Nowroz to the end of time.

VIGNESWARA

SIDELIGHTS ::

HAVING been a prisoner in the Non-cooperation days, I know how it feels to be confined. We humans are accustomed to voluntary confinement in houses for several hours every day. Imprisonment in jail is therefore to some extent a comparatively mild experience to the human kind. Prisoners have also all sorts of resources to fall back upon for diluting the rigour of jail life. They have the companionship of their own thoughts, letters from home, periodical interviews from friends and relations, books to read, avocations like spinning, and ever so many other devices of intelligence to break up monotony and invest with interest and zest the unlimited panorama of time that is opened up to their senses when the jail gates close on them. With all this, there is no experience comparable to imprisonment for its irksomeness, no recompense that can make up for the loss of liberty it entails. Prisoners have moreover to endure each other's company continually. They can neither window-dress themselves in interludes of privacy so as to make themselves more presentable to others, nor can they draw on the magic virtues of periodical absence for endowing their characters with enchanting illusions in the eyes of their fellows. The greatest affections have often to be strengthened by the recuperative tonic of separation if they are to be saved from debility; and even lovers tend to be fonder after they have been away from each other for some time. The worst of unemployment is not economic but psychological. Its economic strains are capable of being relieved by adventitious aids. But there is no remedy for the tensions of the involuntary companionship it inflicts between the expected defaulting breadwinner and the rest of his

family. Prisons seethe with discord, turmoil, tragic conflicts and ferocious hatreds as none of the graces and reliefs and protective social expedients of the life outside are available to the inmates. Of all the freedoms of which prisoners are dispossessed, the worst perhaps is the loss of the freedom to run away from others when they become insufferable.

Animals do not have any of the makeshifts fashioned by human intelligence for relieving the hardships of imprisonment. Some animals like the cow, the dog and the horse have become so thoroughly domesticated as companions of man that it may be assumed that they will be unhappy and pine and languish if set free and left to shift for themselves in some uninhabited jungle or desert where men do not live. But for the generality of animals it is the imperious demand of their very nature that they should be free to roam about at will in their own habitual surroundings. Lions and tigers belong to this class. Their destiny does not lie in human companionship or in being institutionalised under human agency in zoos and the like. They have sometimes to be killed for human safety, and the killing of lions, tigers and other wild beasts for human safety, like the killing of so many millions of other sorts of animals for human food, may be regarded as permissible deviation from *ahimsa* in the most civilised of societies, for the sake of the primordial requisite of human survival. But the capturing of wild animals for imprisonment in cages to provide amusement to people is a refinement of cruelty without the least justification.

Lions in a cage placed on a truck were paraded in the streets of the city this week as part of the Madras Zoo Centenary celebrations orga-

nised by our Corporation. A girl standing near by when the cage passed our house said that the lions looked like big dogs. Her remark flashed to me the sum and substance of the Corporation's achievement in a century—the conversion of a majestic king of the forest into a miserable mongrel-like looking creature! The Zoo Centenary Souvenir published by the Corporation gives pride of place to an august message from the Prime Minister. "I hope" he says, "that the animals kept there (in the Madras Zoo) are treated as friends and given as agreeable surroundings as possible." The confinement of a couple of lions in a cage six feet long and four feet high for exhibition in the city on a moving truck can scarcely be classified as agreeable surroundings. If the Prime Minister's hope is to be

realised my suggestion would be that the Corporation order the immediate shooting of all the famished wild beasts in the Madras Zoo being progressively denaturalised with slow torture. It would be more kind. Thus they would also save some 2 lakhs of rupees a year and release it for more socially useful enterprises.

These Zoos serve no purpose. They benefit none except perhaps their keepers. They make a public exhibition of refined cruelty and even wild animals should be saved from such cruelty. Srimati Rukmani Devi who has made a crusade for kindness to animals her life's mission should turn her attention to the barbarities that have become the fashion under cover of hoary survivals like the Madras Zoo.

SAKA

(Continued from page 4)

would seem to depend on sagacious administration neutralising the powerful stimulus of language to divide people. The safety of India is bound up with multilingual administrative arrangements. Our States should be so recast that as a matter of normal living they throw together people of different languages, and discipline them into ways of common tolerance and affinity. It is only when the Indian Republic consists of bilingual, trilingual and multilingual States that all languages will flourish under the common umbrella of State protection throughout the country. Only then will the present deplorable phenomenon of State Governments fancying themselves guardians of one regional language, going out of their way to eliminate other languages from their domain and inflicting deliberate hardships and invidious discriminations on the people speaking them, come to an end.

The process of creating barriers between State and State, shutting

out migration, inter-communication and easy transfer of children in schools from one region to another, that has already started assuming many ugly shapes, has to be reversed not merely for the sake of the advancement of the nation, but also its very safety and it is to be hoped that the Prime Minister will open his eyes and check in time the prevailing divisionist excesses, instead of piling up trouble for the future which his successors may not be as competent as he to meet and overcome. There is also the fact that science, which is an essential element of national strength, demands for its advancement the widest sphere of communication. Science will get atrophied, and with it national power, under the restricted system of communication, with barriers between State and State and English sought to be banished as a foreign language, that is inevitably being developed under the unilingual pattern of government that has come to be the fashion among our thoughtless politicians today.

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COMPETITION

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The alternative words given to complete the 18 sentences of the Daldaqiz Competition are shown in the panels below, with the Judges' decision in each case. The *incorrect* word has been crossed out. Check your answers—you may have won a prize!

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(4) STRONG HEALTHY	(5) WILD WEAK	(6) APPETITE DIGESTION
(7) CARE AFFECTION	(8) CRY QUARREL	(9) ECONOMICAL SAFE
(10) FOOD EXERCISE	(11) CHILDREN COMFORT	(12) HUNGRY HAPPY
(13) PUNCTUAL APPETISING	(14) STRONG STRICT	(15) HEALTH MEALS
(16) ENERGY STRENGTH	(17) CLEAN COLOURFUL	(18) NAME BRAND

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THE JUDGES

- 1 Mrs. H. C. Sarin, Housewife.
- 2 Mrs. Hannah Sen, Former Principal, Lady Irwin College, and social worker.
- 3 Mrs. S. Natarajan, Journalist.
- 4 Col. Amir Chand, Former President and General Secretary, Indian Medical Association.
- 5 Mr. Nirmal C. Ghosh, President, The Indian & Eastern Newspaper Society

DALDA BRAND VANASPATI

HVM. 280-50

—ASIA'S SHOW-WINDOW

—MILESTONE IN THE METRIC SYSTEM

—YOUTH FESTIVAL IN DELHI

—AKALIS AND S.R.C. REPORT

IN New Delhi this week, Asia's biggest show-window is on display. It is an event for which the capital has been preparing itself for a long time, and, for a while, the Jumna floods interrupted the work on this extensive site of the Indian Industries Fair. In a sense, the Fair is the industrial and commercial counterpart of international gatherings, like the Asian Relations Conference and the Bandung Conference, which have earlier proclaimed that the leading Asian countries have arrived on the world stage. There have been other trade and industrial fairs in Asia like those in Djakarta and Karachi in the last three years and the second post-war Tokyo Fair held last May. In the last, the purposes were limited to business deals while Pakistan and Indonesia lacked the importance which attaches to India because of her diversified internal economy and her potentialities under a scheme of industrialisation proposed in the next five years. The Germans and the British have been quick to appreciate this importance; and the Communist bloc, which hitherto was regarded as only eager to advertise its achievements and virtues besides doing a moderate amount of trade, is also now making a powerful bid to take a share in these opportunities in the Indian market.

There is certainly a good deal of competition in seeking to impress the Indian buyer, especially buyers

of capital goods and machinery, since it is clear that there are limitations to trade in consumer goods in India. Yet, the variety of the wares here displayed is very large and the object of the leading participants is to create an impression of high technological efficiency. There is reason to feel satisfied over this competitive striving and the Prime Minister could well claim it as an example of the kind of co-existence which he has been working for. It is not the number (21) of foreign countries that is important; larger numbers have been known in other fairs which had less significance than this one. There are seven Western countries to match the seven Communist powers who have done their best to present their accomplishments; the rest are neutrals like Australia and Yugoslavia, plus five Asian powers, including Japan.

The old belief that buyers go to the fairs to buy cheap and get good quality has now to be modified after the American credo that the seller has to go out and cultivate the buyer. Even if the Indian Industries Fair is intended to advertise Indian products, foreign participation may not, apart from some moderate interest in Indian cottage products, help to expand the market for Indian goods. But here is an opportunity for foreigners to assess India's future needs and her capacity to expand

industry and adapt their attitudes accordingly.

More than its size, it is the timing of the Fair on the eve of the Second Five Year Plan that has been of significance. This timing was largely a coincidence because the Fair was organised by the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry and it is difficult to say that all these considerations entered into the calculations of the sponsors when they started on the project. Ordinary trade fairs, such as those which are frequent on the European continent—(there are about 50 annual "international" fairs—are not held for six weeks (like the Indian Fair) because of the high cost to the exhibitions. The Indian Fair is about the third biggest in the world, after those of Brussels and Milan, in terms of the area covered by the stalls.

Visiting the Fair will be an education in itself because of the range of the products brought together, apart from such specialities like the atomic reactor and real television. The American pavilion dominates by its size and by these rare attractions; but it also shows the American way of life and the multiplicity of the 'things' which go to make what it is. But the Communist countries—particularly China—will impress almost equally by their artistic elegance. All are now agreed that the Fair is something more than a special trade fall and that is in itself good reason for satisfaction.

An instance of the tendency to decide first and think out the implications of the decision afterwards is seen in the discussions on the change-over to the metric system of weights and measures and the decimal coinage. The Standing Metric Committee was faced last week with some of these problems of making the people mentally prepared for the change-over. It has been decided to

mark milestones and furlong-stones in metric units and to make a temporary compromise between the two systems by assuming that a furlong will be equal to two hectametres. Existing maps, even though converted without change in the scale, will have to be reissued and the weights in the railway and postal departments have to be recalibrated. As in the matter of the introduction of Hindi, the Defence and Railway Ministries have chalked out a 15-year programme. The revision of all tariff schedules may involve much confusion to the public unless there is adequate preparation. A draft Bill has been drawn up for enforcing the metric system but the dangers of haste in this matter should be apparent by now.

Foreign reactions to India's decision to change to a metric system have been necessarily mixed. The change would greatly help the manufacturers of engineering and other goods on the continent of Europe, but the British hold on the Indian market, by reason of the knowledge of British specifications and technical details, will be broken. It would be little consolation to the British manufacturer to know that American products also will be similarly affected. Possibly, the Indian view on this point may be that the rate of progress in India in the next 15 years would, in any case, be such as to reduce the dependence on capital goods from both the metric and non-metric areas.

It is time to ask oneself some questions about what purposes youth festivals, like the one which was celebrated in Delhi last week under official auspices, are expected to serve. The idea may be an ancient one but it came into vogue in modern times in Communist countries for the purpose of indoctrination of youth at an impressionable age. One could only

wish that the implications of the democratic philosophy could also be similarly spread. In any case a festival of youth, concerned with only a fraction of the University student population, does not impress as necessary, especially if it is to concern itself with rehearsals during day for variety entertainments to be held at night. Such opportunities must, if they are necessary, be available for students everywhere, not only to a few and even the few need not make a pilgrimage to India's capital to demonstrate their talents. While corporate life and group activities have to be encouraged to the fullest extent, there is no point in concentrating on entertainment alone. It is difficult to say that the deficiencies of our youth arise because of insufficient interest in, or opportunities for, such occasions in their colleges.

The discussion on student indiscipline, which took place at this year's gathering at the special suggestion of the Education Minister was the only occasion for some mock-seriousness in the show. The net result of the festival would only be to convince the average student that interest in the arts which entertain will bring greater rewards by way of travel and recognition than serious studies—which should be pursued if Mr. Nehru's exhortation to read books and think

independently should be followed. The Education Ministry is only deluding itself if it thinks that in this way the best is being done to tackle the problem of student indiscipline. The good boys who behaved themselves in the festival camp will not be the same when they return to their college campus, where their conduct will be governed by the group behaviour on any occasion; even if they remain good, they may be in a minority.

The first round of discussions with the Akali leaders last week has produced a very favourable atmosphere. For the present at least, there would be no embarrassment from the Akalis and the decision to hold the Congress session at Amritsar next February, when the final decisions on the S.R.C. Report would have been taken, would require the assumption that there would be no need to be worried by the unpleasant demonstrations of discontented Akalis. Contrary to the popular impression, the problem of conciliating the Sikhs who now feel neglected, may not be difficult if the top leaders unbend sufficiently and realise that communal attitudes cannot be argued away.

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'PATERNALISM' IN THE INDO-BRITISH ADMINISTRATION

By V. SUBRAMANIAN

ADDRESSING the Indian Civil Service dinner in 1931 in London, Sir Samuel Hoare said that of Britain's two great gifts to India, namely parliamentary government and a non-partisan administration, the latter was the greater gift. Since the transfer of power to India in 1947 was comparatively peaceful, the administrative machinery with all its traditions was handed over to independent India as a going concern. The greatest gift of the British is still with us.

The traditions of British administration in India were not however entirely British. An important part of it was taken from some living Indian traditions and adapted to the needs of the British rulers. Many of the old Indian administrative traditions enshrined in Dharma Sastras, Chanakya's Artha Sastra, in Gupta or Mauryan administration or in Akbar's revenue administration had disappeared during the anarchy succeeding the break-up of the Moghul Empire. But some Indian mores and traditions were hardy enough to survive all this—and were living ideas—when John Company took over the reins of power. What were these ideas and how were they transformed during the British rule? The answer to this question is an interesting chapter in India's administrative history.

The British Conception

The most important of these traditions is summed up in the British conception of 'paternalism' in administration. The conception is not a very definite one and its content varied from time to time. At one time it included a number of allied

ideas and some of these were shed later. By many, this conception was called the very distilled wisdom of Indo-British administration, while there were others who called it humbug, an excuse for British rule, a cloak for bureaucracy and a post-justification for earlier acts of tyranny.

This tradition, the British claimed to have taken entirely from India. To a large extent it is true. All the ancient Indian texts on government talk of the king as a father to his people. Poet Kalidasa summarized it ably when he said of Dilipa that he was the real father to his people while their parents were only instrumental in bringing them forth. The king was responsible for everything in his kingdom. This idea persisted during the Moghul days as well, and Muslim historians like Abul Fazl refer to it frequently. How far the idea was carried out in practice is another question; it is evident that India had more than her quota of bad rulers, and paternalism under them could have been interpreted only in its most perverted meaning. Secondly, the large amount of autonomy enjoyed by the villages and the lack of communications probably set limits to the 'paternalism' of the best king. On the other hand the idea was peculiarly Indian in some respects, though most monarchical administrations involved the conception of paternalism. The Indian idea of 'paternalism' was not based upon any Divine Right theory as its European counterpart was during the Stuart or Louisian periods; it was on the other hand a reciprocal arrangement; the people had to play the role of obedient sons in return

only for fatherly protection. It was not paternalism based upon a mighty centralised State and a receptive mass without initiative. It was limited by the reality of village autonomy.

A Matter Of Convenience

The British rulers however took only the convenient part of it. John Company was forced to adopt it as an administrative policy—when Parliament began to ask the Company to render account of its stewardship periodically. Secondly, many of the earlier Governors-General were also imbued with the idea of bestowing on what they considered an unfortunate people the benefits of British law and peace, and fired with the glorious vision of an Indian Empire for their king. Moreover the British rulers were mostly cut off from home by long distances and the difficulties of travel and so they were thrown into closer contact with the Indian people than their successors. They naturally cultivated a sympathy for the culture and the national traditions of the people they ruled. The response from the Indian side also encouraged the formation of the tradition of paternalism. The suppression of Thuggee and of the Pindaris raised the prestige of the Company in the eyes of the people—and 'John Company Sahib' was the honoured appellation given to the Company.

The rebellion of 1857, and the resultant vengefulness on the part of British officialdom and the racial hatred inspired by Anglo-Indian society—would have broken up this tradition. But there entered a new element to sustain it in 1855. This was the creation of the Indian Civil Service, of men selected through a competitive examination. Whatever their defects, these men were definitely trained to look upon themselves as the people's 'guardians'. Sir John Woodroff's regent book *The Guardian* recaptures this aspect of the civil service tradi-

tion admirably. While many of these civil servants probably picked up the habits of racial superiority and 'benevolent' despotism in India—they preserved throughout the idea that they were 'guardians' in the truly Platonic sense. They justified all their shortcomings on the basis of this theory of guardianship.

The I. C. S.

The best description of this theory is found in the Simon Commission Report of 1930. The Report says in the chapter on the Services that India is a country of peasant cultivators and people look to the Government for many things. They said that the Indian civil servant unlike his British counterpart withdrawn from the public view is in the very centre of things. "The great mass of the people" they said "desire personal rule and we believe for many years to come there can be no adequate substitute for it." It was on the basis of these assumptions that two important elements in British Indian administration were formed. The one is a structural element by which the district was made the unit of administration, and the Collector made fully responsible for the administration of the district in all respects. The second was an element of tradition, the tradition of British bureaucracy—a tradition which took years to die even after the rise of political consciousness. The first in its essence was good, the second was basically bad.

The District Collector was entrusted first only with collecting revenue by Warren Hastings, and he was not even free to do that without constant supervision. Warren Hastings first entrusted him with magisterial duties, later deprived him of them. Sir John Shore restored the original combination, later Lord Cornwallis separated the magistracy from the collectorate but finally he adopted the union as most convenient. In fact the typical District Collector with full magisterial powers over the district was

not created in a single day or willingly by Warren Hastings or Cornwallis. They distrusted the institution—the concentration of power—the liability to abuse—but they had to yield to the logic of facts. There after, right till our own day, the District Collectorate has continued in nearly the same shape—as the point of integration of the district administration and as the prime instrument of paternalism. Almost every foreign observer was impressed by the range of his duties and responsibilities. Not a sparrow was expected to fall without his knowledge in the district. From the days of Ripon he was also the head of the local government till 1920. Slowly many branches of work were separated from his purview and organised into entirely independent departments with ramifications in the district like the Medical Services and the Public Works Department. Nevertheless the important work of the district was in his hands.

Great Sahib

Naturally, his rule had to be a type of benevolent despotism—or paternalism. He had his finger in every pie—and in course of time the district people asked him to interfere in everything. The state of things in the earlier years of this century may be illustrated by a few quotations. Says J. R. Macdonald in his "Government of India": "He (the District Collector) is the great sahib whose nod is to be obeyed, who gives and withholds, who taxes and administers justice, before whom all the great people of the village—banyas and policemen—headmen and accountants bow. He is the mighty one to whom the most flowery language and ornate titles apply. In fact in his care are the people of India. He or those who obey him order the life of the people and next to the creator and the laws of nature, he comes in the hierarchy of arbitrary powers." In another place in the same book he says: "The district officer is indeed

the tortoise which supports the elephant upon which the Indian Government rests." The Simon Commission Report deals with him at length and says that his powers are wide and varied and without them he could not discharge his wide and varied responsibilities. Commenting on his local influence they say: "If his range of influence were less varied, he would find it more difficult to prevent trouble."

The Collector's paternalism was positively welcome till the rise of political consciousness began to change it, whence came the long standing hatred between the bureaucrat and the Congressman.

Element Of Bureaucracy

The element of bureaucracy in the Indian administration was both the result and the cause of paternalism. Because India was a trust to be administered the British bureaucrats assumed full powers and responsibility and because they had tasted full power and endured full responsibility—they refused to give up either. They said nobody else can be such good guardians as they were. They assumed virtues in themselves, virtues which the raw Indian politician lacked most of all. These assumptions were handed from one officer to his successor and the bureaucratic tradition perpetuated itself. Writing about this Hans Kohn in his "History of Nationalism in the East" says that the greatest opponent of parliamentary institutions is bureaucracy and the Indian bureaucracy which assumed virtues of guardianship for itself and inability to govern on the part of those who pressed for power was the real opponent of the demand for power on the part of the Indian people. It was the burden of the song of the Indian Liberals of the early Congress that bureaucratic paternalism should cease. Commenting on the corporate nature of this bureaucracy J. R. Macdonald wrote:

(Continued on page 33)

THE ORISSA-ANDHRA BOUNDARY

Relevant Facts And Aspects

(Contributed)

THE rational fixation of the Orissa-Andhra boundary does not seem to have received the attention it deserved from the S. R. Commission which dispenses with this issue cursorily without going into the merits of the case. Further, the fact that at the time of the formation of Orissa, there was neither an Andhra province nor was it contemplated then, and that, in the nature of circumstances, the Orissa Boundary Commission was primarily concerned with drawing suitable boundaries of Orissa rather than fixing a permanent Orissa-Andhra boundary, is ignored. The O' Donnell Committee Report, for instance, (Vol. 1 page 38) says with regard to Koraput and portions of old Ganjam that "The Madras Presidency will lose a population of about 2½ millions and an area of 18,000 sq. miles. It will still, however, be one of the largest provinces in India with a population of just under 44 millions and an area of over 1,24,000 sq. miles." Evidently, the matter seems to have been viewed then as one of adjustment between a big unit like Madras (which then included the present Andhra State) and a relatively small unit like Orissa. But with the merger of some 26 ex-rulers' States, the area of Orissa is nearly doubled now (60,000 sq. miles) and the recently formed Andhra State with about the same area is, however, more densely populated than Orissa, and since an overall, comprehensive readjustment is attempted, the Orissa-Andhra boundary issue requires to be viewed afresh from an altogether different perspective. The opportunity should be availed to rectify former errors.

It may be noted that except the Andhras of concerned areas, the rest of the Andhra generally did not evidence much interest because the Andhras who whole-heartedly identified themselves with the Freedom Movement and completely boycotted the Simon Commission, felt that the time to take up such issues was after attainment of Independence and at the time of general reorganisation of States, whereas Oriyas unitedly took interest then as their new province was being formed. It would be a great injustice if the Andhras were to be made to suffer permanently for taking a broad attitude then.

Regarding portions in Ganjam claimed for inclusion in Andhra, the Commission admits that the main ground for inclusion of Parlakimidi in Orissa was the wish of the Raja of Parlakimidi (which Zamindari has since been abolished) but dispenses with the case on the ground that Telugu is spoken only by about 15% in the district as a whole, which is irrelevant, since the whole district is not claimed, but only about one-sixth area i.e. the coastal belt including Berhampur, Gopalpur and Chatrapur, and Parlakimidi plains abutting the Vamsadhara Project area (including or excluding the Parlakimidi Agency as may be separately decided on merits). This area of about 700 sq. miles has a population of about three lakhs out of which about two lakhs, or two-thirds are Andhras. Even if the Berhampur coastal belt and the Parlakimidi plains are separately taken, the Andhras are about 2/3 in each area and both the portions are contiguous to the Andhra State. In fact, the permanent Andhra inhabitants of

these areas may be even more, because thousands of Andhras of these parts work in places like Kharagpur, Jamshedpur, Adra, Chakradharpur, Calcutta, Titaghar, etc. and all of them invariably return with their families to their native places after retirement. The number of Andhras in places such as those cited above is some three lakhs out of whom a large number are from these parts. This is mentioned because the Commission in discussing the issue of Peermade and Devicolum in T.C. State says that a large number of Tamilians of those taluks have come for employment but are permanent inhabitants of neighbouring Tamil districts in Madras. Similarly, a very large number of Andhras employed in Khargpur, Jamshedpur, Adra, Titaghar, etc., are permanent inhabitants of the Berhampur *cum* Parlakimidi area and the adjoining Srikakulam district in Andhra. As there are no otherwise compelling factors such as the location of the headworks of a major project to justify the retention of Berhampur and Parlakimidi areas in Orissa, the case for inclusion of these areas in Andhra requires to be considered on merits as in the case of Kollegal, Kasargod, Chandgad taluks, etc., which were tackled below the district level, especially since it presents no difficulty and requires no fresh enquiries as all the necessary relevant data of previous detailed enquiries is readily available.

As regards Koraput, which is mainly a tribal area, the need for including it in the State which is likely to have better potential resources for its development was hardly considered. The Commission, it may be pointed out, recommended the inclusion of Bidar district in Telangana mainly on the ground of communications with Hyderabad, but although the communications of Koraput are more directly with Srikakulam and Visakhapatnam dis-

tricts in Andhra, no weight is given to this aspect. (People going from Koraput to Cuttack would have to go through some 150 miles of Andhra State). Nor do the facts that Koraput, along with portions of Bastar and Chanda districts, forms an important part of the catchment area of Godavari river where forests require to be properly preserved, and that this area is also the natural hinterland of the expanding harbour town of Visakhapatnam receive any consideration. Even if on merits the whole of Koraput cannot be transferred to Andhra, at least the case for inclusion of such contiguous portions as Gunupur, Rayaghada, Motu, etc., should have been, and could easily be, considered on merits.

The Commission refers to the correspondence between the then Government of India and the various Committees but omits to mention the considered opinion of the then Government which is quoted here: (Letter from Government of India to the Secretary of State for India; D/26-11-1932, Reforms Office) "The choice of the boundary turns on the treatment of Berhampur Town. After careful consideration of the difficult issue we have come to the conclusion that the Telugus' claim to Berhampur should be accepted. In para 9 of our Memorandum to the Statutory Commission we took the point that Maharattas who ceded Orissa to the British never ruled in Ganjam which with Vizagapatam formed part of Northern Circars ceded to the British by the Moghuls. We cannot see that where there is any considerable proportion of Telugus settled for generations they can with any show of justice be uprooted and placed under an Oriya administration against their declared wish to remain in Madras. For this reason we support the recommendations of the Madras Government and of the Madras Legislative Council, that in this area, the boundary should follow the lines of Mohiri

Hills and of the Rishikulya-Godahada river subject to slight adjustment as might after further examination be found possible in order to bring into new Orissa predominantly Oriya areas south of that boundary.

"To sum up, we support the proposals of the Committee for the transfer of territory from the Madras Presidency to a separated Orissa, with these important modifications that we would retain in Madras the whole of the Vizagapatam Agency, (which then included Koraput district now in Orissa) the Parlakimidi taluk, the Berhampur taluk, except the Bodokimidi estate (now abolished) and part of Chatrapur taluk in Ganjam plains and the Parlakimidi, Jalantra maliahs of the Ganjam Agency, subject to the possible slight adjustment referred to in the concluding sentence of the preceding paragraph."

The above considered and impartial view of the then Government of India, in fact, more than sums up the present Andhra claims which are even more modest. The most rational adjustment would be, perhaps, to make slight adjustments in the Rishikulaya-Godahada line so as to retain predominantly Oriya portions contiguous to this line in Orissa and adding the remaining predominantly Andhra coastal belt and Parlakimidi area to the contiguous Andhra State, deciding about the Agency area separately on merits. As regards Berhampur Town of the coastal belt, it was admittedly more Telugu than Oriya at the time of formation of Orissa and its trade, commercial interests, etc., continue still to be predominantly Telugu and with the adjoining Andhra area. Any slight change in population complexion today may be due to influx of Oriya officials in the place of Telugu officials who opted out then, and students from interior Oriya tracts of the district coming to Berhampur for college education

and such other temporary factors. As for the contention that Berhampur should be retained in Orissa because Orissa lacks a well-developed town in the South, apart from its being a none-too-sustainable ground, whatever might be the case at the time of the formation of Orissa, there is absolutely no difficulty in developing Khallikote or Rambha on the main railway line and on the Grand Trunk Road, both of which have now well-developed communications with the interior tracts of the district. Any temporary location of offices in Berhampur, if necessary, and making good to Orissa any investments made in this area can be satisfactorily adjusted. Further, even if rival claims to a particular place are evenly balanced, it is a sound principle to include it in the State with a relatively broad and sober atmosphere. While no discrimination against linguistic minorities in former Madras or present Andhra is to be found, the atmosphere in Orissa, unfortunately, continues to be narrow and unhealthy in this respect as indicated by such incidents as the assault on Dr. Pattabhi and party in Berhampur about 1946, (the fault of Dr. Pattabhi was that he along with Dr. Mahatab issued a joint statement that the Orissa-Andhra boundary may require a readjustment!) unpleasant incidents when the Andhras wanted to hold a protest meeting about the discriminatory domicile and language policies, in 1948, donkey procession to insult the Andhra Municipal Councillors, interference with the free exhibition of Telugu documentary films, etc., not to speak of constant pin-pricks go to show. It is no exaggeration to say that the Andhras in Orissa are often unable to voice their grievances freely or make legitimate representations fearlessly owing to the prevailing atmosphere. The following few instances may well indicate the atmosphere and even the Press attitude; From an article in *Orissa First*

(26-8-1946): "The Mahatab Ministry is never categorical in its reply to the Andhras who could be told to remember that they are hostages in Orissa." The same paper (9-12-1946) referring to the Andhra representations on medium of instruction through mother-tongue in bilingual portions of Ganjam and Koraput, says: "Before the war the Germans in Denmark were getting all educational facilities as the Danish people. When, however, Hitler rose to power, those Germans went *en bloc* to the enemy's camp and fought against the Danish. We do not want that to happen in Orissa." It is painful that such writings did not evoke protests even from responsible Oriya sections.

Since a readjustment of State boundaries on a comprehensive and country-wide basis is being done now, omissions or inconsistencies on the part of the Commission should be

rectified so as to reduce the linguistic minorities problem to the minimum and in furtherance of permanent harmony by a rational fixation of boundaries on merits, devising steps too for the specific recognition of bi-lingual taluks, wherever necessary, on either side of a State boundary after rational fixation.

Lastly, if, as is believed, Srikulam Andhras apprehend that Berhampur, if included in Andhra, might be a rival to Srikulam, it would be both unfortunate and unjustified if true, because, with a little suitable adjustment, there can be desirably and easily three districts: Visakhapatnam, Srikulam and Berhampur in view of the vastness of the concerned area and population.

It is to be hoped the Andhra generally would take due note of these facts and aspects and evince a little more interest in this issue than has been the case, unfortunately, hitherto.



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THE STARTLING CONTRAST

By ANDREW ROTH

ONE of the most startling developments in postwar British diplomacy has been the manner in which the 'Eden Plan'—which Sir Anthony Eden first submitted to the 'summit' Conference at Geneva in July has been scrapped virtually without a murmur.

This plan was put forward by Sir Anthony as Britain's great immediate contribution to furthering the 'Geneva Spirit' by establishing a semi-demilitarized zone in central Europe. When it was submitted to the United Nations Disarmament sub-committee on September 15 by Sir Anthony Eden's protege, Minister of State Anthony Nutting, it was described as a "curtain-raiser" a "pilot plan." This was to be the simple, practical, inexpensive and early start to European disarmament.

The fullest picture of the British plan at that stage was that 'leaked' to the diplomatic correspondent of the *Washington Post* and quoted extensively in the *Manchester Guardian* of September 17. It contained three main points:

1. "The establishment of a demilitarized buffer zone 100 miles deep on each side of the Iron Curtain now dividing Germany. The eastern edge of the zone would run through Berlin and include Prague. The western edge would be exclusively in the old British and American zones of Germany except for the city of Mainz. It would not include the major American forces based in the Kaiserlautern area."
2. "A 'thinning out of Allied and Communist troops in another zone on each side of the 200-mile area.' This second zone would extend into France, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg on the West and

in Poland and Czechoslovakia in the east. Both zones 'would be checked by an East-West control agency.'

3. "A security arrangement under which each of the five countries bound by this pact would undertake to go to the immediate aid of any one of them if attacked by another."

The emasculated new proposals, as first disclosed by the diplomatic correspondent of *The Times* on October 11 calls for only "a thinning out of forces . . . rather than earlier proposals for a demilitarized zone . . ." What is even more important is that this is to happen not on the *present* dividing line between East and West but "along the future eastern frontier of a united Germany."

In short, instead of demilitarizing Germany and limiting the forces on both sides of Germany, the new, emasculated plan simply offers to limit forces in Eastern Germany if the Russians agree to yield Eastern Germany to the West!

What forces led to jettisoning the original 'Eden Plan'?

From the outset, the French were very critical. The Quai D'Orsay argued that a demilitarized zone embracing most of Western Germany would invite a later thrust of military power.

The Americans argued that the original 'Eden Plan' in effect implied recognition of a divided Germany for the indefinite future. The British answered that it was strictly a military security plan which would not touch the unification issue but would be a useful first step in creating a European sense of security for both East and West.

Just when Britain yielded to French and American pressure to change the zone from a demilitarized one to one of thinned-out forces and from one in Germany to one on the German-Polish border is not quite clear. It seems to have occurred at the meeting of the 'Big Three' Western Foreign Ministers meeting in New York on September 27-28. On the second day of those talks they were joined by the West German Foreign Minister.

This meeting took place in the wake of the Adenauer visit to Moscow. This caused considerable concern because it opened the way to Soviet negotiations directly with both East and West Germany and between the two regimes. If Western forces were withdrawn from most of West Germany while Soviet diplomacy had free access to both sides, Western diplomats argued, this would in effect be the "dangerous power vacuum" against which so many, including Sir Anthony Eden had warned. They therefore emasculated the "Eden Plan" out of all recognition and, as their final communique affirmed, gave "priority . . . to the reunification of Germany, within the framework of a plan for European security."

In short, in order to exert the maximum pressure on the Soviets to grant East Germany the right to join an anti-Soviet alliance, they have made all Western concessions dependent on that. In emasculating the "Eden Plan" out of all recognition they virtually wiped out the possibility of any important agreement at the October 27 Foreign Ministers' meeting at Geneva. This explains the gloomy predictions of Foreign Secretary Harold Macmillan and Prime Minister Sir Anthony Eden at the Conservative Party Conference on October 7 and 8.

Mr. Macmillan put the new tactics into a verbal nutshell on October 21 when he said: "It will be a

long haul. We shall just have to lean up against them. In the long run they will give way, as they did on Austria."

The tactic has received strong support from the Rightwing of the Conservative Party which shares the 'liberation' hopes of Mr. Dulles. On the day after Macmillan's speech, the influential Conservative *Daily Telegraph* asked:

"Why is Europe insecure? Because the Russian empire stretches into Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria. Why is the free world armed to the teeth? Because the Red Army commands the strategic gateways to the Channel ports. Clearly, therefore, the obvious way to unify Germany, allay insecurity and reduce armaments, is for the Russians to withdraw to their prewar borders." In exchange, the *Daily Telegraph* suggests, the West might begin to think about removing its land armies from Western Europe.

This sort of analysis suggests that in departing from the 'Eden Plan' which was an effort to bring about a localized disarmament based on the present balance of power, Western thinkers tend to swing now toward 'liberating' all East Europe and then toward a semi-neutralized Europe dependent for its peace only on the possession by both sides of the H-bomb!

This tendency to make demands on the Russians which are almost certain to be turned down has disturbed some sectors of British opinion. *The Times*, on October 15, pointed out that even if the next Geneva Conference ends in a draw, with little tangible achieved, it is important to remember that the battle of policies and ideas in Europe will go on. For that reason the western peoples should be left convinced that the three great Western Powers

have done their utmost to get agreement on German unity and European security. Then it went on to make the significant suggestion:

"So far the Western Powers have said that there can be no security pact unless Germany is first united. But is it not possible to have a pact on a provisional basis that in no way rules out German unity for the future?"

The German Ambassador immediately called on the Foreign Office to find out whether this reflected a change in Britain's policy. He apparently wanted to know whether Sir Anthony was trying to revive his efforts to lower tension in the German area without insisting first on German unity within the Western alliance. He was assured that there was no change in policy, that Bri-

tain was standing by Mr. Macmillan's commitments in New York.

The Times returned to the attack, pointing out that "it has to be recognized that the Russians, in firm possession of the eastern zone, will not agree to German unity in present conditions . . . so long as there is a chance that a unified Germany will . . . become a member of the Western alliance . . .

"The outstanding question . . . is how unity is most likely to be brought about on acceptable terms—by pressure from the west and a continuance of tension with the Russians or by a gradual relaxation of tension in Europe? So long as there is tension, the Russians are bound to keep as tight a hold on the East German zone as they do on the satellite regimes . . . On a long view it is the persistence of tension that keeps Germany divided."

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PASSENGER AMENITIES ON RAILWAYS

By T. R. V.

THE Railway Administration in our democratic country have provided a number of 'passenger amenities'—and the public, especially the passengers travelling in III class—will be, no doubt, deeply thankful to the Administration.

From the article 'Important innovations and improvements' appearing in the *South Rail News* (October 1955) it will be gathered that the latest passenger amenity is the introduction of special cinema-equipped vans to exhibit documentary films at stations throughout the country. "The idea," in the words of the Railway Minister, "is to usefully fill the time of passengers waiting for trains" . . . for hours together . . . !

Now, at this stage, two questions will naturally arise:

(1) Why should the Railway Minister want the passengers to wait at the stations?

(2) Could he not arrange to put on the track additional number of trains—with a view to bringing down the period of sojourn of the helpless passengers at the stations?

People do not get into the railway premises to wait to witness cinema or drama performances. What the passengers (who are waiting in the over-crowded platform huddled amongst luggage) want is the punctual arrival and departure of the train. And once they manage to get into the already overcrowded compartment, what they want is to reach the destination station as quickly and expeditiously as possible. And if there is a junction ahead, where they have to change, their immediate aim would be to expect the connecting

train to be punctual. Passengers do not want to be stranded for want of a connecting train, at a way-side junction station; for, to stay unnecessarily at a station en route means money—not to mention the waste of precious time involved.

And, to thrust upon these waiting passengers entertainments like films, etc., would be a mockery. No amount of such novel schemes introduced at the expense of the public exchequer so as to enable the waiting passengers "to usefully spend their time . . ." will serve any fruitful purpose at all. On the other hand, it will be a mere waste of money, time and energy of the Administration and the travelling public as well.

Perhaps, in foreign countries like Russia, America and France, where the average speed of the passenger trains varies between 40 and 75 m.p.h., the exhibition of films, etc., might be considered legitimate and an essential passenger amenity. But, for the present, in our country, where the average speed of certain trains is as low as 8 to 10 m.p.h., to introduce such novel schemes would be, to say the least, most unwarranted and inappropriate.

It is a pity that the Railway Administration in this country, which boast of having provided a number of passenger amenities to the travelling public, have not paid the least attention to the question of speeding up of trains.

In the September 1955 issue of *South Rail News*, the magazine's London Correspondent, Mr. Arthur L.

Stead, has written a very commendable and illuminating article on the enviable efficiency and splendid performance of the French National Railways, who have set up a new global speed record of 205 m. p. h. Though battered by World War II beyond recognition, it is a wonderful achievement for the French National Railways to have emerged as one of the best maintained and highly efficient of all the European railways.

And in the same breath, when one has to look back on the Southern Railway, where the speed of certain passenger trains is between 8 and 10 m.p.h.—one does not know whether to laugh or cry.

To quote a few concrete examples, let us turn the pages of the current Time Table, No. 9, which has come into effect from 1st October, 1955.

(1) The distance between Trichy Jn. and Srirangam is 7 miles and odd furlongs. Diesel Rail coach No. 214 starts from Trichy Jn. at 9-32 hours and reaches Srirangam at 10-34 hours rather reluctantly, as it would seem. That means, 1 hour and 2 minutes for 7½ miles!

(2) The same rail coach leaves Srirangam on its onward march and reaches Lalgudi at 11-25 hours—a distance of 9 miles from Srirangam. That amounts to 2 hours to cover 16 miles and a few furlongs.

And the pity of it is that this rail coach is understood to have been purchased from Japan—at a fabulous cost—solely with the intention of providing speedy and quick shuttle train service!

(3) Steam Train No. 631 leaves Lalgudi at 14-25 hours and arrives at Trichy Jn. at 16-20 hours—i.e. 2 hours for 17 miles.

Almost all trains plying between Lalgudi and Trichy Jn. section (a thickly populated and a suburban area of Trichy) take such inordinately long time—not to mention the

ever so many crossings arranged at stations to allow a train coming in the opposite direction to pass by, and various stoppings and slow-down en-route. The resultant bitterness and illfeeling left in the minds of the passengers is too much to be easily mollified by the proposal to exhibit films at stations calling it an additional passenger amenity.

Slow moving trains are not the monopoly of the Trichinopoly Jn.—Lalgudi section alone. Certain examples—taken at random from the current Time Table—go to show how the fare-paying passengers are compelled to enjoy the several amenities, while they are in a train.

Times have changed—and they call this the atomic age. Travel has become an inevitable and unavoidable necessity nowadays. The office-going people, in thousands, have to travel daily by train to their offices in the morning and back home in the evening. School boys and college students, lawyers and doctors, traders and businessmen—everybody has to travel almost daily, and they do not travel for pleasure. No doubt, they want certain legitimate comforts and conveniences—not amenities of a luxurious type, like films, etc.

Provide these people with speedy shuttle train service at quick intervals, at peak-hours at least, and they will be deeply thankful to the Administration.

Speed up the long distance passenger and express trains, cut the unnecessary duration of halts at stations and junctions to the barest minimum and add additional number of carriages at least (if not additional trains), and they will greatly appreciate it.

Let the watchword of the Administration be punctuality and speed and more speed—of course bearing in mind the safety of passengers.

Let a vigorous effort be made to cut all avoidable stops at outer signals, slowdown at level crossings, etc.

Let the Time Tables be prepared cleverly and judiciously with a certain amount of skill, imagination and forethought—and *sympathy* for the passengers. People will praise the Railway Administration doubly if these points are kept in mind.

It has often been declared that the railways are engaged in the manufacture and sale of the commodity, "Transport."

If the railways could not provide speedy and quick transport facilities to their customers, would not the latter become reluctant to do further business with the railway?

And, as such, should it not be the railways' supreme concern and responsibility to satisfy the customers by arranging quick train service, instead of making them wait for hours together in the crowded platform—and then thrusting upon them an additional amenity by way of films and dramas "to usefully fill their time."

It may be argued that it will take decades for our railways to achieve such speed and efficiency as obtain on the French National Railways. Our

locomotives are worn out and over-worked; the coaches are few; the materials are in short supply; the track is weak and already fully engaged, over-ruling any idea of additional trains or more speed. Such are the usual arguments.

Well, then, let us accept that it will take decades for us to catch up with the railways of foreign countries. Anyhow, it is a very painful and sorry state of affairs to run trains at 8 to 10 m.p.h.—especially at a time when a large number of foreign tourists are visiting our country.

A few examples:

(a) Train No. 1151 leaves Gudur at 4-30 hours reaches Renigunta at 10-11 hours, (Distance 52 miles—Time: Nearly 6 hours).

(b) Train No. 578. Leaves Kullitalai at 15-1 hours and reaches Trichinopoly Jn. at 17-10 hours. (Distance 23 miles. Time: 2 hours and 9 minutes.)

(c) Train No. 705. Leaves Dindigul at 7-10 hours and arrives at Virudhunagar at 12-07 hours. (Distance 65 miles—Time: nearly 5 hours).

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THE VIRILITY OF AMERICAN POETRY

By J. VIJAYATUNGA

THERE is no denying that American poets have influenced those of Europe. Today American poetry as well as prose has that virility which is lacking in English poetry. But blood transfusions have been going on and there is every promise of recovery as far as English poetry is concerned.

Poe's influence upon the French symbolists and through them upon European literature as a whole is acknowledged without reserve. Then came Whitman, loose, sprawling, but unmistakably a Voice, a Voice that had to be heard and was heard across the Atlantic. Of half English and half Dutch descent Whitman was America's epic poet. Now he was all rhapsody for everything American, now he was all despair and criticism. But that was because he wished America to be blemishless, to be the true leader of world democracy. He foresaw the United Nations. In the preface to "Specimen Days in America" (English edition) he wrote:

"Let me fondly hope that . . . also, in the volume, as below any page of mine, anywhere, ever remains for seen and unseen basic-phrase, GOOD WILL BETWEEN THE COMMON PEOPLE OF ALL NATIONS."

In the Foreword to *Leaves of Grass* which appeared first in 1855 was this verse with its strong Oriental savour:

Come, said my Soul,
Such verses for my Body let us write,
(for we are one.)
That should I after death invisibly
return,
Or, long, long hence, in other spheres,
There to some group of mates the
chants resuming,

(Tallying Earth's soil, trees, winds,
tumultuous waves.)

Ever with pleas'd smile I may keep on,
Ever and ever yet the verses owning
—as, first, I here and now,

Singing for Soul and Body, set to them
my name.

Until Whitman's time American poets schooled on the classic pattern followed metre as scrupulously as their counterparts in England and Europe. But Whitman came along with his polyrhythmic, polyphonic free verse and it gave American poetry what it was just praying for—the lilt and swing and stride of a robust health, of the outdoors. Poe's Annabel Lees were for the moment forgotten. Today Whitman is looked askance by some of the wilder younger poets but there is no gainsaying that his influence has been far-reaching. The disciplined metres and rhythms of the regional poets—Sandburg, Vachel Lindsay, Edwin Arlington Robinson, Frost, Jeffers—were not so much a revolt against Whitman but a continuity of the American tradition in literature. Robert Frost came into prominence with his winning the Pulitzer Prize for his "New Hampshire" in 1924, and the following year Robinson won the same prize for "The Man Who Died Twice." Carl Sandburg, balladier, and biographer of Lincoln, published his "Selected Works" in 1926. Edgar Lee Masters published his "Spoon River Anthology" at the end of World War I. So had Vachel Lindsay his poems.

The twenties were fruitful years for American poetry. Many young poets bid for attention and most of them

were well received. True, not all of them sailed to Byzantium. An Italian labourer, Pascal d'Angelo, the "pick and shovel poet" had the distinction of having his poems published by Macmillans but died in poverty. On the whole, however, poets found publishers; and magazines devoted exclusively to poetry, such as Harriet Monroe's "The New Poetry" helped to sustain the courage of the young rebels.

America has produced more women poets in this century than any other country, from Amy Lowell who died in 1925 and Edna St. Vincent Millay to Marianne Moore, who has just published the *Fables of La Fontaine*. How deftly Marianne Moore combines mandarin and modernism. Here is an example of one of these translations:

"Everyone is self-deceived:

Of all the fooled, agog to catch a phantom,

The number if you knew it would never be believed;

It is a permanent conundrum.

We ought to be reminded of Aesop's dog, who set out

With a bone, but on seeing what he had in his mouth doubled

By water, dropped it for the shadow and just about

Drowned. The brook was instantly troubled;

And having worn himself out, he'd neither substance nor shadow to thank

Himself for on regaining the bank.

The subtle classicism of most American poets, reminiscent of Donne, is brought out well by the following verse of Marianne Moore; the last of a long poem, "In Distrust of Merit":

Hate-hardened heart, O heart of iron,
Iron is iron till it is rust.

There never was a war that was not inward; I must

fight till I have conquered in myself what causes war, but I would not believe it.

O Iscariotlike crime

Beauty is everlasting
and dust is for a time.

In a short article there is not the space for a longer appreciation of America's contemporary poets such as E. E. Cummings, whose first book "Tulips and Chimneys" was set up in type by hand in the early twenties by Samuel A. Jacobs (whose name before he became Americanised was Ahmuel bar Aiwah bie Yaquubh Murad de Shirabode), William Carlos Williams, Wallace Stevens who died in August this year, Oscar Williams and many others. But a sample of E. E. Cummings must be included:

what if a dawn of a doom of a dream
bites this universe in two,
peels for ever out of his grave
and sprinkles nowhere with me and you? . . .

And one by Karl Shapiro who was with the forces in Australia during the war:

That prophet year by year
Lay still but could not hear
Where scholars tapped to find his new remains
Gog and Magog ate pork
In vertical New York
And war began next Wednesday on the Danes.

America is known as the land of hustle, of go-getting so that Robert Hillyer apostrophising the "XXth Century" says:

There is not time,
No time,
There is no time,
Not even for a kiss,
Not even for this,
Not even for this rhyme,—
No

But that is not altogether true. I have been in hamlets in New England where the peace was as satisfying, if not more, as that in the foothills of the Himalayas. Many an

(Continued on page 29)

THE TEACHINGS OF SOCRATES

By A. S. NARAYANA PILLAI

SOCRATES was an ancient Greek philosopher. He is perhaps the most famous of philosophers. He had, however, no system of philosophy, no set doctrines to teach. He was a philosopher in the simple, original sense—a lover of wisdom, a tireless seeker after the truth.

He was born nearly 2400 years ago; to be exact, in the year 470 B.C. His father was a sculptor, his mother a midwife. He learnt his father's art and tried his hand at sculpture. As a citizen he did his duties faithfully and fearlessly both in war and in peace. He took part in three campaigns. As Senator and President of the Athenian Assembly he defied the raging mob. Some years later he refused, at the risk of his life, to obey the illegal orders of the ruling despots of his country.

As a philosopher he was self-taught. He used to say that a divine voice was urging him to regard his life as having a mission. That mission was to rouse his fellow citizens from their thoughtlessness. To understand this we must understand the times in which he lived.

Athens, the city of Socrates, had become the intellectual centre of Greece. The Athenian lived an externally refined life: he had material prosperity and intellectual stimulation. Festivals and the arts gave colour to his life. The Sophists were the influential teachers at the time. They told him in beautiful language and with homely examples that knowledge had value only in the control of life. The art of life was taught by the Sophists. They controlled the education of the young; they gave practical instruction in speaking, in poise, in meeting the situations of life. The value of this practical training could not be

under-estimated. Nevertheless the education that the Sophists gave to the Athenian Youths had a great defect.

It was not concerned with determining the truth. It was concerned only with convincing the hearers of what appeared advantageous in any particular case. Debating, rhetoric and oratory flourished. Although the word "Sophist" had not yet acquired the disparaging meaning of a hairsplitting disputant, it was on the way to acquiring it. "Form threatened" says a writer "to over-run content and the art of persuasion to stifle the feeling for truth." Certainly Sophism raised more problems than it solved.

This was the position that Socrates found. It gave him a well-defined task. It was necessary to distinguish knowledge from opinion and to find a fixed ideal to guide man in his life. The youth of Athens received no moral education. No one showed them the path of righteousness, no one taught them to distinguish between the values, to seek the meaning and end of life. It was a serious need. Socrates devoted his whole life to meet this need. It was his "divine service" as he called it. "If any one likes to come," he said, "and hear me while I am pursuing my mission, whether he be young or old, he is not excluded."

II.

With his bald head, a great round face, deep-set eyes and a broad nose—he was far from being handsome. But that was the exterior. He was full of human kindness and social charm, cultured and witty. He was a "teacher beloved of the finest youth in Athens." He gathered the young and the learned about him

and asked them—to define their terms.

There is no philosophy until the mind turns round and examines itself. We should learn to doubt our cherished beliefs, our dogmas, our assumptions. We must examine their origin, their foundation. We must know our own minds. "Know thyself," said Socrates.

To make men know themselves he habitually cross-examined them and set them thinking. He produced in them a wholesome inner unrest. This prying into the human soul, questioning certainties was his great passion. Personal conversation was the means he adopted.

If men talked too readily of love or justice or piety he asked them quietly, What is it? What do you mean by these abstract words with which you so easily settle the problems of life and death? What do you mean by honour, virtue, morality, patriotism? This was the famous "Socratic method." It was the demand for accurate definitions and clear thinking and exact analysis. It was a dialectic process to which he subjected the people he met. He set men to work on themselves.

Socrates did not claim any superior wisdom. The oracle at Delphi with unusual good sense once pronounced him the wisest man in Greece. Socrates interpreted this to mean that wisdom consists in knowing your ignorance; he was wise because he knew that he knew nothing. "Whereas" says Socrates, "another knows nothing and thinks that he knows, I neither know nor think that I know. In this latter particular, then, I seem to have slightly the advantage of him." Wisdom, he was sure, comes from enquiry and he wanted men to enquire. He himself claimed to be a modest enquirer.

If this enquiry set men in unrest and brought them into embarrassment, he could not help it. Most people suffered from this Socratic

method. Some would have even objected to this and complained that he left men's minds more confused than before. He himself felt spurred on to this work by his love. He had nothing else to give the Athenians and this was no small gift.

He often produced this result by pretending to get instruction from others whose mental inferiority was revealed in the course of the conversation. This attitude of his was felt to be ironical (the famous Socratic irony). He asks a friend, what is piety, what is impiety? The friend undertakes to explain these. The explanation goes from point to point, Socrates only asking a question here and a question there. The friend now confesses that he does not know. His confidence is gone. His dogmatism is gone. His ignorance stands revealed. Socrates does not leave him.

"I am sure that you know the nature of piety and impiety. Speak out then, my dear Euthyphro, and do not hide your knowledge."

"Another time, Socrates; for I am in a hurry, and must go now."

"Alas! my companion, and will you leave me in despair? I was hoping that you would instruct me in the nature of piety and impiety."

In conversations like this he was fond of starting from trivial things, pressing the most commonplace things into service to illustrate his theories—smiths and cobblers, horses and donkeys; and directed to explain the simple questions, What is the good life? What is virtue? What is the best form of Government?

These are old questions—and yet new questions. "Virtue is knowledge" says Socrates. He who knows what the good is will do good. He will not do evil. Of course, knowledge is not mere theoretical knowledge which has only to be learned. It is insight into what is really valuable in life. The opposite of this knowledge is self-deception. Sin is foolishness.

No one who has real knowledge will voluntarily do evil.

It follows from this that under no circumstances should any one do wrong. It is better to endure any kind of suffering than to commit a wrong. Socrates held out no prospect of reward for virtue; doing good itself is Eudaemonia (Happiness). The ethics of Socrates is turned towards the world.

In politics, he was against the simple majority principle of the democratic State. He also disapproved the selection of public officials by lot as was the practice in Athens. These went contrary to an important principle of his—his insistence on technical proficiency in every sphere of action. The finest minds should govern. How can a society be saved except it be led by its wisest men? It is a shame that men should choose as their leaders orators who "go ringing on" says Socrates, "in long harangues like brass pots which, when struck continue to sound till a hand is put upon them." When the demand of the State brought Socrates into conflict with his conscience as happened at the close of his life, he did not doubt for a moment which he had to obey. "I will obey God rather than you," he explained to his judges.

These answers gave Socrates death and immortality. When he had carried on his work—of making men think—for a full generation he was impeached by his enemies on two counts: that he corrupted the youth by denying the national gods and that he attempted to introduce new divinities. The rest of this pathetic story all the world knows, Plato, his disciple, has written it down in prose more beautiful than poetry. He was found guilty by a small majority and condemned to death—by drinking the poison hemlock. He faced his judges. "The hour of departure has arrived" he said "and we go our ways—I to die, and you to live. Which is better God only knows."

He spent thirty days in prison awaiting his end. His friends made proposals of escape. He rejected them. On the last day he drank the hemlock with philosophic serenity. There is no doubt that personal enmity had been at work on his prosecution and condemnation. His criticism of the democratic constitution, his cross-examination of people made him many enemies. There was the hostility of the majority of the Athenian people, especially the democratic party, towards the work of enlightening education that he was doing. He was showing his contemporaries the only possible way to improve the existing State, namely that of moral reform. And he paid for this with his life. But "the death of Socrates was the greatest triumph of his cause, the crowning success of his life, the apotheosis of philosophy and the philosopher."—A. I. R., Trivandrum

(Continued from page 26)

American poet has time to stand and stare, from Ogden Nash who wrote

"The trouble with a kitten is
THAT Eventually it becomes a
CAT

to Ezra Pound who eazraising upon:
Eliot wrote:

These are the poems of Eliot
By the Uranium Muse begot;
A Man their mother was,
A Muse their Sire . . .

The fact is poets are listened to with respect in America. They have a public. There are numerous poetry awards, besides scholarships: there are several societies, such as the Poetry Society of America, trying to keep alive an interest in poetry. Perhaps in no other country today has the poet come to his own as in America. (In this brief article I had to omit mention of those outstanding Negro poets, James Weldon Johnson, Countee Cullen and Langston Hughes.)

THE YOUNGER BRITISH SCULPTORS

By ROBERT MELVILLE

WHEN the works of eight young British sculptors—Adams, Armitage, Butler, Chadwick, Clarke, Meadows, Paolozzi and Turnbull—were brought together for the first time at the Venice Biennale in 1952, the occasion seemed to mark the rise of a new British school with well-defined characteristics of its own. Since then, there have been some radical changes in the work of most of these sculptors, and the characteristics of the 'school' are now distinctly exemplified only in the work of Lynn Chadwick. Yet it was far from wrong to see the exhibition at Venice as a group manifestation, for the exhibitors shared an instinctive programme: they were all involved in a violent yet methodical struggle to eradicate from their work every stylistic and doctrinal connection with the art of Henry Moore. The Biennale exhibition faithfully reflected the climax of the rupture.

Antithesis to Moore

It was an inevitable and necessary enterprise. Moore is the greatest sculptor Britain has had for several centuries, and for many of our younger sculptors his carvings were not simply one man's sculpture, but the form that stone had to take to become sculpture, and when they carved a piece of stone it was not 'right' until it resembled a Moore.

So stone became untouchable, and the carving technique had to be abandoned. The sacred archetypes—the mountain ranges, the egg, the tree—were renounced, and, with them, all solid and closed forms, and all seatedness and rootedness.

Only one of these younger men,

Robert Adams (b. 1917) could safely remain a carver. He was not concerned with organic form but with geometric abstraction, and his particular task was to remove the last adventitious vestiges of a *personnage* from his upright forms. Adams has progressively disengaged his forms from any actuality outside themselves, and now that Barbara Hepworth's work is more humanistic in intention, he is our finest abstract sculptor.

Influence of Sutherland's Paintings

The others turned to light, sinewy materials, to techniques of manipulation and assembly, and took their stand in an aesthetic of open construction.

Open construction brought other influences into their work: Gonzalez' linear use of iron, Giacometti's attenuations, Klee's sign language, Calder's wiry, outstretched stems. But the over-riding influence was the art of Graham Sutherland. His paintings were as deeply involved in their artistic upbringing as the sculpture of Henry Moore, and if they had been aware of the influence they would have resisted it tooth and nail, but it gave their work its remarkable homogeneity and unmistakable Englishness. They were exhibiting in Venice at the same time that Sutherland's retrospective was being held there, and it was clear that they had exchanged one aspect of the English vision for another. In turning away from Moore's vision of humanity emerging from the land they had spontaneously embraced Sutherland's vision of root and plant assuming creature life: his *Thorn trees* and *Thorn Heads* are the pictorial

prototypes of their biomorphic use of the principle of open construction. Sutherland's thorn pictures look like angry gothic initials pricking at space marking and encompassing the air, and their form and mood are echoed again and again in the barbed, three-dimensional 'writing' of the sculptors.

These sculptors are now returning to closed form and re-discovering the human effigy, but their work is still informed by the tension, disquiet and nervous energy that characterized their opened-out bronzes and their constructions in wire, forged iron strip and sheet metal. They are not likely to take up carving, for they show themselves to be natural modelers; but now that their images of restlessness are turning into bronze effigies their work is losing its belligerent air of pure anti-thesis to the art of Henry Moore, and it has become evident that Moore himself in his recent large bronzes—*King and Queen* and *Warrior with Shield*—has come half-way to meet them.

Dynamics of Linear Construction

So far, it is Reg Butler (b. 1913) who has most powerfully directed the dynamics of linear construction into studies of the human figure in the round. Butler now stands apart from the other sculptors of his generation, and a good way beyond them, partly because he has a greater intellectual grasp of the problems to be solved and a fiercer will to produce. But he also has a splendid gift of improvisation, which seems to enable him to give form to every mutation in his creative processes. In the last two or three years, the struggle going on in his work between the claims of the cage and the effigy has the drama of a pitched battle, for Butler has made this rivalry between open construction and closed form indistinguishable from the struggle for survival of the hybrid *personnage* of modern art as the claims of the human effigy grow more imperious.

The struggle began with the forging of an iron box, standing on thin stilts like a Sutherland plant *personnage*, and containing an iron figure which operates as a disturbing unseen presence. The fact that it was completed several months before the Unknown Political Prisoner Competition was announced indicates how deeply his formal experiments were already committed to the theme that has given him international fame. But there has now emerged a work which represents a tense, razor's edge victory for the human figure. It is a tall, lithe effigy of a girl, cast in shell bronze, in which an armature which cannot possibly be there seems to press like an unwilling prisoner against the thin, drum-tight sheath.

Kenneth Armitage, (b. 1916), who was awarded the Gregory Fellowship at Leeds University in succession to Butler, is at present working in comparative isolation, but he appears to be trying to entice single figures out of the indivisible blasm inhabited by his families and group of girls. We have been given a hint of his solution in a brilliantly simplified *Reclining Figure* which, like so much of the semi-abstract figuration of our time, is closer to the trembling, unedifying substance of humanity than the representational nude.

Representational Images

The work of Bernard Meadows (b. 1916) always impeccable in craftsmanship, suffered for a long time from complete servitude to the art of Henry Moore, and the somewhat desperately abstracted cocks and crabs which gained him his place in the Venice exhibition showed the stresses and strains of his effort to make a personal contribution. Recently, however, his work has become more relaxed, and his bronze effigies of cocks are successful attempts to retain in representational images the expressively spiky raggedness of the organic abstracts he exhibited at Venice.

William Turnbull (b. 1922) has discarded the knobbly sticks, bereft of everything except a spatial relationship, which looked as if they were the archeological remains of Giacometti's thinly peopled squares, but he continues his curious search for the operative minimum, and in recent attempts to revive Futurism's abortive formula for defining the passage of a body in movement employs an elementary human figure with multiple limbs.

Eduardo Paolozzi (b. 1924) has made a number of bronze heads since his sadistic abstraction, *Forms on a Bow*, was shown at Venice. The lacerated features of these heads have some of the blurred agony of the faces in Francis Bacon's paintings. Paolozzi has a great gift for sculpture, but does not work at it all the time. His flair for making large, flat-pattern colleges which are in great demand for interior decoration takes a good deal of his time and energy, but he is working on an ambitious bronze of a woman fastening herself into boned stays which suggests that he may be playing off open construction against closed form.

Geoffrey Clarke (b. 1924) is working intensively on the stained glass that he has been commissioned to execute for the new Coventry cathedral but he has nevertheless made a number of still life compositions in sheet metal, with a voluptuous, sotty black finish, which are a break-away from the spirit of his frigid, fence-like figure groups in iron rod which only revealed the artist's religious intentions when seen in ecclesiastical surroundings. The objects in his new metal reliefs are ambiguous but several of them look like nostalgic dream-images of Victorian factories, and have something rather rare in contemporary sculpture, an irresistible charm.

Repudiation of Humanistic Image

Lynn Chadwick (b. 1914) is in some ways the most consistent of our

younger sculptors. He has developed steadily and has a considerable body of work to his credit. His most ambitious inventions needed a wind approaching gale force to put them in motion, but under the right conditions they turned into irascible metallic bushes and sawed at the air with abrupt and unpredictable rushes of their large, clanking, plate-like leaves. In the last phase of his interest in mobiles only a small part of the construction was capable of movement: it was usually an interior form suspended near the centre of complicated, bow-legged structures, and it swung to and fro when disturbed, as if some substitute for an eye had flicked open and put the entire construction on the alert. This led on to stable metal constructions in which the moveable centre was replaced by an intrusive lump of coloured glass. This gob of glass operated as something *in the grasp* of the main structure, and emphasized the predatory significance of the imagery.

Chadwick is almost alone now in his repudiation of the humanistic image, but his recent metamorphic figures, distinguished by lively, ornamental surfaces and an interplay of triangular forms, celebrate the triumph of instinct over reason with a new elegance and poise, and are less disquieting than the images that some of our very young sculptors are extracting from the direct observation of birds and animals.

In this respect, the outstanding examples are the recent series of alley cats by Robert Clatworthy (b. 1928), and some flapping birds by Elizabeth Frink (b. 1930). These bronzes have a ferociously rough texture and emphasize the scavenger in cat and bird, but in refraining from involving references to the human image in their studies of animal life the artists acknowledge that the period of the hybrid in contemporary British sculpture is coming to a close.

(Continued from page 14)

"It is bureaucracy with a corporate life, a machine, a free masonry. It moulds the raw recruit into its own image."

'Paternalism' in various forms was the reason given by the British bureaucrat for refusing to part with his power to the Congress politician. When the first instalment of reforms was proposed in 1909, Lord Curzon spoke of the voiceless peasant of India whom the British bureaucrat was guarding from the money lender and the lawyer who would now be exposed to the politician. Similar arguments were trotted out in 1919 also before the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. In fact the argument that the British were waiting only for the Hindu and Muslim to agree, before they could quit was a later invention. Till 1920 at least, guardianship of the voiceless peasant of India was the main argument of the British administrator. It was this very argument that formed the target of nationalist attacks, for years even after 1920.

Allied to paternalism were two conceptions, the conception of presenting a united limited front to the governed and the tradition of conducting administration under cover. Those who had to be paternally governed, it was assumed, would like to look up to a single supreme authority, preferably a personal one, and if impersonal, a limited one. The union of executive and judicial powers in the District Collector was openly justified by Sir John Shore on this basis. He said that to a people accustomed to look up to one supreme tyrannical authority, it would be both confusing as well as dangerous to present two concurrent authorities, one able to check another. Said the Simon Commission on this point: "The great mass of people desire personal rule and we believe that for many years to come there can be no adequate substitute for it. The tradition of India is that the man with a grie-

vance and the man who decided how the grievance is dealt with should meet face to face." The tradition of conducting administration under cover is based on the premises that the masses of people are not interested and need not know the details of administration. Few countries in the world other than India flaunt "No admission" boards in Government offices and few other countries have such a stringent Official Secrets Act. Whereas America provides one extreme wherein the citizen has a right to inspect most official documents except the purely departmental and absolutely confidential, probably India provides the other extreme, excepting perhaps the U.S.S.R.

Centralisation

The chief enemy of 'paternalism' inside the bureaucratic machine itself was the tendency towards centralization initiated by Dalhousie and pursued ruthlessly by Lord Curzon. This tendency along with the demand for parliamentary institutions from outside, ultimately weakened 'paternalism' to a great extent. When Lord Curzon started on his campaign of concentrating the power of decision in the Viceroy and the Secretariat, he succeeded better than Dalhousie because of improved communications. But during his time itself and more clearly later, many older administrators saw that this would end 'paternalism' and all the good that it did, more surely than Congress agitation. We find in books written by British observers, particularly retired civil servants, a nostalgia for the earlier days when the Collector could do all the good he liked.

But the battle did not end there. It has continued up to the present day. The problem of 'paternalism' is both administrative and psychological. It is not due to lack of communications alone that authority has to be delegated from the central body to the District Collector—it has to be delegated for many other reasons,

not the least of which is the growing volume of administrative work in all branches. Administrative work was growing even during the British rule and has been growing more rapidly after Independence and the assumption of the ideals of the Welfare State. Hence in spite of centralization the district unit had to turn out even more work than before. Paternalism has bred two types of responses in the people—the sympathetic response of looking up to Government for many things and the critical response of asking the Government to give up interfering.

We now find the Prime Minister, denouncing as well as upholding 'paternalism' in the same breath; criticizing our people for looking up to Government for everything instead of cultivating self-reliance and then asking the bureaucracy to undertake so many new tasks, from community projects to industrial corporations and get the cooperation of the people in these undertakings. He seems to represent in himself the conflict between both these tendencies.

'Paternalism' has on its side not only the old forces, the traditional ways of the bureaucracy and the people, but also the new force, namely the conception of the Welfare State, though it means expanding officialdom, does not mean official monopoly of powers. But in India which is trying to bridge the gap between a peasant economy and the newly conceived industrialised Welfare State—through the quick way of concentrated State activity—it does mean all the evils of paternalism, i.e., bureaucracy. Against paternalism are the old forces that made the Congress fight the British bureaucracy, the passion for civil liberty and the new forces of developing industrialism. The desire for civil liberty as such is not as flaming as it was during the fight for freedom. The initiative of the private investor or the dwindling professional classes is again too weak to stand before the cry for security, for

enlarging the public sector, for fixing a ceiling on incomes. The movement to go back to village autonomy—as described by Vinoba Bhave and his followers)—in spite of the spectacular success of the leader in some respects—is also bound to be no more than a dream or a distant ideal. All told, 'paternalism' in administration seems to be with us again.

Multiplication Of Officials

But it does not work the same way. The paternalism of British days was based on the District Collector having a lot of power and a lot of responsibility. But multiplication of officials and departments has fragmented both power and responsibility at present. The overworked district officials of the present day are burdened with 'paternalistic' tasks like supervising community projects and national extension schemes, and it has to be admitted that the arrangement has failed. The sheer volume of routine work has killed both initiative and enthusiasm in many cases.

In U.S.S.R. the predominance of the bureaucracy and the secretariat has been admitted by the Communists themselves. While critics have called it the dictatorship of the proletariat, Lenin himself regretted in his last days his creation of an army of chair-warmers. In India, while paternalism during the days of Asoka or the imperial Gupta's meant a real Welfare State of the ancient mould, during the days of decadence it did mean bureaucracy at its worst. The British rulers did not bring the tradition with them; they only appropriated the Indian tradition which was so persistent and used it for their purposes—now as a guiding principle, now as a cement for officialdom, and now as an excuse for their continued rule. The administration of Independent India finds it equally difficult to give up the persistent tradition and there is a similar tendency to find excuses for it and new uses for it.

TRIBUTE TO TENNETI VISWANATHAM

By M. CHALAPATHI RAU

TWENTY years ago, the Visakhapatnam Bar, where I sauntered about for a brief period, possessed talent and distinction ordinarily beyond the reach of a District Bar. I believe I was not without the capacity for critical judgment, with my head stored with Cambell's lives of Lord Chancellors. Venkatapathi Raju reigned, the dignified imperturbable and almost permanent President of the Bar Association. Srirama Sastri moved about with grace and charm and argued with the finesse and skill of a Queen's Counsel. There were Durgaprasadarao and Sithapatirao, Prabhala poring over books, and Pratha with his cataract of words. It was Mr. Viswanatham, among the leaders of the bar, who attracted me. He was the rallying centre for all the new men who were yet unaware of the value of briefs, and he was then the Secretary of the Bar Association. His visits to the Bar room brought a breeze from public life, and there he always attracted a crowd who talked out the fashionable topics of the day. I knew him a little and he induced me into some activity, to take part in an occasional art exhibition or literary gathering. I never came to know him sufficiently for to me he was among 'leaders' and I was still more literary-minded than legal-minded or political minded. But he fascinated me. He was agile, he had wit, he was active, and it seemed to me, immensely clever. First impressions often remain. I have sometimes met Mr. Viswanatham, as Minister and Ex-Minister in recent years on the way from Delhi to Madras, and I have watched his projection in public life. He has remained agile, active, clever.

witty. He has also accumulated a vast sum of achievement.

I cannot believe Mr. Viswanatham is Sixty, for he has remained young, without remaining Peter Panish. He represents the intellectual qualities of the Andhras in their amplitude, untouched by too much of the physical or the emotional in them; he also represents the frontiers of Andhra. On the all-India stage, the Andhras are known for their guffas and hawhawing, leaving aside Radhakrishnan. They are voluble, vivid in gesture, sturdy of gait, and excitable; if they are clever, it is not widely known. The imagination and the intellect are not fused in them, it seems, when they are fused, the result often is an explosion. Andhra political leaders who travel reluctantly and querulously to Delhi are contentious but not persuasive dialecticians. An Andhra state did not take shape in time because of the incapacity of the Andhras for clear, reasoned statement. Kala Venkata Rao was at one time rated as a Pendergas; or Patel on a small scale, but the reputation, acquired perhaps too rapidly, was lost in Mr. Tandon's overstretching for power. Mr. Viswanatham has appealed to me as an exception among Andhras. He is not voluble, not volatile. He has the capacity for clear statement. He can argue. Few else could be subtler. His command over facts and arrangement of them are un-Andhra-like. If he had not been too loyal to Mr. Prakasam, a loyalty for which I honour both. Andhra would have contributed to all-India a shrewd political leader or an excellent administrator who would have revelled in

detail. The Congress may have lost in him a Deshmukh or a Krishnamachari. I must deprecate the excessive Andhra love of local colour.

In the feuds of local or provincial politics, Mr. Viswanatham's usefulness has suffered to some extent. Those who escape to the broader stage of India from provincialism escape its local pride and its bitterness of caste and creed, its small town mentality. It is often easy to escape. Mr. Viswanatham made no such choice and has in a way remained a cultured, broad-minded, casteless provincial figure. But provincial figures are figures of interest and have immense zest. Mr. Viswanatham, however, has not missed his opportunities. As parliamentary secretary to Mr. Prakasam, he left his mark on the thirty-two volumes of the Zamindari Abolition Report. Zamindari Abolition in Madras was not as smooth as it was in the North, where the time was ripe for an agrarian revolution and complicated legislation could be passed with steam-roller smoothness. In the South, it was a battle of wits. The debates in the Madras Legislature were an education in agrarian problems, and on the Government side, it was mainly an Andhra affair. Mr. Viswanatham's intellect later found vaster opportunities in the preparation of projects and his contribution to the Krishna Bridge Barrage scheme and Nandikonda Project was immense. Here again the massiveness and vigour of Andhra imagination was helped by clarity of design. In nation building, the Andhras have not failed in passion, and while they may not easily agree, among themselves, they cannot be accused of unfamiliarity with their problems. When persistence and earnestness were required, Mr. Viswanatham provided them as a member of the Partition Committee, which led to the creation of the Andhra State. He was also active in the starting of the Andhra State. He was also active in the starting of the

Andhra High Court and the inauguration of the Venkateswara University at Tirupati. Amidst the negation of obstructive criticism, Mr. Viswanatham showed that, in spite of his critical spirit, he had a mind for construction.

Mr. Viswanatham has been a free spirit. His Praja Socialism was a result of loyalty to the Promethean spark in Mr. Prakasam. It was an interesting episode and provided a lesson in political resilience. In the end, it may have been the factor most responsible for Congress Victory in the last general election in Andhra. Mr. Viswanatham contributed to the unity of the united front and in the process lost his seat. But he took the risks knowingly, including the risk of attracting Dr. Lohia's abuse, and, whatever may be the future of Praja Socialism, he taught even the Congress new lessons in political strategy.

Mr. Viswanatham at sixty, with all his achievement, is yet a man of promise. He could still recite the revenue manual or a purana and yet take an assiduous part in political work. He could be cold and critical and as astringent as Rajaji; he could be also warm. His loyalties have been stretched to almost pointless sacrifice. But he has always been himself, not somebody else's shadow. I cannot think of him as aged or ageing. Andhra should make full use of him or offer him to the country.

—Sri Tenneti Viswanatham Shashti-poorthi Number.

The need we all confront . . . is to make democracy democratic. That is far more than a merely formal question; and it is far more than a question of leaving opportunities open of which men may take advantage if they so desire. Democracy means participation. It is above all the sense not merely of being ruled by law and not by discretion, but also of making your own experience articulate in the shaping of the law by which you are ruled.—HAROLD J. LASKI

FILMS

By V. P. SATHE

K. A. ABBAS returned to Bombay on 'Dasserah' after his prolonged sojourn in Britain and the Soviet Union. In Britain, he attended the Indian Film Festival and later the Edinburgh Film Festival. At both these festivals *Munna* was shown and received excellent notices from the critics. *Munna* is now scheduled for commercial release in London on 24th December.

From the talk that Abbas had with several critics in London and Edinburgh, he felt that pictures with present-day background and neo-realistic treatment would have greater appeal in the European market. Sentimental and costume dramas, however typically Indian, are not as much appreciated by European critics. Especially the pictures which tried to ape Hollywood had no chance in the foreign market; for in super colossal productions no other country had a chance to compete with Hollywood. In fact, whenever the other countries including Britain, France and Italy have tried to make colossal spectacles they have failed miserably.

The success of *Do Bigha Zamin*, *The Wages Of Fear*, *Children of Hiroshima* in Europe was a pointer for all those who made pictures for the international market, especially the European market. The demand in Middle East and Africa was for a quite different type of pictures; there *Aan* had far better chance of success than *Do Bigha Zamin*. In any case, it often happens that the pictures considered to be suitable for the foreign market do not necessarily evoke any appreciable response; and

hence the potentialities of the market ought to be carefully studied.

In the Soviet Union, Abbas spent most of his time in discussing and finalizing the co-production venture of the film-biography of Afanasi Nikitin, the Russian traveller who came to India in the fifteenth century. The negotiations have been finalized; the script has been discussed and will be finalized in collaboration with a Soviet writer who is visiting India soon. The picture would be a co-production in the real sense of the term with Indian and Soviet writers, technicians, artistes jointly working for the film which will be made in colour and 'cinemascope.' The entire picture will be made on the basis of equal partnership and responsibility. And the success of this venture would have more than just commercial significance. Hence, it would be interesting to watch the progress and outcome of this venture.

Picture of the week

The film industry in India as elsewhere turns out a number of 'quickies' which are hardly noticed by the gentry and even the professional critics. But they do form a mainstay of the industry.

Of late, most of these low-budget quickie films are costume dramas with semi Arabic background. Their titles *Shahi Mehman*, *Son of Alibaba*, *Shahi Lootera*, *Sakhi Hatim*, *Shahi Chor* eloquently describe the kind of fare they serve. Such pictures are not released in the 'class' theatres of Lamington Road; but rather in the 'mass theatres of play house. And, however poor and mediocre they may appear to be to a discerning picture-goer, they have their own audience and as *Sakhi Hatim* which ran for eighteen weeks at one theatre in Bombay proved, even such pictures can prove great successes.

I saw M.P. Pictures' *Tatar Ka Chor* which is typical of this class of pictures. The picture boasted of a star

cast—Shyama, Mahipal Vijayalaxmi, Gope, Maruti, Yashodhara Kathju, Chandrasekhar; it had lyrics written by Prem Dhawan, music composed by Khayyam and it was directed by Majnu, an experienced actor and associate of Shorey. The story was familiar. Shyama played the princess, Gope was cast as Sultan, Chandrasekhar as the wicked vazir with Mahipal as the Robinhood who helped the victims of the vazir's tyranny. Yashodhara, Maruti and Shaikh provided the comic interludes.

There was nothing new or surprising in the film which was quite shoddily made. And I felt that such a picture should have been more brisk with dialogue more breezy.

Indeed even if the same story could have been made with a lot of punch and action in it, it would have been a hit. As it is, I am told, the playhouse audience appreciated the film. And if they did, that is a mystery I would never be able to solve.

Personality of the week

'Dassera' was rather an inauspicious day. On that day we lost Pandit Paluskar, the great singer who lent his voice to Bharat Bhushan in *Baiju Banwra*. He died at the age of 35. On the same day the film industry lost a lion-hearted artiste in the death of Navin Yagnik.

Though Navin Yagnik joined films as an artiste, he will be remembered not for any performances he gave but for organising the junior artistes who were contemptuously called "extras."

Navin Yagnik, one of the first educated youths to take to a film career, was known for his grand physique and played rustic youth to perfection in many films produced by Bhavnani and Minerva. He acted in Atre's *Raja Rani*. Dressed in spotless khadder, Navin Yagnik was a nationalist and conscientious worker.

During his association with the industry he noticed the plight of extras who were exploited by the

producers as well as the extra-suppliers who took away a large chunk of their earnings. He organised them and formed the Junior Artistes Association. It was a tough job and he had to face many odds, even risk his life. For some of the extra-suppliers were 'goondas' who would even stoop to murder; and it was a herculean task to fight against them and counteract their reign of terror. Navin Yagnik with his selfless devotion helped the junior artistes to better their lot and status. Under his leadership the junior artistes were frequently mobilized for social service. Last year when the stars took out a procession to collect money for a relief fund, the junior artistes under the leadership of Navin Yagnik did a grand job.

The news of his sudden death due to heart attack on Dussera at his residence in Shivaji Park came as a shock to the industry and especially to the junior artistes who lost the great champion of their cause.

News of the week

Six new pictures, mostly mythologicals, went on the sets on Dassera.

Famous Pictures are stepping out in the field of production again. They have announced four pictures, viz., *Kya Baat Hai*, *Pyar Ka Geet*, *Chandrasahas* and *Ramayan* which will be made in colour. Out of these *Kya Baat Hai* is written by Quamar Jalalabadi and will be directed by Vishram Bedekar with Dev Anand in the lead.

Meena Kumari and Ajit will be co-starred in All India Pictures' new costume drama which will be produced by P. N. Arora and directed by D. D. Kashyap.

Pandit Nehru's peace mission is the theme of a song and drama number in Chopra's *Ek Hi Rasta*. It was picturised last week. Majrooh has written the lyric, Hemant Kumar has given the music and Meena Kumari is featured in the song and dance number.

CONQUEST OF ANTARCTICA

"WHEN the conquest of Everest captured the world's imagination the emphasis this time was not on discomfort or even on danger, but on all the careful thought that went into reducing both. What we had from start to finish was a clean job based on detailed planning and sound equipment no less than on the competence and courage of all its members," said E. W. Kevin Walton, in a BBC talk. When Antarctica was mentioned in conversation he was horrified to find that names and ideas of Polar life were forty years out of date. At that time Sir Ernest Shackleton wrote in his diary that his men, forced to camp owing to a blizzard, spent all day lying in their sleeping bags, trying to keep warm in a tent through which the wind whistled. Eight years ago Walton spent four days in an Antarctic tent for the same reason, and wrote in his diary that life had been very comfortable in their windproof tent which was anchored so that they could doze peacefully all day or listen to their radio. "Certainly winds are as strong as ever and temperatures are just as low, but our equipment has improved beyond belief and the courageous experiments of our predecessors have taught us to use it properly," he said.

Exploration in Antarctica was very different nowadays and he said that the modern role of the husky for haulage was a good starting point. He and nine others had spent two years south of the Antarctic Circle and took forty-five huskies from Labrador with them; they spent six months training the dogs and themselves before the expedition's leader let them travel and explore. "We went south as ordinary Englishmen with the ordinary Englishman's attitude to dogs. We returned convinced that the only real dog is a husky and all others are third-rate cou-

sins: for they represented the humanizing element that made expedition life so eminently worth-while," he said. Insistence on the best of everything applied to all forms of Polar equipment, particularly tents. Theirs were pyramid-shaped with four corner poles meeting at the top made of thick, closely woven, almost windproof cotton, in a design evolved over the course of half a century. If properly erected these tents could withstand winds of over one hundred and twenty miles per hour for weeks on end. Modern explorers soon evolved a method of life which became automatic and left them mentally free to get on with the scientific work in hand. A typical evening in Antarctic had a temperature minus 10 degrees Fahrenheit with gusts of wind up to twenty-five miles per hour that lifted flurries of snow. When the sledges stopped the men set up tents; one man went inside each and the necessary equipment was passed in to him. He arranged it and then took off his clothes down to his underwear and slid into his sleeping bag. Outside his tent-mate tethered and fed the dogs and collected all loose items and stuck them

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in the snow beside the tent door. Twenty minutes after stopping he too slid into the tent and climbed into his sleeping bag. If the two had camped correctly they would not need to leave their bags till morning, for everything they wanted was at hand, clothes for next day were drying in the tent's peak and they could read, write or listen to their wireless and sleep comfortably throughout the night.

The modern traveller had to know the precise limit of his endurance and never exceed it. "Life for him should be event-free, and in large measure the real success of a Polar journey

can be measured by its lack of incidents or discomforts undergone," said Walton. He found it was hard to explain why men went to the ends of the earth and in conclusion said "An inscription on the memorial to Captain Scott at Cambridge reads: 'In seeking to unveil the Pole he found the hidden things of God.' Often I have looked out of my tent door on to the Peace that follows an Antarctic blizzard or watched the power behind masses of Polar ice, with the same sort of feeling. Here, at least, is a chance for a man to sort out the true relationship between himself and his God."

KUMARI VIJAYALAKSHMI

The Bharata Natya arangetrail of Kumari Vijayalakshmi last week at the R. R. Sabha Hall, Mylapore, was of a standard far higher than the average art of the present-day. Vijayalakshmi, who is endowed with a charming personality, has an efficient technique, *anga suddha* and *layakattu* coupled with a grace of presentation. Her *Nritta* in Jatiswara, Varna in Kalyani and Tillana in Sankarabharana were a rich feast of art, while her *abhinaya* for padams in Kamboji and Ahiri were noted for their grace and pose-perfection. The recital from Kuravanji ballet was a delectable item in her programme. Trained by the famous Nattuvanar, Vazhuvur Ramalah Pillai, Vijayalakshmi's performance was finely embellished by the able *natuvangam* of Ramaiah Pillai and superb background music provided by Radhakrishnan and Rajarathnam and the veena accom-



paniment by Mrs. Lakshmanan, the mother of the artiste. **RASIKAPRIYA**

THE MADRAS ZOO CENTENARY

By SANTHA RUNGACHARY

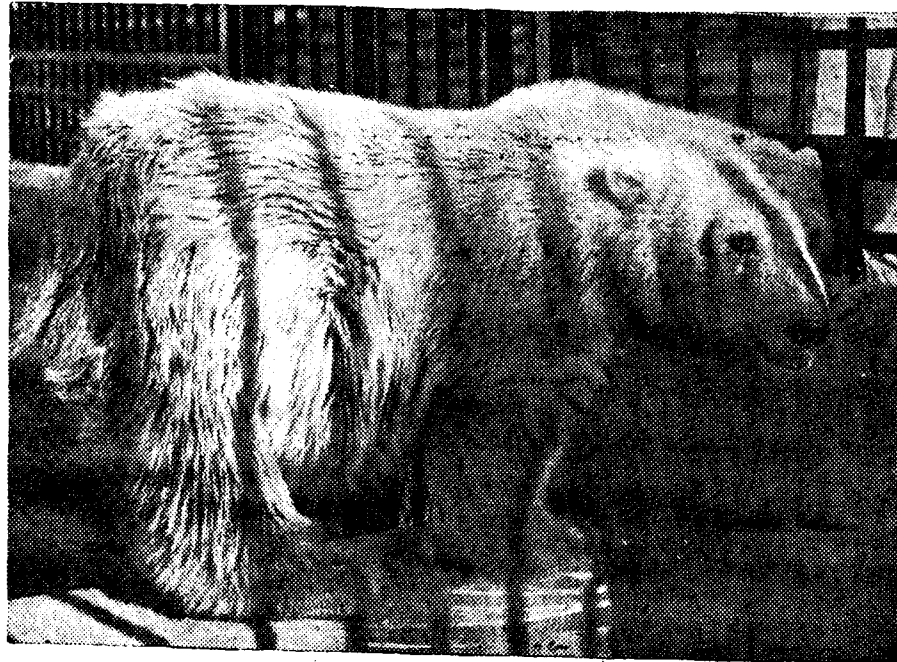
THE Madras Zoological Garden is now celebrating its hundredth anniversary with as much pomp and display as a perennially indigent corporation can muster. Twenty years ago when the world was younger this Zoo was a kind of pilgrim centre to the juvenile population of the city. I remember it as an interminable wonderland of animal shapes and sizes and noises, of monkeys and peanuts and of rides on an elephant for a quarter of an anna. Mahabalipuram was not a patch on the Madras Zoo as a show-place. I visited it again three years ago. Many cages were empty. The Zoo seemed smaller. The magic seemed to have gone. I had grown up.

But a part of that childhood enchantment has returned to the Zoo this week when it is all dressed up for its centenary celebrations. There are nearly a hundred more animals, birds and reptiles. The buildings have been repainted a curious—and, frankly, rather nauseating—green, the cages and enclosures have been cleaned, the paths laid out, whole barricades of potted plants arranged; the bear has a new enclosure, the otter a new pool, the rhinoceros has had a bath and the camels and the elephants have dazzling pink, blue and green satin shawls. The Zoo has a new symbolically adorned gate to remind us not to set ourselves



The Zoo's new entrance with its five panels.

above our dumb fellow creatures. Every cage and enclosure and paddock has a new name plate and an additional plaque giving a brief history of the genus and species of the captive. The animals have been given pet names. There is *Leo* the lion, *Rathri* the cheetah, *Daisy* the lioness, *Nelson*, her handsome boy-friend and *Indoo* the chimpanzee. There are—more important than all—exhortations to the public to keep the toilet "in the manner as you



The Polar Bear from Russia,

would like it to be when you enter." The Zoo has indeed nearly been made over.

But I often wonder—why do we have Zoos at all?

The history of zoos goes back almost to the beginning of Man. Biblically speaking, Noah's Ark was perhaps the first recorded zoo. Historically, the first park of which we have any information was maintained by a Chinese emperor more than a thousand years before Christ. He called it "Intelligence Park." Since his time, we learn, kings and men of property all over the world have kept collections of zoological specimens. Some British kings used the Tower of London to store their menageries. The ancient Greeks and Romans maintained in royal style a large number of animals in captivity for slaughter at gladiatorial shows. One of the most famous of ancient zoos was that of King Ptolemy II at Alexandria. It is believed Nero had, in addition to a fiddle, a wonderful collection of birds and mammals which

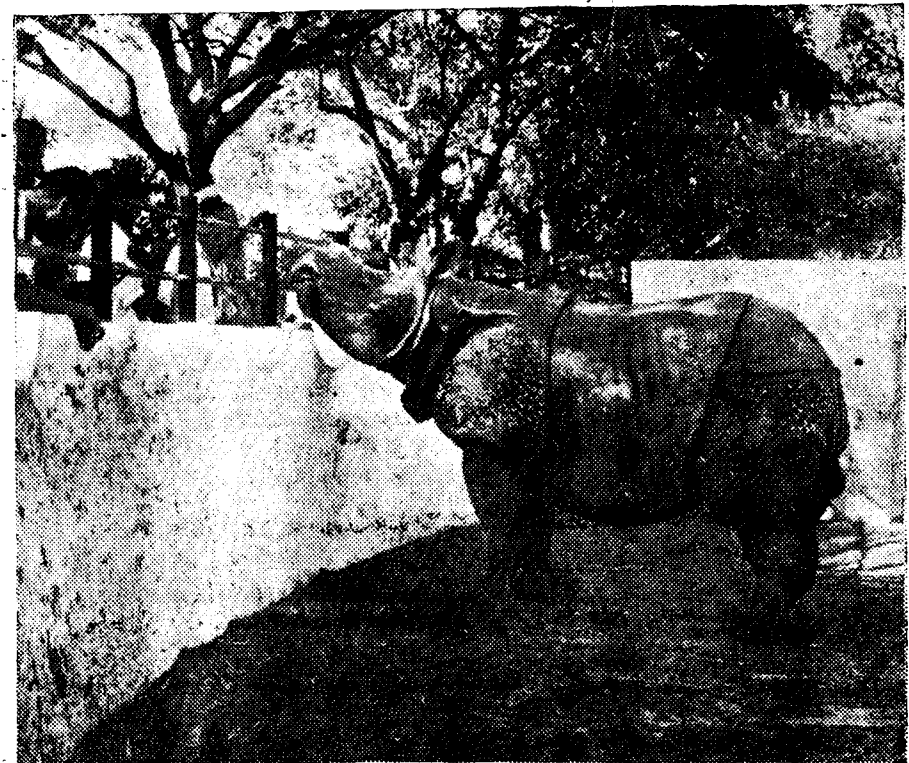
presumably burned to death in the Great Roman Conflagration.

Civilisation, as we human beings have conceived and fashioned it, is inimical to the animal species. Everytime a forest is cleared, a desert made fertile, a swamp drained, a part of Nature's wild life is eliminated. So side by side with the material progress of the brain-mad animal, Man, has gone on this degradation of the brute creation. Indeed the history of human progress is the story of how the struggle for existence in the world has slowly turned in favour of Man. We have already eliminated the larger animals—the 20-foot tall king lizard, the woolly elephant, the dimetrodon with its sail-like crest, and a multitude of smaller animals and birds. Of the others Man has made some his servants to minister to his wants and some he is now using to advance himself. Others he confines in cages to look at.

The genesis of the Madras Zoo goes back to pre-Mutiny days. In 1854 a cheetah and a tiger which were exhibited in the Government Museum drew such large crowds that Dr. Edward Balfour, Officer in Charge of the Museum, requested the then Nawab of Carnatic to send his personal collection of fauna for exhibition. The menagerie duly came over; the number of visitors to the Museum doubled. One Captain Dick sent an orangutang, other sportsmen and collectors made small contributions. The Museum grew in popularity. Having thus gauged the direction of public predilection, the Governor by a notification dated Nov. 6, 1855 empowered the Madras Museum to maintain a zoo in its precincts. It was a beneficial arrangement in more ways than one. Animals which

expired in the Zoo promptly became invaluable specimens in the Museum. The call went out to Rajahs, zamindars and hunters to replenish from time to time the livestock of the zoo. A capital of Rs. 1000 was set aside and a monthly recurring grant of Rs. 180 made to the new appendage to the Madras Museum.

Hardly had the animals settled down, however, than came trouble. The neighbours began to complain of the nuisance from the weird noises and roars which issued from the Museum at all times of the day and night, of the smells and the general inconveniences attendant upon a life-lived cheek by jowl with tigers and wolves and lions. Medical opinion backed popular dissatisfaction. In October, 1861 the collection of ani-



Scrubbed and clean, the rhinoceros greets her visitors.

imals was moved from the Museum to the People's Park.

Slowly the Zoological Garden began to take shape. In 1871 an elephant and a bison were added. In 1874 a cage was built for the wolf. Visitors were also offered the additional attraction of boating in the lake. In 1877 an orangutang was got in exchange for a lioness. A rhinoceros, some emus and black swans also joined. The next year came ostriches, kangaroos, and crocodiles. A howdah was made for joy rides on the elephant. In 1895 arrived a Llama from South Africa. Some years later a new aviary was built. In 1910 the Government made a gift of an elephant to the Zoo. 1913 saw the construction of a new cage for the bears. In 1915 deer enclosures were built. Ten years later, a monkey house and an elephant shed. In 1929 a Napier terrace with cages and moats for the lions. And so slowly the Zoo grew. Today it sprawls across a twenty-acre site and has a collection of 860 animals, birds, fishes and reptiles. Nearly four lakhs of people now visit the Zoo every year.

The management of the Zoo has always been a difficult business. Less than half a dozen years after it was first started the Zoo was brought under the control of the Madras Municipality. The Licensing Officer was in charge of its maintenance. In 1921 the Officer was replaced by two Special Officers. Two years later a Superintendent was put in charge of it. Dr. S. G. M. Ramanujam, Professor of Zoology in the Presidency College, was nominated honorary visitor to the Zoo. For a long time admission to the Zoo was free. Then the public was charged half an anna for entrance which was

raised to one anna in 1921. The present rate is four annas for an adult and one anna for a child over three.

The economics of the Zoo is one of those confusing financial patterns which organisations which are not plentifully supplied with money are forced to make to meet expenses. The food bill alone of the animals in the Zoo comes to Rs. 160,000. There are in addition the establishment charges, contingencies, and the expense of improvements.

No, maintaining a zoo is no fun. But considering that the Madras Zoo has now gone on for a hundred years, its general condition leaves much to be desired. There are three prime rules which must be followed strictly in any well-maintained zoo. The first requisite is attention to cleanliness. Well laid-out paths, dust bins, spittoons, clean public conveniences. Secondly, a supply of fresh water and air. And thirdly, a good drainage system. The Madras Zoo has always given the impression of lacking all these to an adequate degree. A well-maintained zoo is a source of enjoyment and enlightenment. A badly-maintained zoo could be a menace to public health and no fun to anybody at all.



The ratel or honey-badger, a new addition to the Zoo,

“... OVER A. I. R.”

By M. KRISHNAN

SOME two thousand years ago, when the last of the traditional Tamil academies flourished, it was not unusual, I suppose, for literary critics that belonged to the *Sangam* to look with unseeing eyes at the work of those that did not so belong. Mr. T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar's broadcast on "The Modern Period in Tamil" suggested to me that human nature has changed little in the past two thousand years, though Tamil has changed much. Mr. Avinashilingam Chettiar is closely associated with the Tamil Academy of Madras, with the Madras University, and possibly a few other institutions, such as the Ramakrishna Mission; he mentioned only those modern writers who are (or were) associated with the Tamil Academy and similar institutions.

However, in fairness to him it must be said that he picked his names with care, and that dealing with such an amorphous period in the literature as the present, when Tamil (in Madras, anyway) is so narrowly divided between vested interests, he had the courage to mention names where others might have been tempted to be discreetly noncommittal.

In a brief introduction dealing with the glories of the past, Mr. Avinashilingam Chettiar was equally discriminating and led by his bias in mentioning examples. He singled out the *Kural*, a didactic work of rather technical literary merit, as the outstanding masterpiece of the early period—a choice that surprised me, considering the wealth of great and authentic poetry that belongs to that period. He called the *Kural* "perhaps one of the greatest codes of ethics of all times... translated into many of the great languages of the world." Granted that it is the greatest

ethical code of all time, and that it has been widely translated, how does that raise its literary merit above the claims of greater poetry? The *Kural*, by virtue of its condensed and objective thought, its brevity of form and its preoccupation with rectitude, lends itself readily to translation, whereas most Sangam classics do not. But surely the fact that some work has been widely translated cannot be an indication of its literary merit. If that were so, Erle Stanely Gardner is the greatest of modern American writers!

Perhaps that is not quite fair criticism of Mr. Avinashilingam Chettiar's excellent talk, but I am on much sounder ground when I say that he confused politics and morality with literature when he talked of the rendering of Gandhian ideology in Tamil as a measure of literary worth.

The more ambitious features of A.I.R. Tiruchi, are often good, especially their Tamil documentaries. If you have been reading these columns, and if your memory is as good as mine, you might remember that sometime ago (I can't remember just when) I had written in enthusiastic appreciation of a feature telling the story of Madura (based mainly on the *sthala-puranam*), broadcast by Tiruchi. It gives me no pleasure, then, to say that I thought the 'chronicle-play,' *Chidambaram*, broadcast on the night of October 26, was a complete flop.

The play followed the conducted-tour model. The action was conveyed mainly through two characters, a youth, innocent and with a thirst for knowledge, and a divine being taking him around through time and space and Chidambaram. Such imagina-

tive formalism in a play featuring a celebrated shrine was not out of place, and it was not due to this setting and motivation that the play failed. Nor did it fail in its sound background (which included recordings from the temple), or in topographical details. But the dialogue was poor, the platitudinous political reflections insufferable, and the note on which it concluded bathetic.

In a play like this, which depends almost entirely on a solemn, religious setting and a detailed, chronological recitation of the mythology and religious history of the place, how can a lecture on the need to learn Samskrit and to assimilate in our culture, while preserving its pristine form, Western science—how can all this stuff find a place? And granting the relevancy of mentioning devotees celebrated for their charitable endowments, like Pachiappa Mudaliar and Raja Sir Annamalai Chettiar, why should the visits of Prime Minister Nehru and Vice-President Radhakrishnan to Annamalaiagar find a place? It is not fair to our political and governmental leaders that they should be brought in, in an anticlimax, in the wake of celebrated saints and poets and gods that have a rightful place in the history of a great shrine.

Allow me to make my point unmistakably clear, at the risk of labouring it. I am not saying that Nehru and Radhakrishnan are not great men—only, a shrine like Chidambaram cannot possibly gain by the visit of important persons. And I am not saying that personal praise, by the suggestion that a place has been honoured by someone's visit, is in poor taste. That is sound literary form, especially in Tamil, and apparently other oriental poets were not averse to the use of this form, to judge by this Chinese verse, which I like very much:

"This shade bestowing pear tree
thou

Touch not, nor bend one leafy
bough—

Beneath it stopped the Duke of
Shou."

But such praise calls for a more skilful literary touch than that displayed by the writer of this radio-play, and anyway it was wholly out of place in a 'chronicle-play' featuring Chidambaram.

I also listened to SINGARA TANDAVAM, the "musical play in Tamil on the dance of Nataraja and Shakti," broadcast from Madras on October 27. It was an uninspiring broadcast, sustained by an almost desperate religio-cultural fervour that was, to say the least, highly noninfectious. However the background music which was cast in Vasanta and Surati mostly, was pleasant.

I liked the play, YAR KUTRAVALI, broadcast from Tiruchi on October 30—I hope I am right over the date. The plot was well-worn, belated proof of suicide clearing up a number of suspects, but the dialogue was entertaining and very well spoken. However, I am not sure if this play was sound in its law. If a man has a bottle full of poison of proved potency, traditionally used in his family for ending life when it is worth the living no longer, if, intending the death of another, he puts a generous portion of the contents of the bottle into the lemonade of that other, and if nothing happens because, unknown to the murderer the murderee has substituted the potent poison with bicarbonate of soda—well, in these circumstances, is he guilty of no offence, not even an attempt? In this play he is held innocent by the police. But I much appreciated the way the police officer says, when the chemical analysis of the contents of the bottle is made known to him, "only soda, the household remedy for indigestion."

SPORTS

CRICKET AND RACE

By N. S. RAMASWAMI

IT has so happened that I have lately been reading a succession of books on the West Indies, a fascinating subject. It is over four hundred and fifty years since Christopher Columbus (also called Colombo or Colon) stumbled upon the island of San Salvador in the Bahamas. From that intrepid and unfortunate explorer to Mr. Alexander Bustamante or his cousin, Mr. Manly, it is a far cry.

Though the history of the island has, comparatively speaking, been of a short duration, it has not been lacking in dramatic moments. It was at Antigua in the Windward Islands that Nelson was stationed before he achieved glory at Trafalgar. The volcano of Mont Pelee destroyed the town of St. Pierre in Martinique in a matter of moments, the authorities having complacently disregarded all warning of danger.

It was disappointing that none of the authors should have mentioned cricket, for writers of their eminence and sagacity could not have failed to throw light on what may be called the moral and racial basis of the game in the islands. It is well known that Mr. Neville Cardus promulgated the doctrine that cricket in every country reflects its racial and other fundamental characteristics. I searched eagerly for a discussion on such a vital topic. There was none to be found, but perhaps it is not impossible to provide the answer for ourselves. At any rate the portrait of Quanko Samba, that eminent all-rounder and batsman of Sir Thomas Blazo, who had had the felicity of

having been watched in action by no less a connoisseur than Mr. Alfred Jingle of Nohall, Nowhere, cannot be considered characteristic of West Indian cricket, at least in its later developments.

Samba was not a tearing fast bowler; early West Indian cricket was full of them. Perhaps the chief contribution that the first epochs offered was great speed in bowling. One has only to mention the names of Constantine, Martindale and Griffith to realise the dominance of this form of attack in West Indian cricket. We in India were fortunate in having witnessed Jones and Trim, but these two were perhaps the last of the great exponents. Since then the mould has been broken (a fair statement despite King and Butler) and the characteristic bowlers of the West Indies have been masters of spin and subtlety. This represents a fundamental change.

The passage of years has increased the wealth of West Indian batsmanship. As the early matches demonstrate, the bowling was equal to the task, but the batsmanship left much to be desired. Challenor alone attempted to sustain the burden. Headley was a great successor, positively a genius. But even he found it impossible to atone for the deficiencies of most of his colleagues. He made a century in each innings in the Lord's Test in 1939; yet the West Indies lost the match. It was not until 1950 when Weekes, Worrell and Walcott appeared on the scene that they were able to gain a Test "rubber"

in England. The lessons are obvious.

These changes, from speed to cleverness in bowling, and from lack of batting skill to a profusion of it later, are undoubtedly capable of an explanation. The early West Indies bowled fast because it is in the nature of the unsophisticated and the "natural" to do so. It is the instinct of every boy to attempt to bowl fast and the West Indians of the early epochs were mainly children at heart. But with the passage of time the emphasis was altered to spin, which perhaps demands for its successful cultivation a higher degree of culture. Further, it is worth remarking that the first notable exponent was an Indian.

The portent of Ramadhin needs some careful examination. He hails from Trinidad, an island more than one-third of whose population is Indian. To this "little India" and to British Guiana, where they now form nearly one-half of the population, their ancestors came in phases from 1838 to 1917. As labourers on the sugar estates it was not possible for them or their immediate descendants to display the Indian genius at cricket until recently. But Ramadhin who has carried subtlety to a high art, a characteristic which we may be pardoned for believing is an Indian trait, has more than made up for the early barrenness. He offers ample evidence of the principle that the mysterious quality of style in cricket (as perhaps in other aspects and recreations of life) owes much to race and upbringing. It was fortunate that his advent should have coincided with that of Valentine, himself a departure from the West Indian tradition in bowling.

The blossoming of the three great batting stylists offers more difficulties. They came to the forefront immediately after Hitler's war and their genius had burgeoned during the perilous years of the hostilities. The West Indies like all other parts

of the world felt the effects of fighting though in their case these were mainly indirect, for they were not themselves seats of war. It is remarkable that when the rest of the world was in the throes of a great catastrophe West Indian cricket should have thrown up three geniuses at the same time.

It is, of course, possible to distinguish between the craft of Weekes, Worrell and Walcott. But to explain the difference is more difficult. This is not possible until more details are known of them such as which of them, if any at all, is Arawak, Carib or other in race. The Aawaks, the original inhabitants of the islands, were gentle and polite; the Caribs were ferocious and warlike. Is it possible that Worrell is of Arawak stock and Weekes of Carib?

These and such other speculations arose in my mind as I read the portentous tomes of Carrington and Sir Alan Burns. It is a fascinating story which they tell, of how the British race, confined to small and pluvius islands in the reign of Elizabeth, has spread in the four corners of the globe. But it could have been wished that they had devoted some attention to cricket, which, after all, is one of the gifts of the British to the world.

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The Deepavali 1955 number of *Kahaniya*, an English short story monthly from Madras, offers a wide range of reading. Mr. V. G. Ramachandran contributes an interesting article on the lighter side of court proceedings while Mr. S. Rajagopalan, under the series 'Famous Murder Trials' narrates the Kulgam Murder Case. To have managed to bring out an issue such as this with material to satisfy every kind of reader at the low price of 4 as. is no mean achievement.

SWATANTRA

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
EDITORIAL	3
SOTTO VOCE	5
INDIAN AFFAIRS	8
NEHRU IS SIXTY SIX	10
NEHRU AND MONEY	14
ROMANTIC STEREOTYPES IN MIDDLE EAST	17
KNOW-HOW AID FOR S. E. ASIA	20
POWER POLITICS IN WORLD AFFAIRS	22
MAULANA ABUL KALAM AZAD	26
THE LAST BASTION OF CULTURE	29
THE DIARIST IS BACK	31
GERMAN PAVILION AT INDUSTRIES FAIR	33
NEW BOOKS	36
SOME THOUGHTS ON PROHIBITION	38
SPORTS: ALABASTER	39
MARSHAL BULGANIN	42
THE BASIC CONCEPT IN EDUCATION	44
FILMS	47
Vighneswara	
Saranga	
P. N. Sampath	
P. D. Tandon	
Andrew Roth	
Geoffrey Tysen	
T. K. Sethu Ram	
Rajendra Kumar	
V. C. Gopalaratnam	
V. V. Prasad	
J. Vijayatunga	
K. R. Malkani	
N. S. Ramaswami	
Subhash J. Rele	
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ON THE COVER:

At the Indonesian Embassy reception to Dr. Hatta. The Prime Minister with Malini Vijayatunga, a promising Manipuri Dancer.

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SWATANTRA

Vol. X. NOVEMBER 12 SATURDAY 1955 No. 41

MIDDLE MEN IN POLITICS

THE Congress Working Committee has carried the linguistic division of the country recommended by the Fazl Ali Commission one stage further. The one relieving feature of the report of that Commission was the departure it made from the linguistic principle of division in the case of Bombay. Bombay State, as envisaged by the Commission, was to include the Gujarati community and a section of the Marathi people so as to form the only bilingual State in the country. It is no doubt true that the Commission did not arrive at this recommendation in any positive spirit of appreciation for a policy of throwing together different linguistic communities under a single State administration. It is also problematical whether the bilingual State of Bombay as urged by the Commission, even if formed and set going, could have survived the internal pressures for its break-up into unilingual units, under the impetus of the forces of exclusive linguism that would have been roused by the new pattern of reorganisation. Despite these forebodings there was some room for hope that in course of time at least the integrating virtues of interlinguistic State government would make themselves felt and serve as an object lesson for the rest of the country. That hope is now shattered by the resolution of the Working Committee.

The Working Committee have divested themselves of the burden of

having to form opinions of their own on the various controversial issues raised in the S. R. C. Report and transferred it to a high power sub-committee consisting of the Congress President, the Prime Minister, Pandit Pant and Maulana Azad. The Congress President has of course to be there as the head of the party organisation. He stands at present for no great independent force in the nation's public life. The other three members of the sub-committee constitute the real rulers of the country. Their voice is final on every important issue affecting the national interests. When committees and commissions are formed to undertake elaborate studies of momentous subjects, the importance with which they seem to be invested for a while, is illusory, as any or even all of the portentous conclusions arrived at by them after prodigious labour may be brushed aside in an *ad hoc* way by two or three real wielders of power in the country. The constant spectacle of an ultimate authority superseding in a trice the results of vast study extending over months and sometimes even years conducted by public men with the status of experts, is conducive neither to the dignity of the experts nor to the worthwhileness of the investigation processes of the Government. Considering the way in which things are moving, the States Reorganisation Commission need not have been appointed at all. On the basis of past experience and present

practice, there is a very good case for the complete scrapping of commissions of this kind, leaving the Prime Minister and those sharing power with him, to exercise judgment on every issue in their own way without the aid of intervening agencies that serve no purpose except creating a false illusion of unbiased research and independent investigation.

From the standpoint of economy, avoidance of superfluity, reduction of waste and the establishment of realistic procedures there is everything to be gained for a policy of eliminating the middle men of politics leaving the top leaders in uncamouflaged command of everything comprised in government. The latter are as competent as any of their nominees can be expected to be to arrive at sensible conclusions on a subject like States' reorganisation. Unfortunately they are subject to the limitations to which all human energy is subject, and under the burden of excessive tasks, they are apt to break down, lose their inherent quality and descend to mediocre levels. This is what is apparently happening now. Instead of tackling the problem of States reorganisation in accordance with unexceptionable principles enunciated in calmer moments, the Prime Minister and his high power colleagues would seem to have left the decision to pressure groups. Those who put greater pressure would be listened to more. The statesman has abdicated to the agitator.

In the prevailing agitations we see precious little sign of leadership pledged to the good of the whole nation as the basic foundation of progress for all its component units. In its origins the demand for linguistic States is a flight of minorities from adverse discrimination by the dominant majority and to that extent it symbolises a failure of democracy. We shall have other new

minorities in unilingual States taking up the place of the old so long as the initial failure of democracy is not corrected. If and when it is corrected, the impetus for unilingualism itself will be deprived of its political motivation. Separation from Madras has only transplanted in the Andhra State a Reddi-Kamma conflict more violent than the old Andhra-Tamil jealousies, and if Telangana is now disinclined for a merger with Andhra, it is a reflection of their apprehension as to the worthwhileness of the Andhra leadership as revealed at the helm of the new State. The Andhra Chief Minister's exploits have been mainly devoted to manoeuvres to reinstate in public life one of his discredited cronies with a very damaging record against him in High Court proceedings, and from all accounts the administration in his own native district has become a sort of vendetta against political opponents of his in the last election, the close relatives of the Chief Minister browbeating local officials without compunction to take sides in their personal feuds. The high power committee should go deeply into the psychological beginnings of the present fissiparous phenomena and discover suitable remedies for the failures indicated. It is not a matter for adjustment between provincial leaders under threat of impositions from above if the leaders should fail to compose their differences.

Even at this last stage there is scope for turning back on all agitations that have been made to look formidable on account of the great noise that empty vessels can make, repudiating the demands of regional agitators stirred only by personal ambitions of their own and rethinking the problem of reorganisation from the sole standpoint of public interest and national welfare, indeed national safety.

Sotto Voce

★

THE MARGARET AFFAIR



THE desire of the English Queen's sister to marry an airman who has divorced his wife has created a greater furore than any other single event, domestic or international, since the decision of her royal uncle to abdicate in order to be able to marry a divorcee. The orgiastic frenzy whipped up by *The Daily Mirror* and *The Daily Express* has not been more remarkable than the unctuousness displayed by *The Times* on the one side and the tartness shown by *The Manchester Guardian* on the other. And quite a number of our own newspapers, unmindful of the question "What's Hecuba to him or he to Hecuba?" have dutifully gone through the motions of staid approval or enlightened opposition. But they do not so much as suspect the one moral this incident has for us.

★

The two-century-old Royal Marriage Act requires that a member of the Royal Family who is in the line of succession to the throne should obtain the consent of the Sovereign and of the Established Church to his or her marriage. A marriage contracted without such prior consent would not only involve forfeiture of the right to succession. It would mean deprivation of the rank and status of Royalty with all the incidents and privileges that go with it. The Established Church cannot consent to the Princess marrying a divorcee, though he is the innocent party, because the ecclesiastical law holds that marriages are

indissoluble in the eye of Heaven.

★

The Act may be scrapped by Parliament as an anachronism. As for the Church's ruling, it may be regarded as even more vulnerable. For one thing the Bishops don't claim Papal infallibility. A correspondent has seasonably cited Lytton Strachey's gibe: "The Church of England bore everywhere upon it the signs of human imperfection; it was the outcome of revolution and of compromise, of the exigencies of politicians and the caprice of princes, of the prejudices of theologians and the necessities of the State." And today the position of this Church, founded on the uxorious Henry VIII's imperious caprice, is even more precarious. The Margaret incident has revived the threat of disestablishment.

★

The small thoughtful minority of Christian believers are sadly perplexed by the bewildering diversity of opinion on the subject within the Christian communion. The Church of Scotland admits remarriage and so do the Free Churches. The Eastern Orthodox Church also allows remarriage after an interval. Even the Church of Rome has an Ecclesiastical Court which can release the married in exceptional cases. And the Church of England's interdict seems to be invoked only where Royalty is concerned. Sir Anthony Eden, the Prime Minister, who appoints the Archbishops, remarried after divorcing his wife. Not

a church mouse squeaked in disapproval!

Those who have opposed the proposed marriage, with *The Times* at their head, are driven to shelter behind a new mystique of Royalty seeking to shore up an ancient institution against the erosion of time and the egalitarian spirit. *The Times* elaborately pretends that each 'kingdom' in the Commonwealth 'regards not only Her Majesty herself but the Royal Family as an integral part of its own community.' The Queen is not merely the symbol of this Commonwealth, 'of every side of the life of this society, its universal representative in whom her people see their better selves ideally reflected.' The Queen's family too 'has its own part in the reflection,' since, forsooth, 'part of their ideal is family life'!

It is easy enough to pour fun on such syrup-oozings. Whether poor George V's all too human family can measure up to the requirements of 'a dedicated priesthood', as *The Guardian* derisively puts it, is certainly an open question. But, when all the froth has blown over, the British public will be found to be in no great hurry either to abolish the Ro-

yal Marriage Act or to disestablish the Church. The Statute of Westminster may be a pious figment and the Established Church a thing of shreds and patches. But the British people cling to tradition—a poor thing, it is true, but their own—as the one great stabiliser in a world of flux. Those who have no Sanatana Dharma must needs invent one.

The Princess's own statement, while admitting she received advice, says her decision was her own. It was dictated by her voluntary obedience to her Church and her notion of what she owed to her position. The cynics may dismiss the one as superstition and the other as snobbery. And our *avant garde*, who have no qualms about imposing divorce on a people who passionately believe in indissoluble sacramental marriage, must be greatly scandalised by this craven conformism on the part of the enlightened Occident. Less sophisticated folk will however, find comfort in this profoundly true declaration of an unpretentious Christian. He wrote: 'The popular view is that personal happiness comes first. 'Why shouldn't I, if it will make me happy?' The whole question of marriage and divorce is bedevilled by this false notion.'

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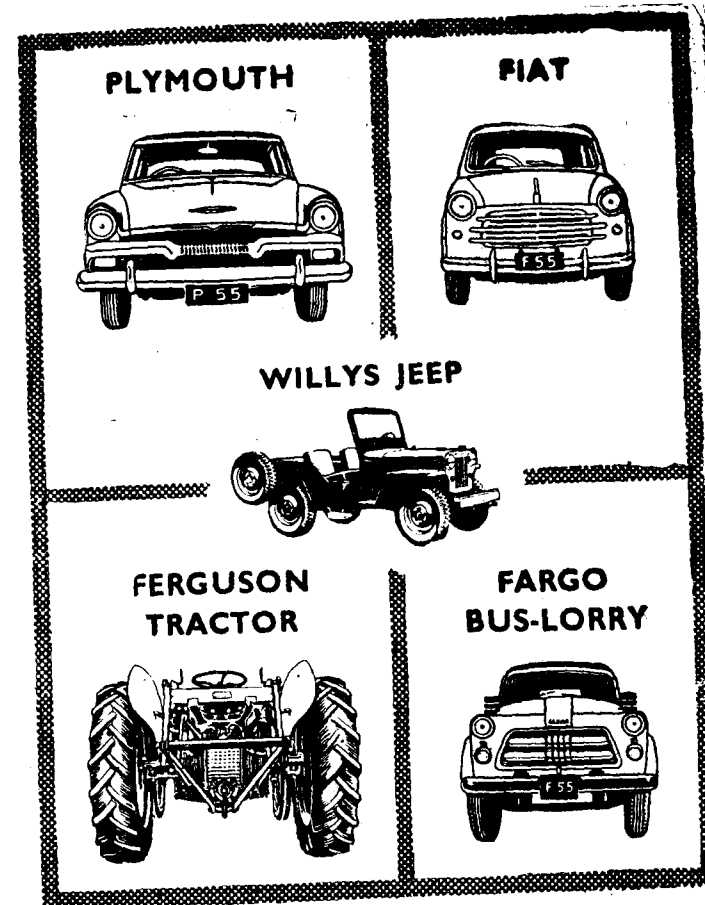
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INDIAN AFFAIRS:

By SARANGA

—NEW DELHI'S RED CARPET

—A BHAKRA SCANDAL?

—S. R. C.—SECOND ROUND

—AN EXPANDING PLAN

NEW DELHI may often give the appearance of being too ready to roll out the red carpet to foreign dignitaries, but there is a certain naturalness about the manner in which it is being done so constantly that the effect it has produced on the guests has been uniformly pleasing and satisfactory. The King and Queen of Nepal have been given an excellent reception this week on their first official visit and, though popular enthusiasm may mount high when Marshal Bulganin arrives next week, the hospitality shown to Nepalese royalty has not been less warm because the visitors are well-known neighbours. Partly this is a tribute to the late King Tribhuvan, who became the spearhead of a democratic revolution in Nepal and a good friend of India. Partly it is also a recognition of the fact that the royal family of Nepal still remains a focus of allegiance and the main source of stability in Nepal when politicians have wrangled without end, and without patriotism getting the better of their personal ambitions. Young King Mahendra at one time appeared to succeed where his late father had failed and though ministry-making has been suspended for the time being, he may yet succeed. But the King will remain the cementing force in any ministry and that is why much importance is being attached to his study of political, and economic conditions in India.

The return of the former rebel, K. I. Singh, from his sojourn in China to Khatmandu a few weeks ago has caused some speculation. Mr. Nehru stated last year that India's

special position *vis-a-vis* Nepal was recognised at Peking and that it was unlikely that we would hear much more about K. I. Singh being treated with importance in China. It looks as though he has been treated differently from Pridi of Thailand and, whether as a sincere penitent or not, Singh is reported to be in a chastened mood since his return. Under Article 2 of the Indo-Nepal Treaty of Peace and Friendship of 1950, the two governments undertook to inform each other of any serious friction or misunderstanding with any neighbouring State likely to cause any breach in the friendly relations subsisting between the two governments. The clause seems to have worked at least in this case; but in respect of the other clauses which assure rational treatment to the other country, the existence of some anti-Indian attitudes exploited by certain interested politicians in Khatmandu has hampered greater co-operation. In spite of that, however, India has unobtrusively provided help for road construction and other communication facilities which are Nepal's first need.

Over a year ago, India's leading irrigation engineers gathered at a seminar, hotly repudiated the suggestion that their vocation provides greater scope for corruption than most others or that engineers succumb more easily to temptations than other officials. They also thought out an explanation to the effect that provision for children's education or marriage after retirement, caused by late marriages, was

one explanation for corruption. Mr. Gulzarilal Nanda, on a subsequent occasion, accepted the existence of opportunities—on a larger scale under planning than ever before—but could find no simple prescription to prevent corruption. All these things have become relevant in connection with the reports of a scandal in the Bhakra project which is said to have involved several crores of rupees—up to ten according to speculative estimates—and led to demands for a full-scale judicial enquiry. Some officers have been suspended. But the enquiry is likely to be made by a committee of engineers, a decision which does not satisfy all sections. While the presence of engineers will help investigation and be fair to the persons involved, because of a close understanding of the conditions under which they have to function, it is feared that it may be less conclusive than it should be. The Prime Minister is expected to visit Bhakra next week to pour the first bucket of concrete but the atmosphere has been somewhat marred by these developments.

The Congress Working Committee's meeting this week has marked the second round of negotiations on the question of States Reorganisation. Even during his tour of Saurashtra, the Prime Minister stated explicitly that efforts will be made to secure the largest degree of unanimity on this question. This may mean anything, but coming in the light of the various proposals made during the last one month on this question, it is significant and implies that no solution will be imposed on any large section of the population. The Maharashtra demand is as complex as ever with the Bombay P.C.C., on the one hand, and the newly vested interest of Vidarbha, on the other, causing frustration. Whichever proves the cause of defeating the demand for Samyukta Maharashtra, there is bound to be frustration.

The situation in the Punjab is somewhat different. Though Master Tara Singh continues to insist on a Punjabi Suba as the only safeguard for Sikh interests, a pro-Congress convention of Nationalist Sikhs at Amritsar has proposed a *via media*—that Punjabi with Gurumukhi script should be guaranteed in the reconstituted Punjab. In the same breath, the convention has recognised that many of the grievances of the Sikhs are genuine and ways and means should be found to remedy them. If some bold steps are taken in these matters, it is unlikely that Sikh sympathy for the Akalis will be as wide as it is now. Even if all the Sikhs were of one mind, they can only form about 50 per cent in a Punjabi Suba, however constituted. If they are themselves divided, the case for a State is lost. This is not, however, new. The only question is how it could be made acceptable to the Akali leader, who has grown visibly conciliatory already.

Only two months ago, the A.I.C.C. (including Mr. Nanda) and the National Development Council (including the Finance Minister) seemed to feel uncertain about the resources available for the Second Five Year Plan and a way out was found in the tentative decision to explore more resources for the 4300-crore plan in the public sector. Mr. C. D. Deshmukh announced last week that the outlay has already been increased to Rs. 4800 crores, and there are other forecasts to the effect that the investment target may go even up to Rs. 5000 crores. But this will not, as suggested by a sub-committee of the A.I.C.C. be a contribution to the employment aspect of the Plan because even the projects on hand will need a total outlay of this order, because of the second thoughts on the Railway Plan, which was neglected before. The higher outlay will not confer any advantage on the States.

(Continued on page 16)

NEHRU IS SIXTY SIX

By P. N. SAMPATH

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU has completed yet another year of service to the nation. There can be no doubt that the past year has been a remarkably successful year for Nehru. The impact of his leadership is becoming increasingly felt.

Nehru's greatness as a leader depends not upon his rhetorical ability to sway the multitudes but upon his articulation of those essential principles that lie at the heart of the democratic faith. It is the path of wisdom to base leadership not on party allegiance alone but on the broadest possible public support, and Nehru's talent for rallying that support is the despair of his political opponents. Nature has given him a personality that attracts crowds and enchants millions, an impressive physical presence, an infectious cheerfulness, and a reassuring voice, and the radio and the airplane have made it easy for him to exploit these gifts to the full. To a political astuteness that seemed instinctive he has added an intimate knowledge of politics that was the result of laborious study during his prison days. Buoyant and optimistic himself, he is alive to the potentialities rather than the limitations of democracy. More than a quarter century of study and participation in public affairs has made him not only one of the best informed students of the contemporary scene but perhaps the most perspicacious. His unquestioned personal supremacy, superb commonsense, patent sincerity of purpose, panoramic vision, are rare qualities in a rare combination. Everything about him denotes energy, earnestness and the best intentions. Even the brisk Russians were amazed at the youthful alertness and buoyancy of the Indian leader. Nehru has a

clear, almost childlike simplicity of heart, coexisting with the finished dexterities of a man of the world.

Utterly free from preconceived prejudices, untainted by selfish ambition, incorruptible and endowed with a wonderful historical perspective and a humanitarian outlook, this remarkable man Nehru, who in Churchill's words "has conquered fear and hatred," has endeared himself to the common peoples of the world. It is therefore no wonder that wherever he went—Rangoon, Peking, Bandung, Cairo, Vienna, Prague, Moscow, Warsaw, Belgrade, London, Washington or Colombo—he was well received by the people with unprecedented enthusiasm. His meaningful utterances on pressing international questions have rightly evoked the admiration and approval of millions of people of every race, creed and nation.

No world leader has a greater penchant for mass contact than Nehru. Nehru has talked more number of times and to more number of people than any other leader of note. Public speeches are probably a psychological and spiritual need for him, for he must bathe in the masses at frequent intervals. It has been computed that Abraham Lincoln's printed speeches and writings number 1,078,585 words. Nehru's speeches and writings will constitute an all-time record.

Nehru's personality is the nucleus of his philosophy. He is not a split personality as some say, but a fragmented one, loosely held together by some strong inner force, the pieces often askew and sometimes painfully in friction. Though optimistic and gay normally, there is a core of sadness in him. Most amenable to reason, he has an ungovernable temper

which lashes at friends and foes alike and subsides as quickly as it comes. Chester Bowles, a former American Ambassador, has admirably summed up the character and personality of our Prime Minister thus: "Of course no one can put Nehru in a nutshell. He is manysided, complex, full of conflicting enthusiasms and burdened by many sorrows. Yet there has seldom been a public figure who has more fully opened himself, his problems and his thoughts in books, in public print, in speeches and in talk with friends. Analysing Nehru is a favourite pastime, not confined to India alone, because he is the most important, and in many ways, the most puzzling character on the Asian Stage."

The past year marked a great spurt of activity. Nehru's contribution to the mitigation of international tension has been widely acknowledged. The Bandung Conference, of which Nehru was one of the chief sponsors, was of unique significance to the nations of the East and the Middle East. It was the first time that the need for an identity of interest between them was realised. Despite the variety of attitudes reflected in the speeches of the delegates, the Bandung Conference was an outstanding success if we take into account, in the words of Nehru himself, "the many contacts established, the relations that have emerged, the prejudices that have been removed and the friendships that have been formed." The Conference sounded the death-knell of colonialism.

The Panch Shila is the keynote of Nehru's foreign policy. The principle of co-existence is the most important of the five principles. It is a new concept designed to meet the challenge of the times. The march of science has outmoded war as an arbiter in international disputes. The development of fission and fusion bombs has produced a situation in which no nation or combination of nations could hope to conquer the

world without being destroyed in the process. Scientists may differ in the estimates of the risks of a war in which thermo-nuclear weapons are used, but even on the most optimistic reckoning the risks are incalculable, whether it is the death of millions by blast and radiation, the resulting ecological changes or genetic mutations in plant and animal life. There can therefore be no justification for a war which by its very nature allows of no victory and is certain to engulf the two sides as well as the rest of the world in universal destruction. In a nuclear age the only guarantee of human survival is the abolition of war itself. A renunciation of war might have been a Utopian ideal in the past, but today when war has come to mean collective suicide for mankind, renunciation of war is only hard-headed commonsense. The principles of the Panch Shila are an appeal to this commonsense. As Justice William Douglas has remarked, "In view of the arrival of instruments of ultimate destruction like the atom and hydrogen bombs, co-existence of nations is not only necessary but inevitable. There is nothing to argue about. It is the only way out."

Nehru pleads for less malice and more charity in politics. He preaches tolerance eloquently at a time when the world is in danger of falling into complete disaster for lack of it. He has been a potent influence for peace. When peace was threatened in highly inflammable regions like Indo-China and Formosa, it was Nehru's moral influence that helped to find a way out of the impasse.

As soon as this ambassador of peace returned to India after his tour of the Soviet Union and other countries, he was presented with an international problem in the shape of Goa. It developed fast into an internal problem also, as people of all walks and shades unanimously clamoured for instant police action on

Goa, punctuating their demands with acts of violence sometimes. They also threatened to break into Goa. Nehru's prestige as a paladin of peace and as an advocate of peaceful solution of international problems was put to a severe test. He was the butt of relentless attack through the press and on the platform. The British Conservative press which could never forget or forgive Indian nationalism for having divested the British Imperial crown of its brightest jewel, let loose volleys of invective on Nehru. In the face of all this Nehru maintained a fortitude which was amazing. It was very characteristic of him, that he revealed calm sagacity in a supreme emergency. He is not for the acquisition of Goa by violent means, with the result that Goa remains Portuguese and remains an unsolved question.

Close on the Goa incidents, Nehru was to face yet another stupendous

problem, viz., the reactions on the publication of the States Reorganisation Commission's Report. The Report has released a maelstrom of unworthy quarrels and linguistic rivalries. The assertion of unbridled popular regionalism could only produce a welter of conflict. Political demagogues are busy throwing monkey wrenches into the machinery of national unity. The complexity of the conflicting interests makes the problem a trackless labyrinth. Afflicted by the malady of narrow regional parochialism, people are in no mood to listen to anybody, to reason least of all. The disease is so chronic that the regional leaders themselves no more controlled their followers than seagulls control the waves over which they flit. The surprising part of it is that Congressmen are the most guilty and the most involved in this agitation. In the Goa episode, they kept themselves severely aloof from public demonstrations because of the directive issued from above. But no such restraint is exercised by them on this occasion, even though as the ruling party they should behave more responsibly. Nehru must intervene immediately to bring round the ringleaders of faction to their senses. Those of his party who are still refractory must be severely dealt with. Otherwise, as the present process runs its course, the organisation becomes increasingly malfunctioning and if the process is not reversed in time, the organisation itself may founder on the rocks of petty-minded strife. The need for linguistic States has been conceded but it is not a priority problem at all. As it has been taken up, the reorganisation must be completed without friction, in a spirit of give and take. The Frankenstein which the Congress has raised should not be allowed to destroy the unity which the late Sardar Patel had built up. This is no time for the faint heart or the paralysing touch of discretion. Nehru must act and act at once.

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Keen appreciation of the benefits of a non-alignment policy in international relations must be complemented by an even keener appreciation of the need for internal consolidation. As Aneurin Bevan has warned, "No modern statesman can find in foreign adventures a diversion from domestic stresses and strains, for these will expose him to civil disorders if he ventures to ignore them in his external policies." The benefits of the First Plan may be real but they are not apparent. We learn that the production targets envisaged in the Plan have been achieved, but the unemployment position has worsened as admitted by the Union Finance Minister himself. A host of unemployed citizens face the grim problem of existence and an equally great number continue to toil with little return. Our greatest primary task is therefore to put people to work. This task cannot be held over indefinitely. Nothing can be more fatal to democracy than delay in attending to urgent popular wants and grievances. The success of democracy in India will be judged in the next few years partly by the extent to which it succeeds in carrying the principle of equality from the political to the social and economic spheres.

The greatest single enemy of the Government is Corruption. The several investigation committees which reviewed the working of Plan projects have reported stupendous graft and extravagance in public expenditure. The people are aware of how far this is robbing them of the fruits of the Government's welfare schemes and projects. Administrative catharsis is not automatically effected by disclosures of peculations and peccadilloes but by the study and refinement of methods and procedures which will reduce and in course of time eliminate their occurrence. By reforming the public administration both the Government and the public stand to benefit. Only then will

Nehru's dream of making India prosperous and the people happy be realised.

To-day new forces pulsate against the restricting framework of the old society. Nehru is the spearhead of the new consciousness to improve matters. The Second Plan personifies this new realisation of the present inadequacies. Little practical good can come of trying to create a blueprint perfect society overnight. The truth is that it will take many years of hard work before the impact of planning on the life of the common citizen is felt. Emphasising the need for hard work without providing opportunities for employment is to talk an incomprehensible language. There is a great man-power potential in this country. It is the duty of the Government to find jobs for the people so that they can partake in the nation-building enterprises. In this connection, Prof. Pigou's following remarks should not be lost upon our comprehensive planners: "Gradualness implies action and is not a polite name for standing still."

There is none in India to-day who is so universally respected and admired as Nehru is. He is the only man capable of rousing the nation out of its pettymindedness and moral and physical lethargy. Sardar Patel had done his part by abolishing the princely order and evolving a united India, a compact whole. The work of consolidation has been left incomplete. No consolidation is possible without establishing social and economic justice. Nehru has a clear idea of the ultimate goal which our country should reach, but is not so clear about the roads which we should take for reaching it. His mind is a medley of good intentions and noble ideas but his dynamism is conspicuous by its absence when it comes to action. The restrictions of democracy are of course there, but a little of dynamism in action will not be a bad investment.

NEHRU AND MONEY

By P. D. TANDON

IN this money-mad world, it is difficult to come across men who have genuine contempt for wealth. Nehru is one such rare individual who is utterly indifferent to money. Nehru believes with A. P. Herbert that money is the 'bane of bliss and source of woe.'

Nehru dislikes those who brag about wealth. He feels that it is vulgar to be obsessed with the idea of money. Once he was having dinner with a group of business leaders in the city of New York and someone said to him, "Mr. Prime Minister, do you realise how much money is represented at this table? I just added it up, and you are eating dinner with at least 20 million dollars." Nehru felt offended at the vulgar exhibition of money-madness and for long he did not forget it. He often mentioned this incident to Mr. Chester Bowles during their talks at New Delhi.

Speaking in Parliament on April 11, 1955, Nehru said: "I have no respect for property at all, except for some personal belongings . . . The House will forgive me if I say I have no property-sense. It is a burden to me to carry property about. In life's journey one should be lightly laden. One cannot be tied down to a patch of land, or building, or something else. So I cannot appreciate this tremendous attachment to property."

His father too never liked to hoard money, because "it seemed to him a slight on his capacity to earn whenever he liked and as much as he desired." Shortage of money has never bothered Jawaharlal, because he always felt that he could earn enough in case of necessity.

In 1942 in one of his letters to his sister in Naini Central Prison he

wrote that the pay of the Anand Bhawan servants should be increased because in the absence of the Nehrus the responsibility of watchmen and others had considerably increased. Only a Jawaharlal Nehru can think of increasing the salaries of servants when they have no work to do.

Nehru for about the first eleven years of his life was without a sister or a brother and he was a little sad about it. When his sister Vijaya Lakshmi was born, he was immensely pleased, but a doctor after the birth of the child told Nehru that luckily it was a girl and not a boy who would have shared his father's property. This hurt Nehru and he felt angry. Describing his feelings, he wrote the following in his autobiography: "I had long nourished a secret grievance at not having any brothers or sisters when everybody else seemed to have them, and the prospect of having at last a baby brother or sister all to myself was exhilarating. Father was then in Europe. I remember waiting anxiously in the verandah for the event. One of the doctors came and told me of it and added, presumably as a joke, that I must be glad that it was not a boy who would have taken a share in my patrimony. I felt bitter and angry at the thought that any one should imagine that I could harbour such a vile notion."

He has always given first priority to human considerations, and money he has always treated almost with contempt. About forty years ago some young students went to Pandit Motilal Nehru to get some donation for some relief fund. The Pandit got angry with the boys for some reason and ordered that the impertinent youngsters be turned out. As they were being driven out of the compound, in came Jawaharlal Nehru

and asked what the matter was. He was told the whole story and he took the children to his room. He quietly handed over a cheque for Rs. 101 to them. The boys left Anand Bhawan saying, "Thank You, Sir, Thank you, Sir."

Nehru does not very much relish getting involved in financial matters. He has little respect for money. He thinks that money is a burden and a liability, though he admits that in this world one cannot do without some money; but hankering after it, he considers a despicable occupation. He has written: "I was not particularly anxious about making both ends meet. Almost I looked forward to the time when I would have no money left. Money and possessions are useful enough in the modern world, but often they become a burden for one who wants to go on a long journey. It is very difficult for moneyed people to take part in undertakings which involve risk, they are always afraid of losing their goods and chattels."

One morning in early 1942, an old Congress worker came to Anand Bhawan from Vindhya Pradesh and he had brought with him some extremely fine spun Khadi yarn to present it to Nehru. He greatly appreciated it and wanted to take it to Wardha for Gandhiji. I was standing in the Anand Bhawan corridor and he called me aside and asked "How much should the man be paid?" It was a difficult question for me to answer as I knew his approach to money. If I mentioned a small sum, he might feel that I was petty, and if I suggested a big sum for a very small thing, he might think me to be funny. Luckily for me, his daughter came out and he left the matter to her. She paid him handsomely and his face beamed with joy. He had not gone to Anand Bhawan in the expectation of getting any money, but he was happy that Nehru appreciated his little gift and rewarded him handsomely.



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When Motilal Nehru died the entire responsibility of the Nehru family, fell on his son Jawaharlal, who had led a life almost free from anxieties and domestic worries. Motilal Nehru had left no will and Jawaharlal was afraid lest the family should think that now after his father's death every one was dependent upon him for everything. He did not want anyone to have this impression. He wrote a letter to his sister Krishna in which he said that after father's death she and mother should consider themselves "the real owners of Anand Bhawan and all that father had left." Vijaya Lakshmi had already been married and, therefore, Nehru did not include her in the generous offer.

Nehru was closely associated with the *Independent*, an English daily which was started by his father at Allahabad and which later closed down. He did not have a very happy experience with it and perhaps decided never to associate himself with any newspaper in future. However, he again became the chief of the *National Herald*, a Congress daily which was started at Lucknow in 1938. He was elected chairman of its board of directors, and occupied this position until he joined the Government of India. The finances of the paper always worried him. Of those early days, Sri K. Rama Rao, its first editor, has written that a meeting of the board of directors was often a painful affair during the first three years, and confronted with gaping deficits, Nehru sold whatever he could to keep the paper going. He would say, "Sell it and feed this paper, only if you can keep it alive." And no wonder he said that. He has no love for money or property.

He helps people, forgets the good turns he does, never refers to these and never wants anything in return. In the pre-Independence era all sorts of people used to approach him for help which was rarely ever denied. I remember that

in early 1942 a Congressman who had suffered much in the Satyagraha movement, came to Anand Bhawan and asked Nehru for some money. He went up to his room and sent quite a substantial sum for the visitor through his private secretary. But the Congressman threw the currency notes away in the corridor of Anand Bhawan saying, "Nehru is my captain and I must get more money to get over my present difficulties." Nehru was informed about it and he quietly sent more money and the man went away shouting: Jawaharlal Nehru Ki Jai."

(Continued from page 9)

whose plans have been tentatively settled. The Central projects cannot, however, be accommodated within the old total of Rs. 2050 crores, when the Railway Plan alone will take more than 60 per cent of this amount.

There is however a consolation prize to the employment enthusiasts, who want hand industries, in the shape of the Karve Report. The report recommends an investment of Rs. 260 crores of which the Centre will spend only Rs. 25 crores. But on all the details of organisation of these industries, the report is disappointing for the reason that there can be, beyond the vaguest generalities, no specific suggestions about how small industries should be created. Financial assistance may be provided and where artisans form a sufficiently large community, co-operative agencies may help. But among the vast mass of self-employed men, who depend on local markets and consumption propensities, the initiative must come on an individual basis, encouraged by the free availability of capital and purchasing power. In other words, the Karve Committee was asked to do something quite difficult and it is not surprising that it wrote out an essay in wishful thinking.

ROMANTIC STEREOTYPES IN MIDDLE EAST

By ANDREW ROTH

AS the traditional structure of power relationships crumbled under the impact of Communist offers of arms, Britain's ability to think and act effectively on Middle Eastern affairs and to prevent war is hampered by the domination of two sentimental stereotypes.

On the one hand is the handsome Arab sheikh astride a steed whose forelegs rest on an oil-field and whose hind-legs straddle an airfield. This romantic stereotype is as loyal to Britain as Iraq's Nuri es Said and he is ready to spring to Britain's side in any conflict at the behest of any future T. E. Lawrence.

It was this sort of romantic-opportunist picture of Arabia which young Captain William Yates, a new M. P. conjured up at the Conservative Party conference at Bournemouth. He attacked amidst applause his Conservative Government for not making any "real progress" in winning the Arabs to Britain's side. Britain got 104 million tons of crude oil from Arab lands, two-thirds of the power for its factories. What did Britain get from Israel? "A pack of worry, lemons and American kisses."

In slapping him down gently, the Foreign Secretary, Harold Macmillan, showed that he was equally a sentimental romantic. He acclaimed the Baghdad Pact as a great achievement, despite the fact that it is little more than Nuri es Said written large and has had the signal success of pushing Egypt into Moscow's lap.

Labour's Stereotype

There is an equally romantic stereotype of the Israelis current among Labourites. It is a young bronzed

Israeli in shorts, still showing the blue stencilled number of the Nazi concentration camp he survived and he is putting aside a plow on the *kibbutz* (cooperative farm) on which he works to snatch up a rifle to defend it against Arab marauders.

It is startling to find how widespread this simple stereotype is among Labourites of the most diverse viewpoints. This fact was underlined by the speech of Sam Watson, the Durham miners' boss who has succeeded to the position of the toughest Rightwing Labour trade union boss, a position once held by the late, anti-Zionist Ernest Bevin.

In winding up the debate at the Margate Labour conference on the danger of the conflict in the Middle East Watson, just back from Israel, launched into a eulogy of that country as enthusiastic as it was unexpected. He found only "idealism" and "socialism" in Israel and only "medievalism" in the surrounding Arab States. He called for an Anglo-Israel defence pact to show the Israelis that "the British Labour movement is behind them."

This went beyond the terms of the resolution on which he was replying. This welcomed "the stand taken by the Parliamentary Labour Party against the danger of an arms race in the Middle East. It declares that the principle of co-existence must be extended to the region, and everything possible done to reach a settlement between the Arab States and Israel based on the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the States concerned. (This conference) deeply appreciates the great constructive achievements of Mapai (the Israeli

overborne by the need for a refuge for the victims of Nazi brutality. During the war against fascism there was an even stronger natural identification with the victims of Nazism. In the early postwar period, the issue of Palestine was one of the battle-grounds over whether the Labour Government should follow the Conservatives' traditional imperial policy in the Middle East and elsewhere or whether a new "Socialist foreign policy" should be devised. Ernest Bevin's policy for Palestine was widely considered in the Labour Party to be following the divide-and-rule and support-for-feudalism policies the Conservatives had followed. The Left and considerable sections of the Center of the Party came to feel that Bevin's policy provoked the Arab-Israel war and that in the end his strong anti-Zionist sentiment led him to want to see the Jews driven into the sea. At that time, from 1947 to 1949, the annual conferences of the Labour Party and the meetings of the Parliamentary Labour Party saw bitter fights. It is interesting, in view of Mr. Watson's recent conversion, to recall that then virtually all the Rightwing trade unionists lined up behind Bevin's anti-Zionist policy and indulged, during debate, in some thinly disguised displays of anti-Jewish sentiment.

This led to rather bitter feeling because then, as now, over 10% of Labour M. P.s are of Jewish origin, although Jews make up under 1% of Britain's population. (In contrast, until the May 1955 election when Sir D'avigdor-Goldsmid, gold bullion broker, was elected, there were no postwar Jewish Conservative M. P.s.) This is an understandable development. As elsewhere, the Jewish minority in Britain is energetic, ambitious and anxious for education; consequently its representation in professions like the law, from which so many M. P.s are drawn, is disproportionate. At the same time

since the Jews have a long record of discrimination and—before coming to Britain—of persecution, they tend to associate themselves with the under-dog. In Britain this meant largely the Labour Party.

Even within the Labour Party, Jewish M.P.s lean to the Left perhaps because they tend to be intellectuals sensitive to injustice. Thus, barrister Sydney Silverman, is one of the most persistent and able Parliamentary tacticians on the Left. Mr. Bevan's lieutenant, Ian Mikardo, demonstrated at the last election that he was perhaps the most efficient vote-organizer in the Labour Party. The result is that those of their non-Zionist Leftwing associates who would like to see a policy which both restrains the "preventive war" tendency among Israel's leaders and strengthens contact with Arab Leftists have tended to hold their hand.

On the other hand the Rightwing leaders have tended to be flattered by the hospitality lavished on them: only the Yugoslav Government has invited nearly as many Labour leaders to tour its country. Once in Israel British Labour leaders tend to identify themselves with the basically-European Mapai leadership and wonder at the energy and ingenuity with which many difficult problems have been faced. In the Arab world only a Lebanese millionaire has tried to compete with this hospitality to British political leaders. Few have seen the modest but idealistic efforts of some Jordanian Arabs to reconquer the desert for Arab refugees. Scarcely any have studied the vitally important Egyptian efforts at land reform.

The Tragedy of Simplification

The tragedy of simplifying the Middle East into heroes and devils is that it strengthens war-like tendencies on both sides. The virtually unrestrained support from British Labour leaders may encour-

(Continued on page 21)

KNOW-HOW AID FOR S. E. ASIA

By GEOFFREY TYSON

Secretary of the India, Pakistan, and Burma Association (London)

WHEN a great industrial nation like the United States of America reports—as it did the other day—a shortage of technicians in its aircraft, electrical, petroleum, paper, and metal industries, it is not surprising that smaller countries at a lower level of economic development should find themselves in a similar plight.

At a moment when we seem to be on the threshold of immense technological advances, there is a world scarcity of scientists, researchers, technicians, and skilled operatives, and of that kind of executive talent which combines technical skill with administrative capacity.

A report has just been published of the Technical Cooperation Scheme of the Colombo Plan, which is one of several agencies seeking, by exchange of knowledge, personnel, and training facilities, to make available to the free world—and especially to South and South-East Asian countries—resources in men, money, and machines which would not otherwise be available. Quite a simple scheme is the one in which the “haves” give or lend such resources to the “have-nots.”

This report on the fifth year of operations of the Council for Technical Co-operation in South and South-East Asia makes interesting—indeed exciting—reading, revealing something of the international exchange of know-how, which is perhaps the most elusive of all commodities.

Know-how cannot be measured quantitatively, but in monetary terms the scheme expended on technical aid, in one form or another, approximately £3,500,000 to June 30 last,

and has in hand firm forward commitments amounting to another £2,000,000 making a total of £5,500,000, which by any standards is an impressive figure. Administrative expenses, provided by contributions from member countries, amounted in the last year to no more than £15,505, which must make the scheme one of the most economical in the now vast complex of international bodies.

Improving skills

It was not until the middle of 1951 that the scheme really began to gather momentum as an agency for raising the level of technical skill available to agriculture and industry among the Asian member States of the Colombo Plan. From its inception until June this year, 2,676 training places had been provided in food and agriculture techniques, engineering, administration, education, medicine and trade and industry.

Where training is not available in the home country, it is arranged in other member countries. Most of the trainees are graduates in search of specialist knowledge who already have the necessary basic and background knowledge to adapt new techniques to local problems. India, Australia, Canada, Ceylon, Japan, New Zealand, Pakistan and the United Kingdom have afforded training facilities of one kind or another to nationals of other countries in the scheme.

By lending experts for development projects, teaching institutions, public services, etc., the scheme helps to make good deficiencies which might otherwise hold up many worthwhile plans in member countries. In 1954-55, 129 experts were provided, as com-

pared with 86 in the previous 12 months.

Naturally, the U.K., Australia, Canada and New Zealand have provided the great bulk of such personnel; but India and Japan have also made contributions to the pool where demand has been heaviest—in the fields of medicine and public health. An interesting development is the growing number of inquiries about the availability of firms of consultants who are often able to furnish a range of experience and skill not found in a single individual.

Wide range of equipment

Equipment for fundamental research and workshop training purposes is a necessary adjunct to the diffusion of knowledge on the scale now being undertaken by the scheme; the cost of equipment already supplied, or on order or offer, is approximately £1,500,000, against requests totalling £2,000,000.

The report says that the majority of such requests continue to be addressed to Britain, and the equipment itself ranges from the supply of textbooks to the provision of trainer aircraft. Between these two extremes lies a whole range of laboratory and demonstration equipment used in nearly every branch of modern technology.

It has been one of the recent objectives of the Council for Technical Co-operation, which administers the scheme, to achieve a better balance between training abroad and training at home, and increased training within the South and South-East Asian countries is, clearly, as dependent upon availability of equipment as upon the supply of qualified instructors.

It is generally expected that not only will the Colombo Plan itself continue to operate beyond 1957, but also technical aid under the Technical Co-operation Scheme. This would be not only a tribute to the scheme itself, but a wise recognition of the fact that economic development

depends as much as anything upon a steady supply of technicians, administrators, and consultants in various fields.

National Development Plans

Practically all the countries of South and South-Asia have formulated national development plans which in each case set industrial, agricultural, and other targets to be reached over a number of years, and the creation of health and other services.

In sum, these things represent the first tentative approach towards the Western concept of welfare, and, as such, are deserving of all the practical help and encouragement which the outside world can give. The impetus the scheme has given to technical training throughout South and South-East Asia cannot be measured in precise terms, but it is reflected in nearly every facet of the many national development programmes the scheme serves.

Like economic growth itself, technical co-operation is a cumulative process, and the experience of the more advanced countries shows that you can hardly ever have enough trained men.

(Continued from page 19)

rage Israeli leaders to gamble on a “preventive war.” The similarly one-sided pro-Arab sentiments among traditional Conservatives serves as a stimulus for the Arab advocates of a *jehad* or ‘holy war’ against the Israelis.

In short the black-and-white mentality which so bedevilled the East-West conflict until the Russians stopped behaving like surly problem children has been transferred to the Middle East—with as little cause. There is corruption as well as idealism in Israel and reform amidst all the *jehad* shouts in Egypt. And both sides have a right to live in peace and plenty.

POWER POLITICS IN WORLD AFFAIRS

By T. K. SETHU RAM

BEFORE we deal with the subject matter proper, let us note one point which forms an inescapable penumbra, as it were, throughout our reasoning. Though a well known fact, it is often forgotten.

It is conventional to divide history according to the tools used by men. Thus we say Old Stone Age, New Stone Age, Bronze Age, etc. Likewise, it is suggested by Lewis Mumford that modern civilisation can be divided into three technological periods which may be captioned "Eotechnics" (roughly 1000 A.D. to 18th century), "Paleotechnics" (18th to 19th century), and "Neotechnics" (20th century). Eotechnics or the birth of modern technics is 'water-wind-and-wood complex.' The express mail coach and the sailing vessel symbolise its highest success. For Paleotechnics or 'coal-iron-complex' railways and steam ships are the highest watermark. The radio, the airplane and the automobile characterise Neotechnics which is 'electricity-and-alloy-complex.'

The offshoot of these technological trends is that the world is shrinking at a prodigious rate and continues to shrink. At the same time, new productive methods and inventions are introduced creating new demands in a crescendo, which can be satisfied only by drawing resources on a world-wide scale. In every way scientists, inventors and others are pushing us "in the direction of a unified, world-wide economic system. The profound consequences of this fact are as yet but dimly seen by citizen and statesmen alike" (Eugene Staley). International discussions should

be tempered by this fact. To ignore this is to commit suicide.

The world is interspersed with national sovereign States. The relations between them are epitomised as international relations. Power politics is one such relationship. It may be defined "as a system of international relations in which groups consider themselves to be ultimate ends; and use, at least for vital purposes, the most effective means at their disposal and are graded according to their weight in case of conflict" (George Schwarzenberger). The methods they use are diplomacy, alliances, armaments, economic power and the like. Since each unit considers itself as the ultimate end, law and morality are subordinated. The measuring rod is power. But what is power? It is not easy to define. We can at best describe it. It is not influence, nor force. It is in between them. Since power relies more on external pressure as a threat in the background, it is more than influence; and since it prefers to achieve its objects without using physical force or pressure, it is less than force. It may be defined therefore, "as capacity to impose one's will on others by reliance on effective sanctions in case of non-compliance." Or, "the essence of power is the ability to exercise compelling pressure irrespective of its reasonableness" (G. Schwarzenberger).

The constituent elements of the world political structure are more or less connected intimately. Their relationships fall broadly into two groups—internal and external—the harmonising of which is the test of

statesmanship. For there is no sharp dividing line between the internal and external affairs of a State. This is more so in the Neotechnic Age. Statesmen should grasp the profound truth of geopolitics that States are not only entities with their characteristic features welded together by their internal relationships, they are also part of a great framework called the world. This recognition of the dualism of the State as a whole and as a part of a greater framework is very important.

In any society individuals and groups of individuals follow their own self-interest. Conflicts arise if their self-interests clash. Normally the State draws the borderline for such conflicts. Rather, in a community there is the restraining influence of the State. Where such restraining influence is absent, the units tend to use all sorts of pressure to secure their ends. This phenomenon is magnified on the international scene. Hence "until international society is transformed into an international community, the groups within the international society tend to do what they can rather than what they ought. This is the essence of power politics."

The pre-requisite of an international society is the co-existence of two or more States with more than casual relationship. We had, by this criterion, many such societies in the past—the Roman empire, the Persian empire, the Indian and Chinese empires and the like. But judged by modern standards their relationships were casual. Thanks to science we have conquered time and distance and for various purposes our world is one. For other purposes perhaps, the U.S.A., the U.K., U.S.S.R. South East Asia, Africa and Asia "represent separate but overlapping magnetic fields of their own"

It is difficult to define the motives and objects of international relationships. Usually self-defence and

self-preservation are said to be the motives. But these terms are so dubious and elastic that we can hardly take them at their face value. Whatever they may be, they are conditioned by the competitive and antagonistic forces of international society where the hierarchic element predominates. In other words, the Great Powers set the tone and others follow according to their own vested interests.

There are six forms of foreign policy. Kautilya long ago listed the six forms. He says: "Of these (six forms) agreement with pledges is peace; offensive preparation is war; indifference is neutrality; making preparation is marching; seeking protection of another is alliance; and making peace with one and waging war with another is termed a double policy." To suit the modern context we can choose six new terms: diplomacy, propaganda, alliance, isolationism, armament and the balance of power.

Diplomacy can be described as "making the policy of one's government understood, and if possible, accepted by other countries. It is the regular channel of States' communication. Its usefulness depends upon the attitude of the governments. The technique of diplomacy has changed considerably. It is now a specialised branch. As Mr. Nicolson points out, in the diplomatic field the orator type of the ambassador has been substituted by the trained observer type. The modern diplomat must have perspicacious insight into the complexities of modern life. He should know how to envision world problems in their entirety—for "economics and finance have become inextricably interwoven with politics; and understanding of social problems and labour movements is indispensable in forming a properly balanced judgment of world affairs." Hence the phenomenon of professional diplomats. Nevertheless their function is

tactical until their respective governments agree basically on certain issues. In other words, they can set the ball rolling while there is a hope for basic agreement.

In their struggle against each other the Great Powers have realised the importance of keeping public opinion on their side. The publication of State papers at regular intervals vindicates this point. In democratic countries the clamour for the control of foreign affairs is great. In such a context, propaganda becomes an indispensable weapon, a second line of defence so to speak. The press, the radio, the cinema, even diplomacy and the forum of the U.N. are pressed into the service of propaganda. There are new weapons in the armoury of power politics. Furthermore, the involvement of the civilian in global wars has increased. There is no guarantee of his loyalty. And the maintenance of his morale is all the more important. The civilian must know his State's aims and purposes in order to relinquish his cherished rights temporarily. In war periods he is a quasi-soldier. For all these purposes, therefore, propaganda is important and necessary. In the words of H. G. Wells, "Never before has the world seen clearly, as it now sees clearly, the role of thought in the making of war. This new conception carries with it the corollary of an entirely new campaign."

The threat to use physical force in the present context of the world is real enough. Hence it follows that the possession of armed forces is necessary to resist any such duress. They lie latent until States apply 'pressures' and come to the foreground when war breaks out. What really matters is the relative strength of arms and their value. Hence armaments.

Isolationism consists in non-involvement. It is avoidance of giving offence to other States. But it is not possible to remain isolated in modern times because there is an

increasing integration of international society into one unit and also because there always exist some States who are ambitious and ready to pounce upon neutral States. They consider the latter, in the words of Churchill, "a kind of tremendous fat, valuable cow tied up to attract the beast of prey." So it becomes imperative even on the part of an isolationist State to build up armaments for defence purposes.

The time honoured policy of alliances between States is based on bad-neighbour policy. Kautilya said long ago. "The king who is situated anywhere immediately on the circumference of the conqueror's territory is termed the enemy. The king who is likewise situated close to the enemy, but separated from the conqueror only by the enemy, is termed the friend (of the conqueror)." It follows that alliances are entered into having war in view. Hitler bluntly: "An alliance which is not for the purpose of waging war has no meaning and no value. Even though at the moment when an alliance is concluded the prospect of war is a distant one, still the idea of the situation developing towards war is the profound reason for entering into an alliance." Unfortunately, as a by-product, alliances increase the field of friction since more units get involved in deciding an issue. Further, "alliances over-compensate complexes of isolation, fear and insecurity. Backed by powerful allies a statesman may be tempted to take up a rigid attitude in circumstances in which, otherwise, he might be prepared to work for a reasonable compromise. Thus, the pattern of alliances gives additional momentum to the anarchic forces in international society." (George Schwarzenberger).

Balance of power may be described, in the words of Sir Eyre Crowe, as that State of equilibrium which is established by a grouping of forces throwing their weight now in this

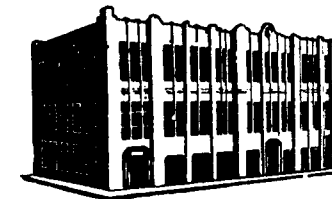
scale and now in that. As is obvious, the concept is a dynamic one. It sets reasonable limits to expansionism. In theory at least, the balance is not upset if equal weights are either added or subtracted on either side of the scale. But in practice, as observed by Prof. Lasswell, once 'activity areas' become 'loyalty areas' they become organic units. They are further transformed and unified in the matrix of ideologies. Afterwards to split them is to release a chain of reaction which cannot be calculated after a point. And it is all the more difficult when the law of increasing concentration of power operates.

These are some of the aspects of power politics. Now, let us look at the world. Unfortunately the world is bipolarised. And also it has reach-

ed what Schwarzenberger calls the 'penultimate state' of the future one world. The problem is therefore to direct all our attention and energy *consciously* to reach that last state. How to do it? When Bertrand Russell was asked, "What is it that the power-ridden world lacks," he replied, "Love, christian love." The implications of this simple word are profound. A country can be subdued by another by force, but only temporarily. When the people of the country are determined to get their freedom no amount of terrorism will succeed in cowering them down for ever. They will fight their way out and they are bound to succeed. This is the lesson of history. Let us hope that the world will heed to the advice of Russell and find its way to happiness through peace and plenitude.

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MAULANA ABUL KALAM AZAD

By RAJENDRA KUMAR

ONE leader whose intellectual aristocracy does not permit him to rub shoulders with the masses, is Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, and yet he has spent his whole life in the service of the people and suffered many privations. During the world war in 1916 when the Mahatma was a "co-operator" and preached loyalty to British rule, the Maulana was a rebel. His paper *Al Hilal* belched fire against British Raj and was a great headache to the Government. Ultimately its security was forfeited and the paper closed and later he was interned at Ranchi.

Azad was born in Macca on November 11, 1888 and was educated at Al Azhar University at Cairo. When he was a lad of only fifteen he had acquired mastery over Persian and Arabic and had deep knowledge of theology and philosophy. His father was a great scholar and a religious head. After his father's death Azad was expected to succeed him as the religious head, but he decided against it, despite the fact that it was a very great honour and privilege.

George Eliot has said that only two things vitally interest men—religion and politics. It is a rare distinction for Azad that he is deeply interested in both. It is difficult to say whether a profoundly religious man has strayed into politics, or a great politician due to various circumstances got immensely interested in religion. In both the realms, he has done wonderfully well.

Azad's Richelieu-beard, smart penetrating eyes, flash forth brilliance. He is incapable of mixing with all and sundry. His biographer, Mahadev Desai, wrote: "His absorption in his studies has given him a kind of predilection to loneliness and though he is most affable and even

deferential, he has very few friends. Though a finished conversationalist, he inclines most towards reticence."

He is the one Minister who mostly refuses to inaugurate this function and preside over that. I wonder if he has ever delivered a convocation address. He is of the opinion that the Universities do not do the right thing in conferring doctorates on politicians.

Azad is an early riser, and a great lover of China tea. He prefers loneliness, if he can't have a choice company. He himself has written: "From the very beginning, the bent of my mind has been such that I desire loneliness and avoid associations. Obviously the demands of the engagements of life cannot benefit such a wild temperament. So I have to habituate myself to public associations always demurring."

In Naini Central Prison, he used to prepare his morning tea. He greatly enjoyed it as he sat watching the coming of the dawn and the gradual disappearance of the stars. He hates to put milk into tea. He considers milk and curd crude, any way. He wrote eloquently about tea in his letters to a friend from Ahmad Nagar Fort. He has written "I take tea as tea, people use it for the sake of milk and sugar; for me it is an end in itself, for them it is but a means."

Azad wrote a number of letters to his friend Nawab Sadar Yar Jung Bahadur Maulana Habibul Rahman Sherwani of Bhikanpur (Aligarh) and they have been published. These letters cover a wide range of subjects and make very delightful reading. In them the reader can have a glimpse of Azad's deep scholarship.

Once young Azad went to address a gathering of scholars. When he reached there, few believed that he

was the man who was to speak on the occasion. They felt that he was the son of the great scholar who was scheduled to address the learned gathering. However, when he spoke they were deeply impressed at the young man's performance.

Once Azad's merit as a poet was questioned by a man in a book stall. The questioner then and there gave a "tarah" as a ready test. Azad was irritated, but not perturbed. He took up the challenge of his critic and rolled out couplet after couplet which thoroughly vindicated him and the questioner stood dancing with joy. "Subhan Allah, Subhan Allah."

Azad is a chain smoker. His love for music is refreshing. His pen-name is "Azad." He enjoys an early bath. In boyhood he had terrorist leanings. He has a remarkable memory. He takes no exercise and loves to stay in his room. He hardly ever visits places of entertainment. He mostly avoids accepting invitations to late dinners. He loves to eat in his own room. He is very rarely present at the dinner parties even of the Prime Minister or the President. During his last European tour, he, it is stated, refused to go to the dining room and food was brought to his room, and it was an expensive affair. Azad dislikes the idea of living in a place with those for whom he has no particular liking. A few years ago, a Kashmir official told me that Azad was annoyed when a high dignitary was requested by the Kashmir Government to stay in the same guest house where he was staying. He threatened to leave Kashmir and return to Delhi. However, things were set right and the Maulana agreed to stay.

It is a delight to hear his matchless eloquence. He is a great orator. The cogency of his thought, his chaste diction, the unbroken flow of his brilliant arguments invariably impress his listeners. He expounds theories and unfolds problems with a magnificence of phrase and con-

tinuity of eloquence that charm his listeners. He uses the right word at the right place. Chaste Urdu rolls out of his lips "without a break or a drop, each syllable in its exact place and order, each sentence following a cadence of its own, so inevitably that one can follow its rise and its fall, like the movement of rolling billows on a calm sea."

To meet Maulana Sahib is to know what real culture, courtesy and refinement are. His tall, majestic figure reminds one of the princes of old. His culture compels respect and he is loved wherever he goes, yet there is a certain aloofness in the man or a reserve which discourages people to be familiar with him. He is sensitive to a fault and one has to be very cautious while dealing with him and see to it that decorum, decency and dignity are not thrown to the winds. He detests rough expressions, crude language and impolite manners.

Once Azad was tried in the Naini Central Prison. The magistrate, as a matter of routine, asked, "What is your profession?" Azad shrugged his shoulders, twirled his moustache and said with an air of absolute indifference; *Apko mai kya bataun* (What should I tell you!) The magistrate felt embarrassed and a little uneasy and did not press the question further.

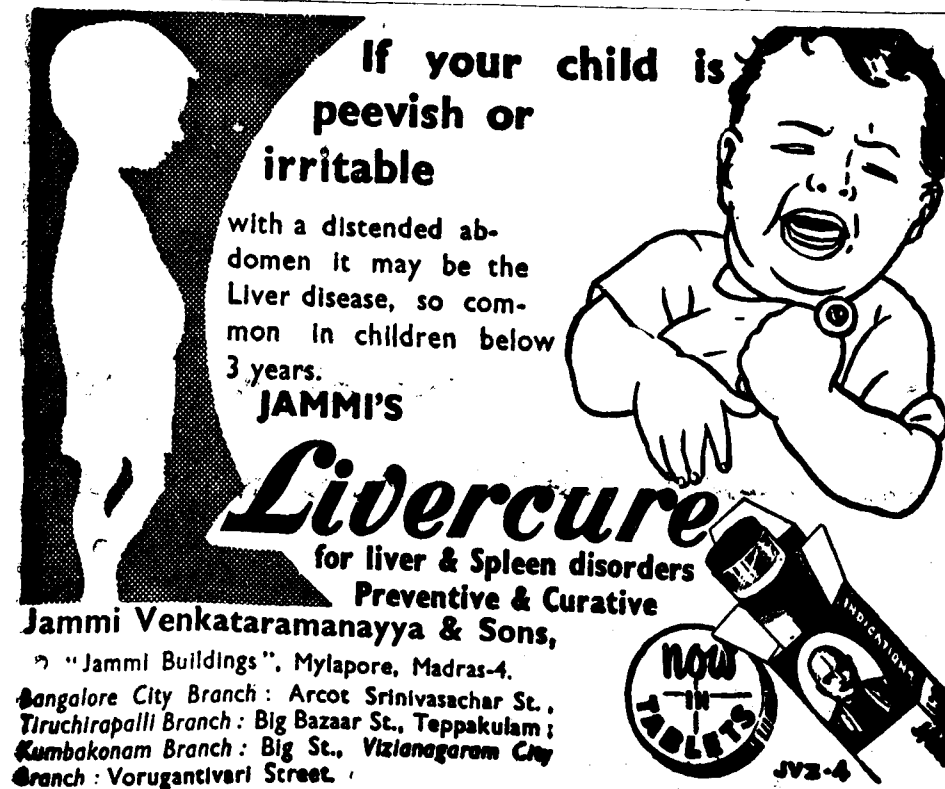
Azad was impressed several times and faced all the perils and privations that jail life meant in those days. During one of his trials Azad eloquently and prophetically stated; "The historian is waiting for us and so is the future. Let us come here quickly, one followed by the other and you in your turn continue to pass judgments with the same rapidity. For some days this will go on, and then the time will come when another and a higher court will sit in judgment. That court will be guided by the laws of God. Time will be its judge."

Azad is a profound scholar and one

would be agreeably surprised at the wide range of his interests if one visited his library. Though Maulana speaks little English, his library is packed with the best English and French classics. "The world's greatest thinkers are all there in his library—Goethe, Spinoza, Marx, Havelock Ellis. There are the Upanishads and the Vedas, there are all the volumes of the People of all Nations, International Library of Famous Literature, and so on. He has with his voracious appetite read all the Waverley novels and everything of Dumas. Hugo, Tolstoy and Ruskin he has read more than once. Whenever he gets time from politics which sap's one's energy and hardly leaves time for the finer pursuits of life, he spends his time with the "mighty minds of old." Azad is a wonderful conversationalist. "In congenial company", wrote Mr. Asaf Ali, "he is a sparkling conversationalist with a

rare sense of humour. When not in his element he is capable of almost oppressive reticence. He can be devastating in debate and convincing in discussion for he makes apt use of the enormous store house of his erudition." His habits are astonishingly regular.

He is at his best in committee meetings. He is a shrewd judge of men and takes decisions quickly. He has an astute mind and his intellectual grasp is superior to most Congress leaders. The clarity of his mind and his understanding of problems are often astonishing. The Education portfolio in the Central Government is not so much of a headache to him as the intrigues and rivalries amongst his party men. He has to handle almost all intricate problems of the Congress organisation. He is an expert in untangling the most tangled political knots. His reading of a situation and sizing up of men are uncanny.



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now IN TABLETS

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THE LAST BASTION OF CULTURE

By V. C. GOPALARATNAM

DURING the bad old times, when the Foreigner was ruling us, we had no politics worth the name, and our culture, whether inherited from ancient times or acquired or grown later, was allowed to blossom and flourish in a veritable hot-house free from the withering atmosphere of politics. The Britisher not only never tried to wipe out or denationalize our arts, institutions, or culture but also in several ways did his best to prevent their deteriorating or dying out. The policy of total non-interference with the religion and culture of Indians pursued by the British was real and honest, particularly as it was never necessary for them to woo and canvass public support in any elections. Cultural objects and movements were started, and grew and prospered with the momentum given by the middle classes, the understanding support and patronage of the upper classes, and at least the absence of apathy or antipathy on the part of the foreign rulers.

But when the Britisher left our shores, to face his own problems and survive, he took credit for conferring on our country the status of an independent nation, and, on one fine morning, we of this lucky generation, woke up from our beds to salute the Sun of Complete Independence. It is now over eight years since then, and during all that time the predominant feature of growth and development has been the political consciousness on the part of the entire population of our sub-continent. Politics of every shade and kind, international, all-India,

provincial, linguistic, racial, local and municipal, have simply swept into the arena of public life, swamping everything else, colouring every kind of public and private thinking and activity. It is sad to reflect that to-day nothing is possible to be organized or run without being subjected to the influence of some kind of politics or other. Every field of activity has been invaded by this miasmatic and adulterating cloud which leaves its mildew and moss on everything it touches. Religion, social-economy, professions and businesses, culture and arts, and even sports and amusements have all been engulfed; none has escaped. It may be stated that, this being a period of transition, it is only to be expected that there should be unsettlements, re-orientations and readjustments in every part of the country's fabric before one can expect a fresh order of things to be firmly established and to work successfully. But the trend of events and the promise for the future are not such as to encourage any attempt to concur in such complacent optimism.

With the advent of adult franchise—that terrible experiment which neither the perpetrators nor the victims have the courage yet to characterize in the only way it should be viz.: as a costly failure—a new profession has come into vogue, and that is politics. It might not have been such a sweeping innovation in any other country like England or America where the level of illiteracy and ignorance is not so terribly appalling as in our country, and where there

are other vocations than politics and the overwhelming majority of the people are willing and fit to take to them. It will be almost impossible to find there any voters, much less whole classes of voters corresponding to our pavement-dwellers, professional beggars and vagrants, and the various others to whom the vote means absolutely nothing except that it procures a free and sometimes an one-way ride to polling booth and or a petty money-gift. Imagine the whining beggar at your door-step—and there are millions of them—as a voter, expected to elect a member of Parliament exercising his choice among the candidates on the basis of their party programmes or personal fitness. What a travesty! Under the Constitution framed for us, fitness to vote at, and fitness to stand for elections, are not any different from the point of view of educational qualification; and the result to-day is an alarming growth of conviction among illiterate and ignorant people that they are as fit to govern others as anybody else. Contempt for educational degrees and qualifications and for the learned professions and vocations is spreading as a poisonous growth and is also secretly encouraged and nurtured by the forces of ignorance already sitting enthroned in power. When a stage has been reached where an officially constituted commission is going about enquiring whether a University Degree should be a necessary qualification for appointment to Government posts, what more need is there for comment?

Whatever might be the qualifications of the "common-man", for whose sole benefit two Five Year Plans have been evolved and a Welfare State is being organized at the cost of the very existence of the middle classes, they do not appear to include any love for or interest in cultural matters of any kind or description. The expression itself,—"Common man"—so over-used and

under-understood, appears to include every type of person, except the emasculated ruling Princes and Land-holders and the members of the middle class, upper as well as lower, who once constituted the back-bone of a well-ordered society. Their education and knowledge are more hindrances than help in the new order being evolved. Their place in the Welfare State appears to be quite precarious, and one is not quite sure whether they are not deliberately intended for ultimate liquidation as the objectionable bourgeois element in the Socialist State of the future.

If this last bastion of culture, the middle classes, who alone can save it and preserve it unimpaired, should disappear, then woe unto culture itself! We shall then be having an "ersatz" variety of culture,—will it be spelt 'kultur'?—where thinly-veiled political propaganda will be the basis and underframe of every dramatic or music performance, or cinema show or the substratum of every literary work or educational treatise. We see the evidence of degeneration at work already, where noisy and power-inspired groups and cliques are openly inveighing against particular schools of pure culture out of sheer hatred, on grounds based on race, religion, caste, community, and language, very thinly veiled as local patriotism, and slowly pushing them out altogether. The craftily conceived movements to ban or destroy all other cultures except what they call their own culture, to discourage the singing of all other songs except songs in their own language, to boycott world-famous composers even from their own State, merely because they did not compose in their own language, to frown on all dramatic themes and plots glorifying any hero or heroine, even from Indian History, unless it be one from the innermost parts of their

(Continued on page 32)

THE DIARIST IS BACK

By V. V. PRASAD

THIS Diarist has just returned to Delhi after a most exciting and thrilling trip to Poland, Soviet Russia and New China for ten weeks.

It will take some time to sort out his ideas, because he had a series of the pleasantest possible shocks throughout his journey of Socialist discovery.

The greatest achievement of the Socialist countries is the transformation of man. Man in these countries, by and large, is not the quarrelsome, self-assertive, unmusical and slightly dishonest chap that we generally know him to be. He has developed a pleasant, non-aggressive, co-operative, truthful and artistic personality. He seems no longer to be the malevolent creature which Julian Huxley and Bertrand Russell assert that he is.

This does not mean, of course, that there is no lying and cheating at all in these countries. It will be ridiculous to suggest that there isn't. No such claim is made by any of these Governments. On the contrary, they are constantly searching for their own defects in order to correct themselves.

After a brief visit to these countries, one is educated, encouraged and inspired. What other countries have achieved, we can achieve also. Man to man, an Indian is inferior to none in the world.

We went to Poland to participate in the World Youth Festival at Warsaw in July-August 1955. There were three hundred members in the Indian Delegation, a hundred of whom come from England. Our leader was the great film actor, Balraj Sahni. Balraj Sahni is a man of culture, with a keen intelligence and an immense love of humanity. He was therefore an excellent leader. On the few occasions he spoke, he spoke

direct from the heart. The delegates from many lands and the delegates of India were deeply moved by his utterances.

The Indian Delegation was extremely popular in the Festival which was attended by over 30,000 young people from 114 countries of the world. Every Indian was a Nehru in Warsaw. Each Indian delegate signed from one to two thousand autograph books, and we gave our addresses to several hundred people. Some of them have already started writing to us. The performances of our Cultural Group, consisting of dancers and musicians from several parts of our country, were greatly appreciated. I must confess I felt quite nervous when I saw some of our artists perform, because I thought they were not good enough for audiences of thousands of people from a hundred different countries. But my opinion was not shared by delegates from other countries. They were most enthusiastic about our song and dance numbers. And a German veteran, after seeing a dance drama by students and ex-students of Tagore's Shantiniketan, whispered to his Polish neighbour: "Such beauty, such grace and such delicacy, you may see only once in a life time."

The Prime Minister of Poland, Mr. Joseph Cyrankiewicz, did me the honour of giving me an exclusive interview at a time when there were as many as six hundred foreign journalists present in Warsaw. I must hasten to add that this was not because of any special merit of the present writer, but because he is an Indian. Any Ram, or Suri could have probably got the interview as well.

As we crossed into the sacred territory of the Soviet Union from

Poland, we remembered the heroic sacrifices made by the Soviet people in men and material so that man may not be enslaved. We never suspected that the very fact of being on Soviet territory could so deeply move us. It is land like any other land. The same brown soil and the same green grass. But there was something that stirred our very being as we entered the Soviet Land.

We spent a week in Moscow. To my regret, I could not meet any of my Russian friends in Moscow. Nor could I meet Bulganin or Khrushchev or Malenkov or Molotov or anyone else. Our genial Ambassador in Moscow, K. P. S. Menon, told us he would have liked to fix up an appointment with Russian leaders, but they were all out of town—August being the month of holidays in the Soviet Union.

Like all other members of our Youth Delegation, I simply fell in love with China. We arrived in Peking by train from Moscow. We had eleven days in the train, and we alighted in Peking as fresh as we boarded it in Moscow—except that most of us had put on a little weight in the train. Such good food and so little exercise would add to anybody's weight.

The great enthusiasm of the people of China for their work of construction was not unexpected, but we never could imagine the extent of this enthusiasm. Men and women, both young and old, are jumping for joy in China today in a frenzy of enthusiasm. I have only seen children jump for joy in India, and also young women on the Indian screen. The enthusiasm in China is terrific. It is not ordinary energy that we see in that country. It is something like atomic energy, being used for peaceful purposes.

Everybody in China feels that he is directly running the Government of his country. There is no issue on which the People's Government makes a law that has not already

been fully thrashed out even in the remotest parts of China. For instance, over a hundred million people participated in the discussion on the Constitution of New China. A similar number discussed the Five Year Plan of China. Millions of suggestions and criticisms were received from peasants and workers and intellectuals all over the country, and they were kept in view while the Constitution and the Plan were adopted.

We had "darshan" of Chairman Mao and other leaders of New China on their National Day, October 1. The parade of the people on that occasion was an inspiring spectacle. The parade demonstrated the achievements of the Chinese people in the different spheres of agriculture, industry, education, health, etc. The youth of China seemed to take a leading part both in the construction and the administration of New China.

(Continued from page 30)

own State, to condemn and run down even great classics in poetry or song even in their own language, because their authors came from a particular community, or worse still because they glorify and praise God and religion, and, worst of all, on the rebound, to propagate and encourage only non-religious or non-Hindu works, can result in only one thing and that, the killing of all real culture in the land. True culture knows no barriers of State, language, caste, or religion, and must command the same respect and support in all places where public opinion is shaped and controlled by men and women of broad and enlightened outlook, tolerance, and impartial judgment. That is why it is good and desirable that culture should shape politics, and most undesirable that politics should shape culture. —*Cultural Section Souvenir, Cosmopolitan Club, Madras.*

GERMAN PAVILION AT INDUSTRIES FAIR

By J. VIJAYATUNGA



In a European Fair the prominent feature of each pavilion besides the exhibits proper is a small table and four or five chairs around it. An Industries Fair in Europe admits only business men and Industrialists, and sightseers as such only on specified days during specified hours. The businessmen examine the exhibits, sit round the stall table with the directors of the firm concerned and talk business. And, Business results.

IF bigger the better is the criterion than there are many other pavilions at the Indian Industries Fair at Mathura Road in New Delhi to which the palm must be awarded. The sponsoring governments of those bigger pavilions have probably submitted to the popular conception of a fair in India, and not particularly to an Industries Fair. In the first place if an Industries Fair is meant to accomplish what it sets out to do then the period of six weeks (which will be the duration of this Fair) is much too long. No head of a firm can be away for so long a period from his factory. That is why in Europe an Industries Fair, for example, the recent Leipzig Fair, lasts for only five days, or at the most for a week. The whole conception of an Industries Fair in the minds of those nations which are industrially in the front rank is the furthering of trade between one particular country and other countries.

This has to be kept in mind in viewing the various pavilions at the Industries Fair. There is no gainsaying it that the Russian pavilion is the most imposing. As you enter there is a more than life-size statue of Lenin to awe you. The ceiling is high and arched. Neither labour nor expense has been spared to make it the most formidable pavilion. One does not somehow stop to gaze at Lenin for the exhibits within beckon one by their colour, their bewildering variety, their impressiveness. Here are glass cases containing varieties of wheat, the cases being arranged in a floral pattern. There are sacks of various grain, some of them produced in India. The sacks are open and visitors let the grain run through their fingers. Here again are nylon stockings, and other fabrics, which are sheer joy to women.

If one does not ask whether the import of consumer goods to India is controlled or not then all this is fas-

cinating. But it is only capital goods India imports freely and India wants badly. That is why the German pavilion which is the first pavilion one meets with as one enters the Fair it almost austere in comparison with the gorgeousness of the Russian and Polish pavilions or with the sheer enchantment of the Chinese pavilion.

West Germany, as everyone knows, manufactures everything from fountains and laliqueware to dolls and sheer stockings. But these are not the things that West Germany is anxious to export to India. It wants to export to India those things that India needs for industrialization of her vast townships and her countryside. The second Five Year Plan is all out to industrialise the country with of course due regard to cottage industries. This is where West Germany offers products which have stood the test of time and which have won world-renown.

Take, for example, the Bosch spark plug, today manufactured in India by the Motor Industries Co., Ltd. (MICO) Bangalore, under the supervision of Herr Krack who has come from the parent firm in Stuttgart. Without this tiny invention there would be no motor cars. Bosch invented it: it was followed up in America, and though today America's leading spark plug manufacturers produce one hundred and fifty million spark plugs annually Bosch still maintain their leadership. MICO, Bangalore, I am told, are equipped to produce even one hundred million spark plugs a year. But for the present there is not much demand in India. Bosch also exhibit in this pavilion motorcar lamps, a simple but an essential part of the vehicle, fuel injection pumps and many other lines in which they have won a supreme place in the world's trade.

Then there is AEG (Allgemeine Elektrizitäts-Gesellschaft) which is a name to conjure with in the world of electrical equipment. Among

its eighteen factories five are in West Berlin and their main lines as exhibited in the Fair are electric motors, hydro-electric generators, meters and gauges. The transformers in our Janata Expresses, are ten to one AEG transformers which turn DC into AC. One of the most interesting exhibits in the West German pavilion is a vibrator which does all the work of a conveyor belt simply through vibration. Vibration can make articles move, drop them to a lower level or lift them to a higher. This vibrator is a magnet for crowds and crowds. I must here add that the West German pavilion is the *only* pavilion where there are representatives of the firms present and who are most courteous and ready to explain every step in the process of their particular engine or precision instruments. Some of the sections are in charge of German-trained Indians, two of whom I met. They speak German fluently. There is, for example, Dr. Das of Benares University who was trained at Dr. C. Otto & Comp. in Bochum, who is in charge of otter bricks, cements, ramming mixtures, covering mixture for coke ovens. Dr. Das, it may be mentioned, was President of the Indian Students Association in Germany and, Mr. Dutt, when he was Indian Ambassador, had visited the Bochum factory.

Krauss-Maffi of Munich who have supplied several locomotives and diesels to the Indian Government today work in cooperation with the Tata Locomotive and Engineering Company.

(I must add that Dr. C. Otto & Company who are today Consultants to the West Bengal Government have brought from the Indian Fuel Research Institute a patent for water softening. I understand that the price paid was Rs. 50,000.)

But the most interesting and the most instructive exhibits are those of Krupp of Essen and Demag A.G. of Duisburg. Ordinarily these two firms are business rivals, but for the setting

up of the Rourkela scheme they have combined forces and formed the Indien Gemeinschaft Krupp-Demag Gmb H. The building, and later the running, of the Rourkela Iron and Steelworks, one of the greatest schemes ever projected in South-East Asia is in the hands of Hindustan Steel Ltd., almost all the shares of which are held by the Indian Government. When completed, by 1960, Rourkela will have an annual output of one million tons of ingot steel. It will be a township with a population of one lakh.

The River Brahmani skirts the township, today but a village in Orissa, and it will be in the next five years one of the model townships besides being a Pittsburg of India. Messrs. DEMAG have on exhibit a made-to-scale model of a steel plant; and every process of turning pig iron into fine steel, strips of blocks, is shown on this model.

Most German firms welcome apprentices from India and those selected for training are given all facilities including their expenses during their stay in Germany. Several of these German-trained men are now back in India. Besides Dr. Das I met at the West German pavilion Mr. Rai, who is an employee of ESCORTS.

The West German Pavilion at the Industries Fair means business, wants businessmen to come and talk to them. But if a layman like myself calls upon them they would painstakingly explain without stint of time or energy every detail of their exhibits be it the Zeiss Ikon lenses or the Karuss-Maffei Diesels. Surely, I was fascinated by some of the other pavilions, but I learnt more at the West German pavilion; and I was impressed because they are taking a noteworthy part in India's Second Five Year Plan.



Mr. J. Vijayatunga, Malini Vijayatunga and Dr. Hatta at the Reception to Dr. Hatta by the Indonesian Embassy, New Delhi.

New Books

C. DAY LEWIS. By CLIFFORD DYMENT. *Writers and Their Work* No. 62. Longmans, Green and Co. 2 s.

THE work of C. Day Lewis falls into two parts, the poetry he wrote before the war, and that which he wrote after it. His earlier work is the product of a divided mind, the expression of ambivalence between morally difficult choices: between "the old faiths, which prompted men to commit in their name many injustices against the human being, yet held the human being to have an inviolable sanctity," and the new faiths which "question this inviolability of the human personality, yet try to avoid and redress the former injustices." To make up his mind one way or the other is difficult for a man who combines in himself love and respect for traditional ways of thought and behaviour with a sensitive social conscience. Nor can the decision be put off: the problem is renewed everyday, and the poet-cum-social-unit is continually harassed for a definite answer. The source of Day Lewis' poetry before the war is to be sought in this perpetual saw-saw motion between two loyalties.

But the Second World War dramatically reduces the schisms in social thinking; the people unite as one man for purposes of war and defence. It becomes suddenly possible to cast out the divided soul as a sorcerer casts out the devil. The poet is no more at war with himself; he achieves a homogeneity of mind and spirit; he is no longer tied to the point of view of one or the other section of society; he is set free to speak for his people as a whole.

The major part of Mr. Clifford Dymont's pamphlet is taken up with two things; the first, with showing how the Auden-Spender-Day Lewis combination disagreed with the implied attitude of the poet in Mr.

T. S. Eliot's verse, which was, to quote Louis Macneice, that of 'a pedant who saw life from a corner'; and the second, with tracing clearly, and at some length for a pamphlet, the causes and nature of the schisms in Day Lewis' mind. Mr. Dymont also takes up room to consider the critical work of his author, notably his well-known *The Poetic Image*, so that he squeezes his discussions of the poems in wartime and the post-war poems into eight pages of which more than four are filled in by excerpts. There is disproportion here, and we also feel that Mr. Dymont is not as definite or lucid talking of his author's poems from 1940 to 1953 as he is when analysing his pre-war poetry.

The post-Eliot poets, Day Lewis among them, had felt strongly that the time for a purely aesthetic observation of life, such as Mr. Eliot made, had passed. Mr. Eliot, by deliberately addressing himself to a minority, had made a virtue of not being simple and not being popular. This cultural superciliousness had to go; poetry had to engage itself in life and try to appeal to as wide an audience as possible. Is it not curious that these apostles of 'popular poetry' should have turned out to be almost as difficult to understand as that apostle of esoteric poetry, Mr. Eliot himself?

M. P. BHASKARAN

SPACE FRONTIERS. By Roger Lee Vernon. Signet Books, New American Library, 25 cents.

"SPACE FRONTIERS" is a collection of science fiction stories. There is very little science in these stories, however, in the accepted modern sense of the term. The mate-

rial in the book is closely similar, to that usually found in "horror comics" now engaging the serious attention of educationists and jurists in Western countries. One is strongly inclined to suspect that the author has drawn much of his scientific information from just such comics as well as from reports on scientific discoveries which appear from time to time in the columns of the daily press.

The author's view appears to be that "science" is broadly a search for deadlier and more destructive weapons with longer ranges. Space travel, if we understand the author correctly, is generally the quest after suitable targets—and of course, victims. A horrific arsenal of weapons of all kinds—atomic, gravitational, electrical, etc.—which the author reveals with noticeable relish is sure to grip the attention of the small boy in his first "space suit" who finds time heavy on his hands, but may not exactly thrill the adult reader.

The dimension of Time has not been neglected. The only readable story in this collection, "The Chess Civilization," concerning a time machine built more or less on the lines suggested by the late H. G. Wells, deals with this subject. Even in this story an unnecessary element of fantasy is forced in by an account of a chess match played on a checkerboard field several acres big, on which the pawns are drawn by tractors!

Strangely enough, the instrument of all this sensational "scientific" progress, the scientist, shows up in a very poor light. In "The Stop Watch," the average scientist is rather unsympathetically sketched as a weak-minded person with strong criminal tendencies. Surely a scientist cannot be so bad!

Space Frontiers is likely to be popular with readers (male) in the age-group 9-14, but it is just this section of the reading public to whom it is likely to be least profitable.

V. V. RAMAN

TRINITY IN VIOLENCE. By Henry Kane. Avon Publications, Inc., New York 22, N.Y. 25 cents.

PPRIVATE Detective Peter Chambers is as slick as they come. Tall, lithe and handsome, he is masterly with women, but being also susceptible, does not exactly break anyone's heart, she be blonde, brunette or redhead. He is very fast, fast in his reasoning, fast in getting at people, in outthinking and outmanoeuvring them, fast in feminine conquest, fast on the uptake and though not fast with his own gun, very quick at dodging guns pointed at him. His walk is apparently extraordinary, so lithe, so beautifully controlled, that outstanding ballet dancers fall over each other trying to reach him first. He does not chain-smoke nor does he drink whiskey by the gallon, which you will agree are refreshing departures from type. But his best asset is his conversation—he can talk himself into anything (a detective has to do more talking himself in than talking himself out). He has also, at some time or other in his young life, helped shady characters out of tight little jams; and their gratitude is such that all of them keep awake at nights, wondering how they can repay a little of 'the immense debt, still paying still to owe.' He is fond of money and tells us so; he is also aware that women who act as if they were in love with him, are but capable of infatuations like himself, and will leave him for pastures new when the fancy takes them. All this adds up to make Peter Chambers invincible, lightning-fast, agreeable and elusive. He weaves in and out of complicated situations with the ease of an experienced mongoose.

The three stories here in which Peter Chambers sleuths his way around do not exactly startle us. They are neat but hardly original, and therefore depend heavily on Chambers himself for their readability. The slick language of Mr. Kane carries us along, unquestioning

and submissive, and the conversation of Chambers spurts brightly in them like blood from the bodies of the thugs he shoots down. The women around Chambers have all of them hour-glass figures and very little brains, and therefore they add considerably to his charm. Altogether, Peter Chambers is just the kind of detective who is currently in demand, and you can do worse than meet him in the pages of this book.

M. P. B.

SOME THOUGHTS ON PROHIBITION

BY K. R. MALKANI

THE Prohibition Inquiry Committee has submitted its report recommending total Prohibition throughout the country by April 1, 1958. But nobody seems to have been impressed. Not many papers have cared to comment and commend. Why this indifference? Not because we are addicted to drink. I fear that many people suspect that Prohibition is not an article of faith with the Congress. They are in power in all the 29 States; but they have enforced Prohibition in only four of them. Even there the administration is any thing but satisfactory. What is even more significant, Prohibition has been enforced by strong-willed individuals like Morarji Desai—all honour to him—and not by the firm will of the Congress organisation. Congressmen have not dared to openly oppose Prohibition because this slogan gives them a supposed sense of moral superiority over other parties—but they have been quite lukewarm, if not altogether indifferent.

The lesson is clear. Prohibition cannot go by itself. Prohibition stands on a par with other social evils. All these social evils are aspects of an unhealthy way of life. They will stand or fall together. We can-

not successfully eliminate any of them unless we war on all of them.

What are these social evils? There are many of them, for example drinking, smoking, prostitution, meat eating, even bad films. They are part of an integrated way of life. Why should the Congress disapprove of drink but not of smoke? What is there to choose between the two? It is generally believed that smoking is more injurious to health than liquor taken in moderate quantities. Some wines have almost a reputation for imparting health and vigour of body. Not even the worst smoker will claim any such quality for nicotine. And smoking is much more common than drink. The poor man's tobacco impinges on his child's milk. I have known people—supposedly educated people—who would say they can't afford milk. But they can afford ten cups of tea a day all right. And they can smoke 30 to 100 cigarettes a day too. If the Congress is really a party interested in improving the moral standards of the people, why doesn't it take its stand against smoking? Why does it not ban cultivation of tobacco? It is well known that the best paddy land is diverted to tobacco. In large areas of Andhra thousands of mango trees were felled to make tobacco-containers. At a time when our food supply position was really difficult we could have solved the problem by simply diverting tobacco areas to paddy. Instead, we spent crores of rupees on Grow More Food campaigns and heavy food imports. The Government have no sense of national economy.

The same is the position with regard to non-vegetarianism. It is well known that meat has an adverse effect on physical and mental health. Also, much more vegetarian food than meat foods could be produced on the same acreage. How is it a crime to drink, when it is not a crime to kill innocent, beautiful birds and animals?

SPORTS

ALABASTER

By N. S. RAMASWAMI

IT is a sad blow for the cause of poetry that the New Zealand cricketer who rejoices in the magnificent name of Alabaster should have hitherto been ineffective. The bearer of such a name has grave responsibilities. There cannot fail to be a sense of tragic climax when it is found that, instead of being heroically firm and determined, with something of the air of Horatius guarding the bridge, as his unyielding name should indicate, he is actually frail and forlorn.

Little success has hitherto rewarded the efforts of J. G. Alabaster in Pakistan. His leg-spin has been singularly ineffective and cruel public opinion, which worships success, may be inclined to ridicule him. It is to be hoped that this latest international exponent of a tenuous and dying art will at all costs be spared ignominy. I for one shall pray that this player will perform heroic deeds in India.

The history of the game after the war has been notable in nothing so much as in the decline and fall of the leg-spin bowler, once upon a time a mighty tyrant and destroyer. In the seasons immediately preceding Hitler's frantic excursions no bowler was more feared than Grimmett. He was in a long line of succession from the legendary days of the unpredictable Mailey and Hordern, who, it is little realised now, adapted Bosanquet's invention of the googly to conditions in Australia. But the decline set in most drastically in 1948 when Sir Donald Bradman frowned upon it heavily. McCool, his

representative leg-spin bowler, was summarily rejected from the Test teams which vanquished England on that memorable visit.

One reason for the decay was perhaps to be found in the abominable regulation which prescribed a new ball every fifty-five overs. The noble art of bowling dwindled to the mere mechanical process of "exploiting" the new ball for swing for all it was worth and then requiring defensive bowlers to send down a few overs until another new ball could be employed. Sir Donald based his resplendent triumphs on this basis. His august disapproval was undoubtedly a great blow to the art of leg-spin.

There have been indications of late that the poor, despised craftsman has recovered. It is a matter for pride that this happy renaissance should first have made itself manifest in India. I am inclined to think that we in this country have not yet realised the magnitude of our great good fortune in Gupte. He is perhaps the only slow leg-break bowler of any eminence and standing in the world now. When our hearts were sick after the disaster in England in 1952 it was his art which almost enabled our country to hold its own against the West Indies, then in the full plenitude of its power. He made short work of the motley Silver Jubilee Overseas Cricket team. Further, Kardar, the Pakistan captain, is not the only critic to think that he is likely to present insuperable problems to the New Zealand batsmen. It will be fervently hoped that his great art has not been desiccated in the

Profile

MARSHAL BULGANIN

By SUBHASH J. RELE

Marshal Bulganin is due to arrive in India in the third week of November. This article spotlights his career and personality.

"RUSSIA," said Churchill, "is a riddle wrapped in a mystery inside an enigma." Stalin's death and M. Bulganin's elevation to the Premiership endorses Churchill's candid observation.

Years ago M. Bulganin was scarcely known. For several years before Stalin's death he had occupied position No. 6 on the Soviet leadership list as judged by the display of leaders' portraits hung on Moscow buildings at the time of the May and November holidays. He moved up to the No. 5 position when Beria was eliminated. But he was still far enough below the summit. Small wonder that his sudden elevation to the Premiership caused lifting eyebrows inside and outside Russia.

Bulganin has been a dedicated Communist. In the rough and tumble of Communist politics he has shown remarkable audacity. In several fields he proved himself a first class administrator and ruthless worker. All his life he has served Communism as a policeman, purger, businessman and bureaucrat.

Very recently Bulganin turned sixty. For a man of sixty, he is not only alert and active mentally and physically but enthusiastic and imaginative. His disarming manners, courtesy and polished deportment confuse his friends and confound his enemies. "He speaks very frankly, very pleasantly and sometimes with astonishing openness," observes a western diplomat.

Bulganin has several illuminating facets to his career. He was born in Nizhni Novgorod, a great centre of Russian trade. The official Soviet biography states that Bulganin was a proletarian born of a worker's family. His father was probably a clerk and sufficiently beyond the proletariat to be manifestly able to send his boy Nikolai to a technical high school. Young Bulganin joined the Communist Party at the age of 22. He acted courageously and daringly as an agitator making trouble among the textile workers. It was however Kaganovich who sent him to Moscow. His first big job was the management of the Moscow Electrical Station in 1927. He was a tremendous success in this capacity and his plant, one of the largest in Moscow, fulfilled the first five year plan in its two and a half years. He then went to a variety of administrative tasks. He became Moscow's Mayor in the early thirties when Kaganovich was the Moscow party boss. He built boulevards and six bridges across the Moskva river. From Britain and France he imported such "improvements" as a fleet of trolley buses and a set of spanking white gloves for the capital's traffic cops. With Malenkov he took the hankless job of purging the party apparatus. It was his role to "put things through" and he immensely succeeded in it. His administrative talents soon caught Stalin's eyes. It was proved beyond doubt that he was a jack of all trades. In almost every field of action he displayed rare capacity. The bigger the task, the

better he liked it. When Hitler attacked Russia, Bulganin was the first high Soviet official to 'volunteer' for war service at the fighting front. He was named as the chief of civilian defense and was given the task of mobilising labour battalions. This was his first military assignment. He also worked with Zhukov for a while as a representative of the Politburo. He got a General's rank in the Red Army and rapid advancement.

When Bulganin succeeded to the Premiership of Soviet Russia he opened the windows and let in the fresh air. He has none of the challenging air of some of the Russian leaders and his vivacity suggests the boudoir more than the battle field. At one important Soviet party he gleefully explained "I am the Soviet Minister of War but I will propose the toast: *Down with war.*" Before the toast could be drunk, a waiter opened a bottle of champagne with a loud pop of the cork and Bulganin laughed and said, "Let's use corks instead of bullets."

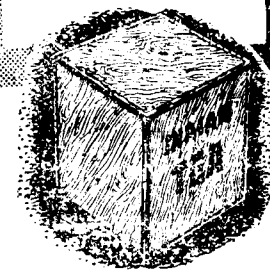
At the Geneva Conference he said: "There are urgent issues dividing us. These difficulties do exist and they are not insignificant. But the purpose of this conference is not insignificant. The purpose is not to indulge in recriminations but to find ways and means to ease international tension."

He has a robust sense of humour and a certain spirit of impish mischief. Charles E. Bohlen, U. S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union is fluent in Russian. On one occasion Molotov warned Bulganin to beware of him. "Be careful", he said, "Bohlen understands Russian. He may overhear our secrets." Bulganin laughed. "We will fix that", he replied. "We will make him our Foreign Minister."

Does Marshal Bulganin represent a new force in Soviet affairs?

That is however a question too early to answer. Time and history will do that.

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PST 150

THE BASIC CONCEPT IN EDUCATION

By S. KRISHNA RAO

THE Basic concept in education, now about eighteen years old, has not won the universal approbation of the intelligentsia of the country. It is true that the Union Government and the Governments of the States have accepted the Basic pattern of educational policy at the elementary stage. The Government of India's resolution appointing the Secondary Education Commission mentions that "the need for the re-organisation of secondary education with diversified courses has become more urgent as a result of the acceptance by the Government of India and State Governments of Basic education as the pattern of education at the elementary stage," hinting thereby that the Government of India desired to extend the Basic principle to higher stages of education as well. Certain State Governments are going ahead with plans to introduce Basic education in high schools by opening colleges for training graduate teachers in Basic education. While thus the Basic concept has become a *fait accompli* in educational endeavour in this country, the least that those who do not subscribe to it on all fours can do is to allow the nation to give it a fair trial and judge it by the results. Again, it is also possible that those who criticise the Basic plan belong to the old guard brought up in the traditions of an imperialistic system of education and who are unable to keep themselves abreast of the national surge.

The most serious charge levelled against the Basic plan is that it employs child labour for meeting part of the cost of education. In a poor country like India which is anxious

to educate every one of her children for a respectable living and which has not the necessary resources to meet the cost of such education, it is nothing very wrong if she expects even the children to contribute their own mite towards the fulfilment of this desire. Normally children ply the *takli* or the spinning wheel for pleasure and feel proud when the yarn they produce is of some quality. They hardly get interested in knowing how it is disposed of or how much it has fetched. But if at the end of the year they are told that by their labour the school has covered a portion of its running expenses they would naturally feel elated, if not delighted.

As the sale proceeds of products made in a school always depend on their quality, the return expected under the scheme also imposes a sort of check upon the standards of efficiency achieved in the crafts taught in the school. The authors of the Wardha Report on Basic Education wisely observe: "Apart from its financial implications, we are of opinion that a measurable check will be useful in ensuring thoroughness and efficiency in teaching and in the work of the students. Without some such check, there is danger of work becoming slack and losing all educative value."

The main criticism of the plan centres round its claim to impart education through a craft. The claim implies that the children should learn languages, mathematics, science, social studies and training in citizenship, besides a basic craft, and that the former subjects should be taught on the basis

of the materials and appliances used and the processes involved in the learning of the craft. From the time allotted to the craft every day in the time table originally—three hours and twenty minutes were set apart for the craft out of five hours and a half—and from the expectation of the pioneers of Basic education that a pupil should have attained in the craft chosen "such reasonable skill as would enable him to pursue it as an occupation after finishing his full course," it would appear that it was their desire that the craft should receive greater importance than the subjects learnt. This is also borne out by the fact that the learning of the subjects was made incidental to the learning of the craft. They argue at the same time: "The object of this new educational scheme is NOT primarily the production of craftsmen able to practice some craft MECHANICALLY, but rather the exploitation for educative purposes of the resources implicit in craft. This demands that productive work should not only form part of the school curriculum—its craft side—but should also inspire the METHOD of teaching all other subjects." To make their meaning more clear they quote Mahatma Gandhi as saying: "Every craft has to be taught not merely mechanically as is done today, but scientifically. That is, the child should learn the why and wherefore of every process."

But if as the authors say Mahatma Gandhi's words are only a paraphrase of their intentions, one is justified in asking, is teaching a craft scientifically the same thing as teaching a science or any other subject through a craft? To learn the why and wherefore of every process involved in a craft is not always an easy process and sometimes not possible in the early stages of education. That is just what makes the difference

between a compounder and a doctor, a *maistry* and an engineer. If the aim of the scheme is to equip the child with a basic craft for the purpose of a living, let not the aim be clouded by considerations which defeat that very aim.

At school learning is systematic and logical and ought to leave no gap in the continuity of knowledge acquired. As the effort is mostly intellectual and tiring, instruction is often made interesting and realistic by such devices as drawings, demonstrations, experiments, excursions, etc., besides a persistent endeavour to improve the methods of teaching. Educational science has sought to relieve this strain by the introduction of the vocational sections, the playway methods, mid-day meals, and by extending the period of study where it is found necessary.

In our Basic schools, the Basic principle of training a child for a significant craft appears to have been revised, any healthy activity being permitted to take the place of the craft. Teaching of subjects now centres round that activity. If this is true, it is as good as the Basic school abandoning its special features and falling in line with the ordinary school. It will take only a little more time for it to give up teaching subjects through an activity also. For unless a teacher is highly talented—and the number of such teachers is very limited—he cannot teach a subject in a systematic way round a craft or any activity.

Learning through activity is a very loose expression from the educational point of view. For learning is of different kinds like learning a craft or learning a language. A child learns walking by walking and swimming by swimming. Likewise he learns a craft by practising that craft. These are activities of the limbs through which an activity is

learned. But learning subjects like languages and mathematics is altogether a different kind of learning. In this type of learning only mental processes are at work and any simultaneous activity of the limbs is not possible. It is common knowledge that when the mind thinks or begins to reflect, even allied physical activities like reading and writing come to a standstill. Sometimes when we are faced with serious problems, as in mathematics often, even thinking stops, mere consciousness remaining begging at the door of intuition.

While such is the law of learning, to venture on a plan of educating the youth of a whole nation through a craft is treading a hazardous path inimical to the child and also to the nation in the long run. To make a nation craft-minded and self-reliant it is not necessary—nor wise—to restrict acquisition of knowledge to the limitations inherent in a craft.

I would submit the following for consideration:

(i) Let the Basic schools continue to exist catering to the needs of children of ages 6 to 14.

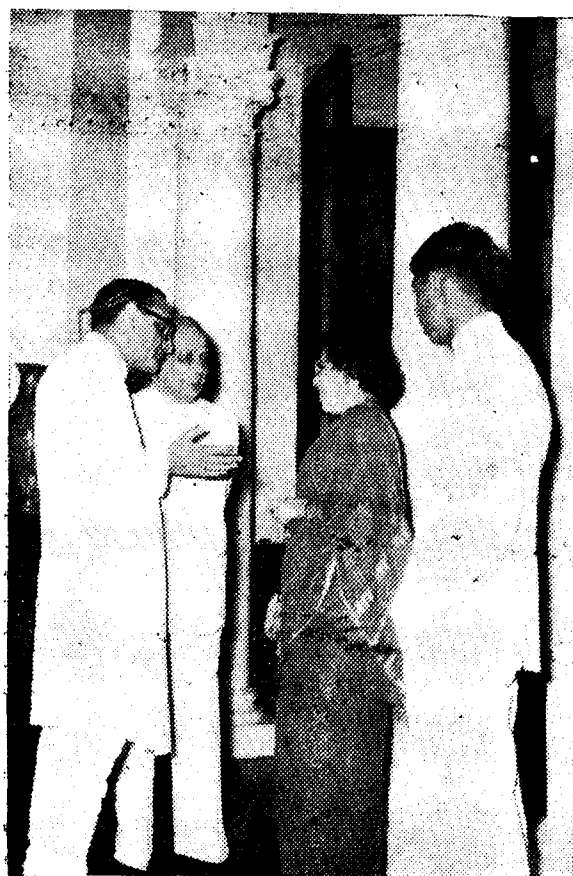
(ii) Let each Basic school provide for the teaching of a craft suited to the locality, the aim being that, if any one wants to pursue it as a living after leaving the school, he may be competent to do so.

(iii) The sale proceeds of articles made in the school should continue to meet part of the school's running expenses.

(iv) Subjects like the mother tongue, arithmetic, science, and social studies should be taught in the traditional way, the craft or any other activity serving as a demonstration field for the principles learnt in classroom instruction.

(v) The syllabus in these subjects may be restricted to the minimum requirements of the children consistent with the proficiency aimed at in the Basic craft.

(vi) The passage from the Basic school to the high school should be made smooth and suited to the further development of the child's native talents.



Mr Kewal Singh, Chief Commissioner talking to Begum Aijaz Rasul, Member of Parliament at the reception given by him in Pondicherry to celebrate the first anniversary of the transfer of power. Mr. Edward Goubert, Councillor to Pondicherry Government is seen second from left.

FILMS

By V. P. SATHE

DIWALI is the time for stock-taking. And in the case of the film industry, it can be said without fear of contradiction that the year 1954-55 has been a year of progress and prosperity. The slump which once threatened the industry has yielded place to an era of prosperity. The collections reveal that the tide has changed for the better.

During the course of this year we have had several successful pictures, outstanding amongst them being *Nagin*, *Azaad*, *Shree 420*, *Insaniyat* and *Jhanak Jhanak Payal Baaje*, *Jagriti*, *Munimji*, *Kundan*, *Mr. & Mrs. 55*, *Vachan* and at least a dozen other pictures have fared well at the box office.

Apart from the business boom, the year has been noteworthy for several reasons. For in this year we had the first Film Seminar in Delhi addressed by Prime Minister Nehru; this year we had the first picture financed by a State Government, viz., *Patha Panchali*; this year the Government sponsored the Children's Film Society and decided to make special films for children; this year Shri S. K. Patil became the President of the Indian Motion Picture Producers' Association and Shri Vasan joined the Producers' Guild to bring about unity in the film industry. Even the documentary films made an appreciable progress and in the foreign market the Indian pictures were in greater demand. The film festivals in China and England, the exhibition of Indian films in Europe and the release of two Indian films in United States—these are the portents of a happy future for Indian films in international markets.

This year is also noteworthy for the fact that almost all producers avoided tragedy and adapted a lighter treatment even in tackling realistic and tragic themes. For, they felt that without entertainment such themes would not succeed at the box office; and in some cases like *Shri 420* and *Jagriti* such efforts were more than successful. Even *Kundan* had a happy ending. That apart, most of the pictures were of the 'escapist' variety.

And yet artistically the pictures did register a progress; the most shining example is *Jhanak Jhanak* in which the classical art of music and dancing was presented in a popular form. But on the whole the popular trend was in favour of comedies, musicals and adventure romance. Realism and even emotionalism were at a discount.

During the year, the relations between the Government and the industry did not register any improvement; and all the grievances of the film industry against the Government still remain to be tackled. The problems arising from lack of finance, of unity, the foreign market, the deadlock of Pakistan still remain unsolved. But unlike in the previous year, thanks to the support of the picturegoers, the film industry has now the confidence to face the future with determination.

Picture of the week

The film journalists of Bombay were shown a remarkable film on Friday the 4th November 55 at the Films Division's projection room. The picture was *Time In The Sun* directed by Sergei Eisenstein and produced by Marie Seton who is now in Bombay.

Before the screening Marie Seton gave a brief history of the picture itself. It was over twenty-five years ago that Eisenstein started making this picture for Upton Sinclair, the well-known novelist. After Eisenstein had shot over 200,000 feet, he had to give up the project and return to Moscow. He, however, hoped that Sinclair would send him

the material for editing; but that hope never materialized. Sinclair allowed the material to be used by Sd Lesse for a Hollywood film *Thunder Over Mexico* and later it was learnt that the material would be utilized in a series of travologues about Mexico.

But the film world got the impression that the material was destroyed for good. During her visit to the United States Marie Seton discovered that the material exists; and she traced it in Chicago and negotiated for it with Sinclair. The negotiations were tough; but ultimately Sinclair agreed. By that time the war had started and the Russians were not interested. And so ultimately Eisenstein never had the opportunity of editing the film. Marie Seton who knew Eisenstein's mind did the job and as a result we have an opportunity today to witness the remarkable film *Time In The Sun*.

Though a silent documentary supplemented with background music and commentary, it manifests Eisenstein's genius in almost every shot and it is gripping in the extreme, unfolding the life of Mexican Indians, their past traditions, their plight in slavery and their liberation struggle. True, it is sketchy, episodic and looks even incomplete; but its impact is none the less powerful. In sheer pictorial beauty and dynamism the shots taken with hand-cranked camera twenty-five years ago are more eloquent than the present-day work we see in cinema-scope.

The picture would be of special interest to Indians, as Mexico has much in common with our country. *Time In The Sun* is not likely to be shown on a commercial scale; but no lover of cinema art should miss the film.

Personality of the week

Marie Seton, the producer of *Time In The Sun*, the author of the monumental biography of Sergei Eisenstein has come to India on a six months' lecture tour at the invita-

tion of the Union Ministry of Education.

Miss Seton who started her career as a film critic is a journalist, author, lecturer, film producer, film editor, scenarist and many other things. She has been for a long time the critic on foreign films for the *Manchester Guardian*. For the past twenty years she has been a student of the cinema and now, rightly enough, she is considered an authority on films.

During her stay in Bombay she has given a series of lectures on films, film appreciation, Eisenstein and his work, and so forth. She has brought with her extracts of several old classic experimental films to illustrate her lectures.

Talking to film journalists, she said that the standard of film criticism in England was very high because the critics were essentially intellectuals and were conversant with other arts like literature, painting, theatre, music, etc.; they were not reporters turned overnight into film critics. While she spoke one could not help recalling Raj Kapoor's controversial press conference in Delhi in which he had pleaded that film journalists should get more acquainted with film work.

Though a veteran she is very enthusiastic and youthful in her outlook and does not suffer from a snobbish superiority complex. She said that there was nothing wrong with long films or songs in films as long as people wanted them. The Indian films should remain inherently Indian in their tempo and rhythm.

Her visit to India and her stimulating talks and discussions would succeed in reviving our interest in the great values of film art and make us realize how important it is for the film critics to create public opinion for what Seton calls 'art films' by guiding it how to appreciate them.

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
EDITORIAL	3
SOTTO VOCE	5
SIDELIGHTS	6
INDIAN AFFAIRS	8
PROSPECTS OF THE RUSSIAN GOODWILL MISSION	11
NEPAL AT THE CROSSROADS	17
EDEN: ON A RAMP GOING BACKWARDS	19
SECRET OF LIFE: SCIENTISTS ON BRINK OF DISCOVERY	25
VEGETABLE MILK	27
LAST WORDS OF THE ILLUSTRIOUS	29
VICTORY TO "THE ESTABLISHMENT"	31
NEW BOOKS	33
NEW BID TO CROSS THE SIXTH CONTINENT	36
THE ART AND CIVILIZATION OF THE ETRUSCANS	39
CO-OPERATIVE HOUSING SOCIETIES	42
SPORTS	44
FILMS	46
CORRESPONDENCE	48

ON THE COVER:

Dr. Rajendra Prasad at Raj Bhavan during his recent visit to the city. Mrs. Mary Jadhav is seen introducing some young visitors to the Rashtrapathi.

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SWATANTRA

Vol. X. NOVEMBER 19 SATURDAY 1955 No. 42

MAN OF DESTINY

AT 66 this week, the Prime Minister of India has reached the peak of his career. He is adored throughout the country and respected everywhere in the world. In the whole history of India, none has ever reached before such a pinnacle of power and authority without the application of military means. He is the greatest unifying force in the country. The ruling party, the Congress, is no longer what it was when the Mahatma fashioned it into a spearhead of the national movement for freedom. Some of its stalwarts today are the very persons who fought against it and placed themselves at the disposal of the foreign power in the most critical stages of the nation's struggle for freedom. This does not mean that they have abandoned their earlier ways and become converts to Congress principles. On the other hand it means that the Congress has made a descent down to their level. In South India now its policies are indistinguishable from those of the old Justice party. An enormous amount of communalism has crept into the politics of the Congress. And along with it, acquisitiveness, greed, corruption and the heat and passion of fissiparous tendencies. Smaller aims have come to prevail over greater. All the prodigious effort of the five-year plans has therefore failed to produce a corresponding harvest of happiness, prosperity or benefit for the people. Far too much of the expenditure has gone into the exploiting hands of selfish vested interests that have won somehow for

themselves a privileged position of favour in the eye of the ruling authorities.

This steep deterioration in the character of the Congress has been the outstanding phenomenon in the post-freedom era in India. It has not gone unnoticed. People everywhere have become aware of it, and it is a perennial subject of talk wherever they gather. Yet it is a remarkable fact that the political power of the Congress has not waned in proportion to the decline in its moral prestige and influence. In all countries of the world where the democratic system of government prevails, political parties rise and fall in accordance with the popular estimate of their worth. But here in India a wonder of wonders has come to pass—the enthrone-ment indefinitely in seeming permanence of a party that has exhausted its initial attractiveness and popular appeal. The credit for this amazing miracle belongs entirely to Pandit Nehru. He has popularity enough to overcome all the consequences of the decadence and follies of the party of which he is the head. Brave, human, high minded, wholly devoted to India, terrifically energetic and incorruptibly pure and honest, he with the charm of his personal qualities has hypnotised the people into a spell of hero-worship incapacitating them for the normal exercise of their critical faculties. The popular homage for Nehru has been raised above their judgment of the government, it is independent of it, and it will go on unaffected by any of the storms to



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which parties in power are ordinarily exposed at election time. People will vote for Pandit Nehru whatever might be their estimate of Congress rule. He has become, as it were, the shelter and protection of the Congress against the adverse effects of its own degeneracy, and as Congressmen know this only too well, his power over the Congress organisation is absolute. To Pandit Nehru himself, the Congress is symbolic of halcyon Gandhian associations and he is steeped in loyalty to it because loyalty to it is sentimentally mixed with faithfulness to the Mahatma in his affections.

The Prime Minister's attachment to democratic principles is apt to make him responsive to the party organisation, but in reality what happens is just that he is used by the party to advance inferior aims often against his own better judgment. In Independent India the worst administrative measures have been the outcome of the Prime Minister's deference to party views which he could and should have vetoed but did not out of a laboured regard for democratic methods of arriving at decisions. First things have thus not come first always. The present wrangle over States Reorganisation is indefensible in view of the fact that there are more urgent problems crying out for the attention of the Government. We have made no headway in the primary function of the State, which consists in the provision of employment to all, assuring them of the elementary comforts and decencies of life. There is more unemployment today than ever before. Our educational standards are swiftly deteriorating. With a glut of graduates vainly seeking employment we are trying to discover whether university degrees can be dispensed with in recruitment to the public services. It is as if higher educational qualifications are discountenanced as undesirable. The human element which is the very basis of a sound national

economy, is played with, harassed, and subjected to the passing whim of every rash experimenter in temporary authority. Meanwhile vast labour is expended in negative enterprises like repainting signboards so as to make them less intelligible than before and restricting their usefulness instead of enlarging it. The socialistic pattern of society which the Congress has so widely advertised has fired the leaders with barren exhilaration, but it has brought little economic salvation to the millions of our destitutes to whom freedom, after the first spurt of excitement, has brought little hope or relief.

Pandit Nehru's undisputed supremacy in the life of the nation and outstanding renown in international affairs are out of harmony with the administrative achievements of the Congress. The latter are made spectacular by propaganda but in substance their output of positive good to people is not so great as it is made out to be. Countries with leaders of far less eminence have advanced much more than we have in all directions pertaining to social welfare. Yet the endeavour of the National Government in India for improving the living conditions of the people has been unremitting and continuous since it came into existence. It is the exaltation of minor sectional enthusiasms over the needs of the entire country that has been responsible largely for the comparative infertility of Indian administrative endeavour. Pandit Nehru is marked out historically as the man of destiny for correcting this traditional vice in the Indian political character. Whatever success he achieves in this role will be conserved for the benefit of generations to come. All else will fade out. We hope the ephemeral glories of the Nehru regime will be transmuted into things of eternal value in the life stream of the nation's history while strength remains to him and before his work is done.

Sotto Voce



THE GREAT BEAR

"THE authorities are making special arrangements for the transport of the 30,000 children who will line the route." The route referred to is the road from Palam to New Delhi. The children, who have just been having a spree with "Chacha" Nehru, must get ready to greet "Dada" Bulganin and "Kaka" Khrushchev. It is to be hoped that there will be sweets, as there were when we were lined up for a Viceregal visitation in the far off days when bluff Edward VII was Emperor. We in our innocence believed that the patagonian Lord Amphil was own cousin to the "Great White Queen": our teachers took the sonorous sophisms of the Warrant of Appointment for literal truth.

The children of New Delhi, you may be sure, are not so naive as all that. The bazaars have so long been flooded with glossy books and glossier magazines from Soviet Land that every fourth form boy knows that there is no longer a "Little Father" in the Kremlin. But every toddler within miles of Delhi has seen the documentary film of Nehru's visit to Russia. The endless processions of children with their decorous enthusiasm, their stylised smile and well-timed clapping, have no doubt given them lessons in comradely behaviour which they should put to good account during the Bulganin visit.

As for those bigger children, the villagers round about New Delhi, they

would need no transport or other persuasion "to congregate along the route on the spot nearest their localities," as the authorities propose. We may be sure that not only they but even their patient camels that tread their endless rounds working the Persian wheels, may be so far inspired by dim ancestral memories as to come out of their yogic trance and give the glad eye to the august visitors. All the Government have to do is to post a constable every hundred yards. Long after the Russian triumph has filed past, they will like Casabianca stick to their post of duty. And so long as they remain the crowd will remain too.

Our indigenous brood of 'Comrades' may also be depended upon to work up heart-warming huzzas. This is all the more necessary as the Geneva spirit rather droops. Comrade Molotov has so far recovered his self-assurance as to time his declaration about allowing no rent, not even an eyehole in the Iron Curtain, on the eve of the Bulganin visit. But our Russophiles will find, in the very fact that the Western sky is clouded with suspicion and distrust, sure proof that we shall see the glorious dawn of Russian friendship in the eastern firmament.

It is with our professional optimists an article of faith that the Bear has fallen for the *Pancha Seela*. No

(Continued on page 47)

—MR. BULGANIN'S MISSION

—DECISIONS ON THE S. R. C. REPORT

—A SENTIMENTAL SUCCESSION LAW

NO special powers of prescience are needed to say that in the next two weeks, the Russian leaders' visit will dominate the Indian scene, just as Mr. Nehru's tour of the Soviet Union made a big hit with the Russian people. While the Russian people's response surprised even the leaders in the Kremlin, there are few doubts here in India that popular enthusiasm will be at its highest. It would be a fitting response to the great importance which the Soviet leaders now attach to India by their long stay in this country without any ostensible special mission. Their visit to Peking last year was of a different character, and in Belgrade, the Soviet leaders were keen on conciliating Marshal Tito, and stooped low to accomplish that task. These considerations do not apply to this country, whose neutrality and friendliness is accepted and could be relied upon ordinarily even without the grand gesture of the high-powered triumvirate's visit. That is one of the reasons why more will be read into Russian objectives on these occasions but it would be foolish to attempt to unravel them just now.

One very obvious purpose seems to be the demonstration, through such prolonged absences from Moscow of the Big Three leaders, that the internal security and political stability of Soviet leadership are not as shaky as world opinion would like to believe, on the basis of Beria's fall and the demotion of Malenkov. The recent controversy over Mr. Molotov's confession of having been in error about the establishment of Socialism in the

Soviet Union is a straw in the wind. The purpose of that debate was apparently to give the impression that Soviet leaders are no longer worried by their Socialist experiment being hindered by world-wide "conspiracies" based on political and military 'encirclement.' This is in keeping with the Soviet claim that the USSR seeks to negotiate on the basis of strength, on the basis of an accomplished Socialist revolution and of political conditions which now give greater room for relaxations of the attitude of the post-war years. A further step in the direction would be to convince the "have-nots" of the world that the Soviet Union can also play an important role by helping them with the things they need for economic development which can solve for them some of the problems raised by their dependence on the West. Prime Minister U Nu has already negotiated a deal which is quite satisfactory to Burma at a time when she faces a rice disposal problem. India presents a similar opportunity at this stage with her problem of a resources gap and a foreign exchange insufficiency in implementing a programme of building heavy industry. The Soviet Union has had sufficient experience of such construction first in Eastern Europe and then in China and even if India's policy of self-help and neutrality stands in the way of accepting too much from one country, and especially a Big Power, there are the other Communist Governments—like Czechoslovakia and Rumania—ready to step in and to reassure doubts. The

Communists have a great advantage in negotiating with other governments and in reaching quick decisions; these negotiations would stand in contrast to the still tentative nature of the British steel project after two delegations have come and gone. For a country in an obvious hurry like India, the latter is not indeed an impressive example of quick assistance.

The Congress Working Committee's decisions on the question of States Reorganisation have been well-timed and should help to put away some of the wrangles to a later stage. There has been some criticism of the changes made in the S. R. C. proposals but it must not be overlooked that the S. R. C. recommendations have been substantially accepted—including the new Madhya Pradesh. An alternative approach to the problem of Maharashtra was inevitable because the S. R. C. did not approach the problem with insight and only found a clever formula for the tangled controversy. The political contours of the problem cannot be ignored and no Commission, however high-minded, can decree that the politician should incur odium by forcing an unpopular solution. Some of those who made much of a bilingual principle were not in fact prepared for a bilingual Bombay State in which Vidarbha could also be included, as the Maharashtrian P. C. C. had recommended. There is also no reason why they should not have agreed to let Maharashtra have a whiff of cosmopolitanism by letting Bombay City belong to that State. It may be that the namby-pamby Socialism of some of the Maharashtrian leaders and their foolish and indiscreet talk created apprehension, but Dr. Matthai has been among those to condemn the business community for an attitude which did it no credit. There is no State which is now big enough and powerful enough to break away from Central direc-

tives on major matters of policy and it was rather absurd to assume that it needed a separate State to safeguard the interests of a composite community. Mr. Dhebar's reported assurance about giving an opportunity to Bombay later to decide its accession to Maharashtra concedes at least in principle that the claim for the City is valid. Mr. Shankarrao Deo has disputed the right of the High Command, or even of Mr. Nehru, to arbitrate on Bombay and it is being asked whether all the trouble of providing an alternative to the S. R. C.'s solution has been worthwhile if this should be the response. The chances are that if Vidarbha is persuaded, the Maharashtrians will prefer the new solution to the old one.

The new Madhya Pradesh was eventually found to be inevitable because if Vindhya Pradesh is to be added to U. P., as demanded by its leaders, the latter would become unwieldy unless a further division, as recommended by Mr. Panikkar, is also made. The Working Committee's enthusiasm for Visalandhra was based only on the desire not to postpone issues till they got mixed with emotion. The problem of the Punjab remains, but some progress has already become visible in the warmth with which Master Tara Singh welcomed Mr. Nehru in the Golden Temple, Amritsar, last week and the friendly but unequivocal language in which Mr. Nehru responded. Such a

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gesture in political terms was long overdue. Some of the mistakes in the Punjab occurred at local levels and the Chief Minister of the Punjab has now made amends for them by expressing his regret for the incidents which occurred on July 4 when there was police-firing near the Temple. Even if Master Tara Singh has to accept something much less than a Punjabi Suba, he may do it with good grace, not as an inveterate political opponent, keen on challenging the administration.

When the Rajya Sabha reassembles next week, it will have to resume the debate on the Hindu Succession Bill which commenced on the last day of the earlier session. It is a peculiar Bill on which there has been hasty work at the Joint Committee stage. The most curious anomalies will arise if it is passed into law in its present form and the only redeeming feature is that Mr. H. V. Pataskar conceded that all these anomalies were there, and that solutions will have to be found, hereafter. That confession speaks eloquently for the character of our legislation and the drafting by the Select Committees. Haste has become the hallmark of many of our Bills.

Equal shares for the daughter would raise a controversy in any case, but the manner in which the Joint Select Committee has approached the problem of setting right women's disabilities has invited the criticism of even progressive-minded women. They have pointed out how sons will be at a disadvantage in certain cases compared with daughters, how husbands are prevented from inheriting the wife's property when wives in similar circumstances can inherit the husband's, and how there will be a discrimination in favour of the mother on grounds of propinquity for simultaneous succession to an equal share of property along with other

heirs—because the father will not be so entitled. In this curious bundle of queer sentiments there has been added the right of an equal share to illegitimate children also, born of the righteous desire not to brand children as such or put them under disabilities. But the "progressives" have been quick to point out that this may make the law against bigamy a farce because if children suffer no disability, the law can be evaded by contracting permanent relationships, which may not seriously be frowned upon in an age in which the marriage tie becomes a weakening influence.

The worst feature of the Bill is its attempt to preserve the shell of the Mitakshara coparcenary, with some of its disabilities, while superseding it for all practical purposes by introducing the daughter as an equal sharer with the son. While under all other systems, there is a testamentary power vested in the estateholder to make settlements in an equitable way, the Mitakshara head of family would not be in a position to rectify any injustices, because he will have no testamentary power at all. This is a highly absurd position. The law purports to govern intestate succession but here it prevents the exercise of a testamentary power, while for all purposes it claims to be a progressive law. The only solution, it has long been known, was to abolish Mitakshara and substitute the Dayabhaga. It has been urged by all eminent jurists—like the late Mr. Srinivasa Ayyangar and Sir B. N. Rau—that such abolition was the only step to take. In the old Hindu Code Bill, the Select Committee made provision on those lines and there is no reason why that should not be now repeated. The confusion into which our law-makers have landed would be amusing were it not a matter affecting every family and household where it would make for tears.

PROSPECTS OF THE RUSSIAN GOODWILL MISSION

By P. N. SAMPATH

(SWATANTRA does not agree with the writer of this article in his estimate of the foreign policy of the Communist Powers. Nevertheless this article is published in conformity with our policy of not shutting out viewpoints opposed to our own.—Ed. S.)

THE visit of Bulganin and Krushchev to India is the crowning glory of Nehru's progressive foreign policy. It is the logical outcome of his own visit to the Soviet Union recently, and the tremendous mitigating influence he has of late been exerting on world events.

Russia occupies over a sixth part of the terrestrial globe. Prior to the Revolution of 1917, it was the stronghold of monarchical government. The government under the Czars, as the Russian monarchs were called, was an absolute monarchy tempered by assassination. Few of the Czars died in their beds. The Czarist rule was notorious for its corruption and cruelty. The country then was a byword for poverty and economic backwardness. Social injustices were legion. The Czars often involved the country in costly wars in order to assuage their thirst for personal glory and private booty. The people were seething with discontent and it was a question of time for the smouldering embers to burst into open conflagration. The occasion demanded a dynamic leader and Lenin answered the call. He sounded the tocsin of revolt. The people, the exploited portion of the citizenry, solidly rallied behind him to obtain deliverance from the tyrannous Czarist rule. This historic struggle constituted the great Russian Revolution of 1917. There have been re-

volution in the past with varying impact but no revolution was so complete and unique as the Russian Revolution. Never before has any nation achieved revolution so swift, so complete and so comprehensive. The change over and transformation from Czarist rule to peoples' government was effected in a single day, with little opposition, with comparatively little bloodshed, by the unanimous will of the whole people. The conditions which made this possible and inevitable were so peculiar to Russia that identical conditions cannot normally obtain anywhere else.

Lenin was the genius of Russian Bolshevism, its leader in war and peace. Bolshevism is based on the Marxist ideology. In fact, Marxism was given its twentieth century form by Lenin. Marxism was the first successful rationalisation of the needs, the ignorance and the anger of the poor. It was at once gospel, explanation and programme. It gave a new definition to Communism.

Communism is a much older term than Socialism. The latter does not seem to have been used at all before 1800 or in its present-day sense, before the late 1920's. Communism, on the other hand, dated back to classical antiquity though at that time its meaning was not what we usually understand by the word today.

All political changes are bound to be transitory and valueless unless they are made by the people, and used by them to work out their social salvation. Rapid social changes cannot naturally be effected without an element of violence. To

employment and that their children would be well looked after by the State . . . The confidence the people have in the Soviet leadership is unquestioned."

Soviet Russia is a multinational territorial unit. It is a marvel how the various and varying component parts have been successfully fused together for purposes of war and peace. In his speech on the admission of the Soviet Union to the League of Nations in September, 1934, Maxim Litvinov, the then Soviet Foreign Minister acclaimed with legitimate pride: "I will make so bold as to claim that never before have so many nations in one State had such free cultural development and enjoyed their own national culture as a whole and the use of their own language in particular. In no other country are all manifestations of race and national prejudice so resolutely put down and eradicated as in the Soviet Union." The baffling problem of minorities in a multi-national polity has been very successfully solved by the Soviet administration. India has also got a polyglot population speaking myriad languages. At the present time when linguistic fanaticism threatens to plunge the country in chaos, when the forces of disintegration are pulling the people in different directions striking at the very root of national unity, Indians must study the Russian system and take counsel from that. Nothing short of a stern command from Nehru can save the nation from strife and further foolhardiness. Soviet discipline is something relentless and uniform. In Stalin's words, "Iron discipline in the party is inconceivable without unity of will, without complete unity of action on the part of all members of the party." There is neither unity of will nor unity of action among Congressmen who are unfortunately at the forefront of linguistic faction. Nehru must enforce discipline even though it may smack of totalitarianism.

In the cultural field also Russia has been in the forefront. Russia was able to develop independently and to fuse into one whole the blend of East and West which today it presents to the world, a kind of oriental-occidental culture, which in its mingling tends to transcend alike the narrow materialism of the West and the misty metaphysical idealism of the East in a human and yet aspiring materialistic humanism.

Soviet Russia is accused of being irreligious. It is true to a certain extent. Science and industry have altered the social basis of religion. The Russians are more concerned with the life here and now than in the life hereafter. This aspect has been nicely commented on by Professor Havelock Ellis, the famous psychologist who visited Russia: "Russian life presents itself as a continuous series of faiths. 'That a Russian does not believe in God is merely by way of saying that he believes in something else' remarks a character in one of Chekhov's stories. It is this permeating element of religious faith which has so often made the Russian a social fanatic and a political martyr."

Soviet Russia is a workers' paradise in the sense that the worker has full scope for self-expression through work. Idleness is not tolerated. The workers' wants are satisfied by the State. Everything that will tend to divert the worker's mind from full application to the work allotted to him is attended to by the State. It is part of the ideological heritage of the Soviet State that the nationalisation of industry, the transfer of the means of production from private to public ownership, has automatically eliminated labour disputes by removing their basic cause, class conflict. The Soviet trade union is neither in theory nor in fact primarily a representative of worker interests but rather a quasi-government agency predominantly engaged in non-partisan activities on behalf of the State.

At least the higher bureaucracy within the trade unions are more nearly civil servants than representatives of the workers. Wages and other conditions of labour are determined by the planning agencies and promulgated as law, while collective agreements merely rehearse the obligation of workers and managers to attain production objectives. When his primary wants are satisfied and his children well looked after by the State, the worker finds no reason and no need to resent this arrangement.

Russia is blamed for spreading Communism in other countries, by means fair and foul. Communism has an irresistible appeal to those who are exploited by others and who are the victims of social and racial iniquities. Communism cannot be exported. In his interview with Columnist Roy Howard in March 1936 Stalin disposed of this question in categorical terms: "It is nonsense to make revolution an article of export. If a country wants a revolution, it has to make it for itself, and if it does not want one, there can be no revolution. To state that we want to bring about revolution in other countries by meddling in their manner of life is to assert something which is not true and which we have never put forward." Lenin before him said the same thing: "Those who think that revolutions can be created at will in any State are either lunatics or provocateurs." On the occasion of the 38th anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution Kaganovich, the Soviet First Deputy Premier reiterated that Communism cannot be exported. The Communists have never carried dialectical materialism to the point of interfering with practical activity. At the core of their ideology is the proposition that the proletariat is endowed with its own motive power in the form of an inherent revolutionary drive; but this conception has not stood in the way of recognizing the true significance of

leadership, propaganda and realistic adjustment.

It is true that Communism has established a foothold in almost every country, not even America excepted. The American political leader J. Edgar Hoover, testifying before the Committee of Enquiry on Un-American Activities, declared ruefully: "In 1917 when the Communists overthrew the Russian Government, there was one Communist for every 2277 persons in Russia. In the United States today, there is one Communist for every 1814 persons in the country."

It is a fact not generally realised that every major war has contributed to the expansion of the area of Communist domain. The end of World War I saw the birth of Communist Russia. The chief result of World War II is frequently overlooked: while in 1939 Communism ruled over Russia alone, in 1950 it controlled an area stretching from Central Germany and the Balkans to Manchuria, China and down into Indo-China. Population-wise, the Communist empire expanded from 190 to more than 800 million people—one-third of humanity. In the words of Mao Tse Tung, the war "resulted in the downfall of three great imperialist powers and the weakening of two others. Only one great imperialist power was left in the world, namely, the United States." In this context, therefore, Mao's recent prophesy that a third world war will make the whole world go Communist is not mere prattle, removed from fact.

If Soviet Russia talks peace it is not because in a thermo-nuclear war she will be at a disadvantage but because she realises more than any other nation that such a war will be disastrous to every people on earth including the Soviet people. Pandit Nehru himself is convinced that the protestations of their desire for peace are genuine, and that they derive inspiration from the Soviet common man. After all, the Communists are

not militarists and do not fight merely for the sake of glory. They are not inclined to lose sight of the reality in quest of their ideal.

The Communist powers have amply demonstrated their sincerity by making several concessions and taking significant steps to ease tension. But the concessions cannot always come from one side. Provided there is enough good will in the world and responsible men from among the committed nations are able to guide their respective countries properly on the side of peace, the international situation can yet be resolved.

The chief evils of the totalitarian State are due not to its ideals, but to the methods that are used to enforce them. It is not the destination but the push that is deemed vulgar. It is said that civil liberties are restricted in Russia. The relative backwardness of Russia and the aggravation of class and international conflicts on a world scale have combined to bring about the intensification of State power and control in the U.S.S.R. The achievement of "an association in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all" still remains a goal for the future. The withering of the State as Marx envisaged will take a long time to come. Until then there will

be a continuous march on the road to Communism par excellence.

It is the great virtue of a democracy that the social organisation is held to exist in order that the lives of individuals may be full and diverse, not to act as a Procrustean bed lopping off the individual to make him fit into a nearly conceived social pattern. But the crisis of democracy is the dilemma of how democracy is to evolve a system of government-control of economic activity in the social interest—failing which, economic chaos, unemployment and misery are now manifestly unavoidable—while retaining the recognition of the claims of the individual.

India is firmly committed to democracy. It is experimenting now with the parliamentary type. Soviet Russia has several lessons to teach us—the solution of the problem of minorities, unity amidst diverse nationalities and racial groups within the State, the solving of the language problem and the choice of lingua franca, welfare schemes, etc. etc. Over and above everything else, the way the Russians have eradicated corruption and eliminated other social evils and anti-people forces should guide our Governments. Planning is another field where India can derive benefit from the Russian connection.

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S. KRISHNASWAMI,
Secretary.

NEPAL AT THE CROSSROADS

By J. VIJAYATUNGA

NATURE intended Nepal to be happy. No country has so much justification for being happy as Nepal. Its peaks are world famous. Its lakes and rivers are steeped in the hoariest legends. It was a civilised, populous land in the time of the Buddha. He was born there. Asoka visited it: it was his northern kingdom. China and Tibet sent pilgrims and travellers to Nepal. In the seventh century the King of Tibet sought the hand of a Nepal princess. The land is fabulously rich in mineral deposits. The Terai or Valley is fertile beyond description. Rice, wheat and maize grow in abundance in the Terai. Unorganised as her agriculture is, undeveloped though her industries are, Nepal still exports more than she imports. But Nepal is a troubled land.

When the hundred-year-old Rana regime was brought to an end in 1950 the peasantry thought that they would get a fair deal. They gave a big hand to national leaders. They became heroes overnight. They were garlanded wherever they went. Rose water was sprinkled on them.

One of them became Home Minister in the first Coalition Government. Shortly afterwards there was a demonstration in Kathmandu and he gave orders to the police to fire on the demonstrators. The Coalition Government ended after nine months.

The Home Minister was B. P. Koirala, a handsome man who sometimes swears by Gandhi, sometimes takes Nehru as his model. He likes to sport a *boutonniere* like Nehru. He makes the same ruminative pauses in his public speeches as Nehru.

When the Coalition Government

broke up and the Rana who headed it left for Bangalore King Tribhuvan asked B.P.'s step-brother, M. P. Koirala, to form a Government. M.P. had begun his career as a Government clerk and knew something of the intricacies of direct rule to which the Nepalis are used. He is sober, level-headed, a better orator than B.P., he knows the various dialects of Nepal, and above all he had the confidence of the late King. But the first M. P. Government lasted only nine months. In June 1952 the King had no alternative but to have an Advisory Council. However, by the middle of 1953 M.P. was again charged with the task of forming a Government. He started with good intentions, promised general elections, set about preparing an electoral roll but dissensions within his own party and cabinet, and the obstructionist tactics of his opponents prevented him from achieving any substantial progress.

He is not to be blamed alone for this state of affairs. There have been too many groups and too many splinter groups within the groups. Their loyalties vary. For example, Mr. Balchand Sharma, former Speaker and a former associate of Dr. K. I. Singh is, today, with the return of Dr. K. I. Singh, very much to the fore. Mr. B. P. Koirala, attractive as a personality, is overshadowed by Rana Subarna, a former Finance Minister and multi-millionaire. M.P. has lost many followers.

In the present set-up political leaders all have one overpowering ambition—to be Prime Minister. It is a

sad state of affairs. Perhaps King

Mahendra's latest move might help political leaders to compose their differences. That he will be able to unite all the conflicting parties is doubtful. But a way has been found, and King Mahendra's is the credit for ending, even temporarily, a dangerous impasse. The appointment by King Mahendra of Mr. Narpratap Thapa, as Foreign Secretary, is also a happy move. A graduate of Calcutta University, Mr. Thapa is still in his thirties; but he has a wide knowledge of men and affairs. In 1953-54 he travelled extensively in Europe, including Russia, and spent a month in England working at the India office library on his History of Nepal.

Nepal's is by no means a constitu-

tional crisis. When we in India comment upon Nepal affairs the Nepalis point out to Goa and Kashmir. In effect they seem to ask, "Why can't we have a little constitutional tie-up ourselves. The French have them periodically. So have others."

This land of temples and warriors has weathered too many storms in its long history to be scared by temporary constitutional set-backs. But Nepal's well-wishers would like to see her leaders compose their differences for the sake of the country's welfare. There is no other country which has earned the right to be happy. A contented prosperous Nepal means not only satisfaction to India. It means security.

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EDEN: ON A RAMP GOING BACKWARDS

By ANDREW ROTH

SIR ANTHONY EDEN began his first real trial period like a man who has leaped decisively onto a mechanical staircase going rapidly in the wrong direction. He embarked on the long Autumn term assured he was leading a united Conservative Party and, he hoped, the bulk of the British people.

Sir Anthony's picture of himself as a masterful but reasonable man was displayed on the very first day of the session. On October 25 he was completely master of the situation, calm of manner, alternately insistent and humorous. He refused, with an explosive "No, sir," to appoint a Select Committee to investigate the disappearance of diplomatists Burgess and Maclean. But he indicated a desire for an early debate on the matter. "I personally, as Prime Minister, shall be glad to take part in it." Again he affirmed support of the 14-day rule which bans discussion on radio or television for a fortnight before a subject is discussed in Parliament, but "I agree this is a matter that could be debated." He was equally forceful in announcing that the Defence Minister should now "bang the heads of the Service Ministers together . . ." He seemed reasonableness itself.

Within the next 24 hours a surprised and indignant Sir Anthony saw himself stigmatized as a Tory reactionary who had been "an accessory before the fact" in going to the country in May after the generous April budget and then taking it all back in the "reactionary" Autumn emergency budget. Worse still, he could see the first rupture of the "Butskell Axis"—the implicit alliance

between Rightwing Labourites and the liberal Conservatives to limit the shifts in social and economic conditions. This avoided awakening the sluggish Trades Union Congress and the long-dormant feeling of "class warfare" Sir Anthony so disliked.

The new epoch in British politics emerged on October 26, the second day of the new session, with the introduction by Chancellor of the Exchequer R. A. Butler of his Autumn emergency budget.

Sir Anthony had been widely conceded to be politically astute, but he clearly failed to predict the explosive effect of this budget which he supported. It irritated a divided and dispirited Labour Party into a united and indignant defense of working class conditions. It depressed and divided the Conservatives—at least temporarily—into a disunited collection of squabbling pressure groups.

The startling thing was that this was achieved by a comparatively minor shift to the Right in budgetary practice which went only a third of the way to meeting the demands of the Rightwing of the Conservative Party. Since the Conservatives had returned to office in 1951 Mr. Butler had been clearly aiming at two conflicting targets: the widening of incentives to the middle and upper classes in the form of eased taxation and lessened government control and the retention of enough essentials of the Welfare State to keep the trades union movement somnolent. Previously he had been extremely deft, consulting both sides. But since the May 1955 elections had given him a large Conservative majority, he had stopped consulting the T.U.C. dur-

ing the long recess. Instead he had spent the summer closeted with foreign Finance Ministers, high Treasury officials and selected representatives of British business. These associations apparently helped persuade him that increased productivity could only come from cracking the economic whip. Near-exhaustion from a long holidayless summer and the loss of his exceptional wife and helpmate may also explain the questionable decisions and incredibly inept performance of Mr. Butler.

Inept and Incoherent

No Chancellor of the Exchequer for years had had as rough a passage as Mr. Butler had on October 26. Previously respected on both sides, he ploughed for over an hour through Labour's jeers and the Conservatives' pregnant silence.

In launching out on his description of the economy of Britain and his efforts to correct it, he made the basic blunder of not realising that there is no accepted picture of the economic machine. Even if there were it would look different to the men in the bowels of the earth digging its coal or stoking its furnaces than to those reading its speedometer or turning its wheel.

Butler also forgot that Labour saw in his expansionist April budget a cause of Labour's May defeat. They were straining at the leash for signs of any April generosity recalled after the election.

He read them a haughty-sounding economic essay which started by saying conditions had improved, but went on to allocate burdens for fighting inflation, mostly to the working-people. He made the incredible psychological blunder of announcing a tax reduction on luxuries, silverware and cut glass, while imposing a 30% tax on kitchen necessities like brooms, buckets and dustpans—not even restricting it to metal-using equipment. He announced a drastic change in policy on housing subsi-

dies: subsidies would now go only for slum clearance and areas short of labour. This, together with his announcement that local authorities would have to go to the stock market for loans and the increase in interest created by his "credit squeeze" meant that council-controlled working-class housing would go up in cost. He foreshadowed as well the statement, made the next day, that the Rent Restrictions Act would be altered. This means that private landlords could raise the price of low-cost dwellings.

Mr. Butler was so unsuccessful in explaining himself that on November 4 the Conservative *Spectator* still thought him "psychologically badly at fault" in presenting his housing changes "as part of an emergency economy budget . . . It has nothing to do with current economic difficulties." In fact, as Sir Anthony explained on October 31, it was the unexpectedly large growth of fixed investment in housing and new industrial construction which had thrown out calculations. "In this respect (industrial) investment is very like an armaments programme. In the first year or two the consequences do not appear. When they do, they assume enormous proportions. In fact, it reached such a size this year that, unless some restriction was placed on it, we would have been in a position in which competition between companies for material and labour would have brought our industry to chaos."

Given the need to hold down investment in housing, the Chancellor had apparently decided, within a framework of 300,000 houses a year, to change Government housing policy completely. Public spending should be limited largely to slum clearance and housing for industrial labour. He felt the "credit squeeze" would halve private speculative building. By ending the Rent Restrictions Acts he brought relief to those landlords, mostly Conservatives, who had long complained that pre-1914 rents on

houses built then were inequitable; furthermore it meant it was cheaper for tenants to stay in rent-restricted houses too big for them. He also decided, by changing the basis of the subsidies, to compel local authorities to charge the full "economic" rent to workers able to pay it, reserving subsidies for those in need. This meant that perhaps ten million families would face increased rents.

These bitter economic pills were not even given the thin sugar coating possible, except for a small increase in the profits tax. Mr. Butler might have mollified Labour by emphasising his intention of keeping, and even increasing, bread subsidies, and preserving untouched the National Health Service. He might have explained he felt compelled to halt the expansion of Government spending, including that on Defence. He might have justified his easing of the tax on expensive textiles by suggesting this would strengthen Lancashire's competition abroad. His obscure language even hinted at a cut in the modest £31m. hospital building programme he did not intend.

The vulnerability of this budget to attack was clear from the dour faces of the Conservatives sitting behind Mr. Butler. While Labour M.P.s jeered sarcastically and taunted Mr. Butler with having encouraged the building of commercial television, with its consequent urgings to spend, while asking others to restrain themselves, the Conservatives could not even raise counter-cheers.

The usually calm Mr. Attlee rose immediately after to attack Mr. Butler as "the most incoherent Chancellor . . . we have ever had." He was also "the most temperamental . . . in the depths of gloom in February, he quite brightened up again in April . . . Now he has gone all gloomy again . . . really it is very difficult to find any clear policy whatever . . ."

"The fact is that there is no planning in the national interest what-

soever in this budget . . . The first thing that strikes the present Chancellor . . . is that anything that is spent in the public interest is less desirable than anything spent in the private interest. If people want to build dog-racing tracks, cinemas, or anything of that kind they will be let off (with) a nice little sermon from the Chancellor asking them to show restraint, but if a local authority wants to build hospitals or to pick up the pieces from the lack of extension of the roads, the local authority will not get money for the hospitals—or for the roads either . . . The whole object is to give more to the people who lend money and to throw back advice to the workers every now and again about restraining wages."

Mr. Attlee raised a wry laugh when he pictured the burden of the increased taxes. "The young married couple . . . will be left sitting in a room without any furniture, looking sadly at the cut glass and silverware which their economical aunt bought for them on the cheap . . .". "I am afraid that those electors who voted for the Tories will realise now that they are in for the morning after the night before."

Gaitskell breaks the Axis

The wave of Labour indignation was such that Hugh Gaitskell was emboldened to rupture the Butskell (Butler-Gaitskell) axis as part of his campaign to succeed Mr. Attlee as leader of the Labour Party. Until his October 27 speech Mr. Gaitskell had widespread respect among the Conservatives. Not only had he gone to the right schools—Winchester and Oxford—but he was a moderate Labourite, violently anti-Bevan. His previous attitude to Mr. Butler—both are the sons of former Indian Civil Servants—had been so friendly, and their differences so limited that the Conservative *Economist* had labelled as "Butskellism" this near alliance between the Labour and Conservative

middle-of-the-roads. The caution with which Mr. Butler had hitherto departed from Mr. Gaitskell's practices had helped keep the T.U.C. somnolent.

Under normal circumstances Mr. Gaitskell would have been compelled to be very critical of the Autumn emergency budget, so definite was its attack on portions of the Welfare State. But these were not ordinary circumstances. Mr. Gaitskell was the leading contender—against Herbert Morrison—for the succession to the leadership of the Parliamentary Labour Party. As such his main handicaps were his previously moderate criticisms of Mr. Butler and Bevan's stigmatizing of him as a "dessicated calculating machine."

Mr. Gaitskell had improved his political sex appeal at the Labour Party conference at Margate. He read an emotional speech about "Why I am a Socialist" and stirred the crowd to considerable enthusiasm.

Mr. Gaitskell's attack on Mr. Butler's budget on October 27 was before a more important audience. Behind him was the Parliamentary Labour Party, which would elect the new leader of the Labour Party. Only a few minutes before it had booed—an act not committed for years in the House—the detailed statement of how housing subsidies would be curtailed. It cheered Mr. Gaitskell as he proceeded to pour on Mr. Butler vituperation unprecedented from a public school product.

He charged Mr. Butler with having "persistently and wilfully misled the public about the economic situation and he has done it for electoral reasons. This budget which we are considering is necessary because the April budget—a masterpiece of deception—actively encouraged instead of damping down spending. Now, having bought his votes with a bribe, the Chancellor is forced—as he knew he would be—to dishonour the cheque." This brought Mr. Butler to his feet, white and tense, to deny he

"attempted to conceal the truth as I saw it at the time of my April budget . . ."

But worse came in the peroration in which Mr. Gaitskell said of Mr. Butler: "He has behaved in a manner unworthy of his high office. He began in folly, continued in deceit, and he has ended in reaction . . . Let him go to the Prime Minister and ask him for release. Let him lay down the burden of his office, which he is so plainly unable to carry with credit any longer."

Conservatives disunited

More important than Mr. Gaitskell's effort to rival Mr. Bevan in vituperation was the demonstrative lack of support for Mr. Butler's budget in Conservative ranks. In private some Conservative M.P.s argued that Mr. Butler had been inept, taxing all kitchen articles instead of only those which used imported metals. Others called for further cuts in social spending, including a cut in the bread subsidy. Some called for further cuts in Government spending on the National Health Service.

Dismayed by this cold reception, Sir Anthony asked to be invited to a secret meeting of the "1922 Committee." This is the committee of private Conservative M.P.s which members of the Government can only attend on request. With what the Conservative *Daily Mail* described as a "fighting speech" he "punched into the Tory Party . . . to quell back-bench grumbling." He told them, according to this unusual 'lead,' that the Government had decided on bold, unpopular measures which would only show results in the long run. They should expect Labour censure attacks and should back up the Chancellor who was propounding *Government* policy, not his own. "Don't Stab Rab" was the *Daily Mail's* journalese summary of his speech.

Sir Anthony's prediction of Labour censure was borne out the following Monday, October 31, when Labour launched a fiery censure motion

charging the Eden Government with "incompetence and neglect in their economic and financial policy," an April budget "calculated to deceive the electorate" and an Autumn emergency budget "unjust in that (the Conservatives) impose heavy burdens on persons of limited means and discriminate against local and other public authorities."

There was considerable personal drama in this debate. The usually pugnacious Herbert Morrison, who was considered to be ahead of Mr. Gaitskell in the race for the succession to Mr. Attlee, fumbled badly in a rambling, ineffective speech which depressed his supporters and encouraged his opponents. Mr. Butler himself surprised everyone by appearing a completely changed person. He was as lighthearted and jovial as he had been depressed and depressing. He referred to Mr. Morrison's sad effort as "the second of the trial gallops for the leadership stakes." Amidst laughter he assured "the third man"—Mr. Bevan—that after Mr. Gaitskell's vituperative speech of the previous week "he would no longer need to stoop to conquer." He defended himself against Mr. Gaitskell's attack on himself by recalling how little Gaitskell had done in the balance of payments crisis of the autumn of 1951. ". . . all that the record shows is that cheese imports were reduced to save 40 million dollars a year." Turning on Mr. Gaitskell he cut: "This marvellous roaring lion is a little mouse who could only gnaw at a bit of cheese."

When Sir Anthony rose to defend his Government and Chancellor the House was keyed up by the entertaining and polemical speech of Hugh Dalton, a former Labour Chancellor of the Exchequer, who charged the emergency budget was "class legislation, designed to transfer purchasing power from one class to another . . . its repercussions will be both wide and strong." He wound up by recalling that Stanley Baldwin had once

said of German rearmament: "If I had told the country the truth I should have lost the election." Then he added as his final line: "The only difference between Stanley Baldwin and the Chancellor of the Exchequer is that (Mr. Butler) has not yet confessed."

When Sir Anthony Eden sprang to his feet to reply to the debate for the Government he tried first to secure "an act of historic justice" by pointing out that Mr. Baldwin's speech may have referred to the 1933 Fulham by-election and not the 1935, although he was on very shaky ground, as any who have seen the extensive quotation in Churchill's *Gathering Storm* can attest. When Labour members jeered and called on him to read out the section, Sir Anthony retorted that they "need not attack me. They know perfectly well what my own record was in this matter." He then proceeded to defend Mr. Butler.

Sir Anthony's defense was that of a political leader in the House of Commons, counter-attacking with energetic gestures. He launched telling jibes at the Labour leaders who had attacked Butler. He challenged Hugh Dalton's right to criticise Butler by recalling "that there is still one Government stock, which I believe is . . . is still called 'Daltons'—issued at 100 in October in 1946 . . . which had fallen to 64 before the Labour Government left office."

In contrast he praised Mr. Butler, saying "that the position we have internationally today is due in a remarkable degree to the patience and skill of . . . the Chancellor of the Exchequer. With infinite care and perseverance he has laboured to improve our country's fortunes, and his authority in economic and financial affairs . . . has grown steadily. Certainly in all his works (Mr. Butler) will continue to have our full support."

Then in a desperate race to finish his speech before the question was to be put at 10 p.m. he replied to

Labour doubts by shooting out affirmative statements. "First of all we put forward in our programme for this Parliament slum clearance, 200,000 people a year. That stands. Road programme, that stands. Railway modernisation, that stands . . . Is school building to be cut? Answer: no . . . Extension of family allowances. As long as a child is at school, that stands. New hospital programme, that stands." He insisted it was "utterly false" to say that "the only things we are cutting are the nationalised industries . . . in our programme . . . nuclear power and the coal mining industry (have) been given a clear bill to meet our needs."

In the last minute or two he affirmed "there has to be an order of priorities between these things." It was because the Labour Party "ignored the order of priority when they were in Government they came to disaster. We shall carry through the priority and be judged when our term is over."

T. U. C. Judges

Judgment came sooner than Sir Anthony could have wished. The next day Sir Anthony, R. A. Butler and the Labour Minister, Sir Walter Monckton, saw leaders of the T.U.C. for two hours at 10, Downing Street. They warned that the budget would be sure to cause trouble in industry since wage claims would now be pressed with greater urgency. The T.U.C. leaders, usually vulnerable to Sir Walter Monckton's blandishments, were annoyed because they felt the Government, having rejected their advice, was now hoping for their help to ride out the storm.

After the meeting the T.U.C. delegation issued a critical statement: the April budget had unnecessarily stimulated consumption and investment. But now the government's "cuts deliberately discriminate against social expenditure and investment in the nationalised industries . . . It is apparently relying heavily upon a cut in local housing

to reduce investment demand." The tax increases and higher rents were "inequitable" because they would "have a particularly adverse effect on the poorer sections of the community." To lend further point to these warnings, 400,000 organized workers demanded new wage increases the same day.

Three days later, on November 4, Sir Anthony Eden, R. A. Butler and Sir Walter Monckton saw representatives of the British Employers Confederation, whose members employ 70 per cent of the Labour outside the nationalised industries. Like the T. U. C., its leaders were anxious to halt inflation and expand exports. They appreciated, more than the T. U. C., that the Government's views were closer to their own on how to achieve them. But they got little satisfaction when they asked how the Government expected them to cope with the wage demands inflated by the increased rents resulting from Mr. Butler's budget.

The fact is that Mr. Butler had no analytical *plan* for the British economy, simply a series of metaphorical slogans about where its roses should be pruned, where its runaway horses should be reined in. His chief slogan, presented to the Conservatives' annual congress at Bournemouth, was "Expand success and curb excess." He forgot that one man's excess was another man's basic necessity. Mrs. Lena Jeger, Labour M. P. made that point effectively when she asked during the budget debate whether the Conservatives thought "we housewives go out like wantons for an orgy of self-indulgence and buy armfuls of buckets and batteries of hand-operated mangles?"

Unfortunately for Sir Anthony, he had been more interested in demonstrating his loyalty to Mr. Butler, his chief lieutenant and possible rival, than in displaying sensitivity to the reaction of working class housewives.

SECRET OF LIFE: SCIENTISTS ON BRINK OF DISCOVERY

By HUGH McLEVAE

(Science Correspondent of the News Chronicle London)

THE 3,000 members of the British Association started their annual conference at Bristol recently with a slight squabble about the "atoms of death". But a week later, when the sessions closed, the chemists and the physicists were patting each other on the back about their joint discoveries on the "atoms of life."

It was Sir Robert Robinson, this year's president, Nobel prize-winner and a chemist of world reputation, who challenged the physicists.

The World A Fireball?

The physicists, he said in his address, have been right so far about the hydrogen bomb. But will they continue to be 100 per cent right? "An ordinary scientist cannot help wondering whether every possibility of setting fire to the lighter elements has quite certainly been excluded, if nuclear relay is taken to further stages."

Sir Robert implied that theoretical mistakes in more powerful bombs might cause the heavy hydrogen in the bomb to start a chain reaction among the ordinary hydrogen atoms in the sea and the nitrogen in the atmosphere—in fact turning the world into an atomic fireball.

The physicists gasped. They admitted, through Professor Navill Mott, Cavendish Professor of Physics at Cambridge, that the Bikini hydrogen bomb had been 100 per cent more devastating than calculated and that there was a fringe of ordinary hydrogen burned when the bomb exploded.

But for a chemist to hint that they could be so wrong as to set the world

on fire! "It would need a laboratory as big as the sun with the same heat and pressure conditions," said Professor Maurice Pryce, who has worked at the Atomic Energy Establishment at Harwell and is now Professor of Physics at Bristol.

Sir Robert conceded a little to the physicists. The conference felt that the wrong aspect of hydrogen bomb danger had been emphasised; radioactive fall-out was by far the bigger threat.

Valuable Discussions

The conference then forgot about the bomb and got down to business. That, in the British Association means 13 sections discussing everything from fundamental research, like Professor Mott's atomic theory of metal fatigue to the fanciful prophecy of cars running without steering wheels along "electronic" tramlines.

Professor Mott, president of the physics section showed in an highly original paper that weakness in solids could be due to "absent atoms." These atoms could be forced out of the parade of atoms in a solid by intense heat, sub-zero temperatures or by bombardment with neutrons in an atomic pile. In welding, the atoms of two metals change places if the temperature is high enough and if there are already "absent atoms" in the metals. Neutron bombardment explains why elements in atomic reactors are damaged.

And in metal fatigue, a subject in which aircraft designers are especially interested, these "truant" atoms are believed to form weak-

nesses which lead to fracture in metals and alloys.

Mapping The Brain

How far the British medical scientist has advanced in "brain mapping" was indicated by Dr. W. Grey Walter, one of the leading men in the field. By charting the electrical impulses of the brain with a wave analyser Dr. Grey Walter has collected mental patterns of hundreds of students and patients.

He even claims to be able to tell whether two people have antagonistic or sympathetic personalities. "There might," he said "be fewer divorces if people had a test like this before marriage."

The wave analyser is coupled to cathode ray screens. It unmixes the various rhythms produced when the brain is stimulated or at rest on an electronic machine and throws the pattern on to these screens.

Space Science

Automation became a prominent feature of the discussions and, for the first time in its 124 years of existence, the Association allowed "space science" into its curriculum. American, Milton H. Rosen, of the Washington Naval Research Laboratory, gave a summary of the progress in rocket development.

But it was not till the final day that the most exciting debate was opened on the "atoms of life". Here, eminent chemists like Sir Alexander Todd, physicist Dr. Maurice Wilkins and geneticist Professor J. B. S. Haldane made it clear that clue by clue we are discovering the raw materials of the living cell.

In fact from the discussion which followed the debate these three scientists could agree that within a few years it will be possible to make primitive forms of "life" in test tubes.

The Basis Of Life

Sir Alexander Todd gave what every scientist conceded was a classi-

cal paper on the work which had been done on the two chemicals which form the basis of life. These are ribonucleic acid and deoxyribonucleic acid—in shorthand form RNA and DNA. These nucleic acids are the jigs and tools out of which life is shaped. RNA is believed to fashion and help to make the proteins out of which our bodies are made. DNA, the stable and unchanging chemical, is found in the genes and chromosomes which decide the characteristics passed on in plants and animals generation after generation.

DNA is therefore the most interesting. By finding how this nucleic acid acts on the living cell the chemists and physicists can use it to synthesise the other chemicals of life.

As Professor Haldane said: "You can say that we know part of the alphabet of life through these chemicals. Once we know all 26 letters we shall be able to break down and build up this alphabet into definite forms of life."

DNA, as was shown by Dr. Wilkins by X-ray techniques, has a long helical shape—like a corkscrew of atoms duplicating itself at every turn. It is this self-duplication that intrigues the bacteriologists. For DNA is thought to be a factor in transmitting bacteria.

Already work has begun to find the possibility of using DNA in cancer research. Here the nucleic acid might yield the clue which everyone seeks: how does the cancer cell reproduce itself?

Indeed it seems that if the chemist and physicist can find the function of DNA they will also be nearer the answer to cancer and the virus diseases like poliomyelitis.

As Sir Alexander Todd said to sum up in a sentence: "The atoms of life mean far more than the atoms of matter."

VEGETABLE MILK

A WAY OUT OF MILK SHORTAGE

By K. V. SRIKANTH

THE average person in our country spends a sizeable portion of his income on food and yet his dietary is far below the necessary level, averaging less than 2000 calories per day and lacks in proteins, fats and essential protective elements. The worst hit are children in the age group 1 to 5 and these suffer more severely from malnutrition than any other section of the population. Milk, the best known of protective foods, is practically unavailable to large sections of the population. One of the biggest limiting factors in the production of milk in the country is the availability of feeding stuffs. It is unlikely that even under the best of conditions we can even hope to produce as much milk as we require for the well being of our people. With the steady increase in our population conditions may become more and more difficult. Such a state already exists in China, Japan and several other eastern countries. In these regions, cow or buffalo milk is scarce, and the people have actually developed a dislike for milk of animal origin. Processed products of vegetable origin are used for infant feeding. The best known among these is the milk prepared out of soya bean. A remarkable feature about soya is that while it is difficult to digest as a pulse, it makes a very high class milk which can be very easily digested. A large volume of work has been done in India, first at the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore and later at the Central Food Technological Research Institute, Mysore on the production of vegetable milks out of soya, groundnut and other indigenous oil-bearing

seeds. The processing consists in removing the outer skin, followed by pasting, addition of necessary minerals and vitamins, stabilisers and buffering agents and then steaming to deodorise the product. The soya milk produced at Bangalore was fed as such, and in the form of curd to thousands of children of all age groups. The response, particularly in babies, was most remarkable and it was reported that infants from 2 to 6 months digested the soya milk at a much faster rate than cow's milk. Even in the case of children of 1 to 2 years, the response to soya milk was very pronounced, whereas in the higher age-groups, the difference between soya and cow's milk was not so striking. Soya milk was also fed in the form of curd with rice as a part of the mid-day school feeding programme and in most cases, the children could not distinguish between the soya-curd product and the preparation made out of cow's milk.

It is well known that quite a large number of children experience difficulty in digesting cow's milk or even processed baby foods made out of it. In such cases, processed soya milk would be an ideal food. If this could be done, it is possible that quite a number of stomach and liver disorders which are prevalent especially in South India, may be reduced substantially, if not completely eliminated.

Although India has not yet made a beginning in the production of soya milk on a big scale, the results of our investigations have already been utilised by the Food and Agricultural

Organization for the production of vegetable milk and vegetable milk powder for feeding children in Indonesia. There is a very strong case for India also to set up such plants, at any rate, for the feeding of children who are otherwise prone to have digestive disorders. This is done in countries like Canada and U. S. A.

Soya bean is, however, still in short supply in India, though it is available in great abundance in the Far East and in America. On the other hand, we have an abundance of groundnut which could be processed and converted into an attractive and nutritionally balanced milk. The researches conducted at the Central Food Technological Research Institute, Mysore, have shown that fortified groundnut milk has about nine-tenths of the nutritive value of cow's milk. A handicap with that product, however, is that it offers some difficulty in deodorisation. Recent improvements in technique have shown that groundnut can be processed in such a way that the odour can be fully eliminated, and that cow's milk flavour can be incorporated with the product. The groundnut milk curd which is prepared by seeding with butter milk in the same way as cow's milk is already very popular. This product is indistin-

guishable for practical purposes from the cow's milk product. It can be used in exactly the same way as the animal product in food proportions and its main advantage lies in the fact that it can be produced in almost unlimited quantities and at about one third of the cost of the animal product. In a country like ours, where a large section of people get no dairy products at all, a processed product like vegetable milk which has an established supplementary value would be a boon to our people.

Vegetable milk can be made out of several other oil-bearing materials. Among these, the broken cashew kernel makes an excellent and wholesome milk. Coconut can also be made into an attractive milk of good nutritive value provided the protein content is suitably raised. Several other oil seeds can be processed in the same manner.

The object of scientific processing is to convert low grade food products into those of superior quality, and to bring them within the reach of the poorer sections of the people. It is hoped that in course of time, there will be increasing appreciation of the value of scientific effort and that the people will learn to use processed products with economy combined with betterment of health.

LAST WORDS OF THE ILLUSTRIOUS

By SUBHASH J. RELE

"I WANT nothing but to die in the correct way," remarked Confucius. Generations later Montaigne said, "There is nothing of which I am so inquisitive as to inform myself on the manner of men's deaths, their words, looks and bearing."

Indeed there is no better way to judge a man's character or his personality than to note his dying words. Undoubtedly, these reveal his innermost self.

Does he cringe? Does he meet death with a smile? Does he regret his life? Does he die fully satisfied with his achievement?

Last words of the famous are of particular significance. Some have proved prophetic while others are tragic. Some are bizarre and poignant while others are decidedly humorous and cheerful. It is worthy of note that almost all invariably reflect the character of the person who uttered them.

The closing words of Samuel Phelps (1804-78), a great Shakespearean actor, were the most dramatic. He died on the stage itself. He was playing Wolsey in "Henry VIII" and had just spoken the line "Farewell; A long farewell to all my greatness," when he staggered and collapsed. He was led off the boards which he was never to tread again. King Louis XV of France spent his last moments in trying to cheer up his weeping attendants. "Why do you weep?" he said to them. "Do you think I should live for ever? I thought dying would have been more difficult."

The illustrious Napoleon, the man who completely changed the map of

Europe and the destinies of many empires died in a fit of delirium. His last words were momentous and they convey his intense love for his dear country. "Mon Dieu La Nation Francaise—Tete—D'armce." "Thank God, I have done my duty" were the last words of Lord Nelson, the great English commander.

The last hours of the gallant Sir Walter Raleigh who was condemned to death by beheading, were tragic. Yet with complete ease of manner showing neither fear nor resentment, he ran his fingers along the headsman's axe and remarked "This is a sharp instrument, but a sure remedy for all evils." Handing it back to the headsman, he put off his long velvet gown and satin doublet and knelt on the ground. The headsman told him gently to face the other way but Sir Raleigh laughed and asked, "What matters how the head lie, so the heart be right. Why does thou not strike? Strike, man."

The powerful Danton standing on the scaffold thundered at his executioners for all to hear: "You will show my head to the people; it will be worth the display." The last words of Madame Rolland were full of pathos. Before the executioners she exclaimed, "O Liberty; O Liberty; What crimes were committed in thy name." Socrates died with the same philosophical detachment that he had maintained through life. For teaching impiety he was made to drink poison. In the last moment he bade his disciples not to weep but to be of good cheer. He was even facetious. His disciple Crito inquired mournfully: "In what way shall we

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No. 10, Downing Street. This is oversimplification. *The Times*, like No. 10 Downing Street and the Foreign Office, reflects the views of "the Establishment," interpreting its interests and views with its own variations and idiosyncracies.

The Times' importance lies in the fact that it is the paper which is read by all members and candidate-members of "the Establishment," and it is in its columns that they argue out their views on how to maintain the essentials of the *satus quo* in Britain and Britain's influence in the world. And it is in *The Times'* obituary columns that their contribution to the joint cause is finally assessed. It is perhaps no accident that Mr. Fairlie, who has popularized this name, was once Assistant Obituary Editor of *The Times*.

The Times is, in another way, a tribute to the flexibility of "the Establishment." Although "the Establishment" is basically aristocratic in its approach, *The Times'* editor, Sir William Haley, started at 16 as a telephonist on *The Times*. His two principal deputies have almost as modest origins. But he is Sir William Haley because "the Establishment" has long seen the importance of recruiting to the weak-chinned Eton-and-Oxford hereditary aristocracy those who have shown themselves worthy by their exceptional talents in channels approved of by "the Establishment."

It is, of course, the Monarch who, as head of Church and State, ennobles plebeians and keeps the lower levels of the British social and political pyramid ever looking and striving upward.

It is because Princess Margaret's romance threatened to tarnish the monarchy which caps the British pyramid and preserves its outlines that the full force of "the Establishment's" opinion was brought to bear against her. It is true that a bare majority of Church of England clerics, particularly the more seri-

ous ones, are against church marriages for divorced persons, even innocent parties. This opinion was powerful enough to compel Sir Anthony Eden to marry Sir Winston Churchill's niece in a registry office. But it does not prevent Sir Anthony from exercising his rights as Prime Minister, which includes naming the senior churchmen!

The struggle over Princess Margaret's future was between "the Establishment" which sees the monarchy as a revered and powerful symbol and the publishers of the popular press who exploit inchoate popular resentment of "the Establishment" and have seen circulations soar through portraying royal figures as if they were Hollywood stars wearing crowns. The republicans or quasi-republicans who see the monarchy as an obstacle to democratic progress are few. Perhaps most revealing was the fact that Malcolm Muggeridge, the anarchistic and irreverent Rightist who edits *Punch*, attacked the whole display as a "Royal Soap Opera" not in his own magazine but in the *New Statesman*. After all, *Punch* has long been the place where members or candidate-members of "the Establishment" laugh at themselves.

The result of the frustrated romance has been a great campaign, sparked by the *Daily Mirror*, against the Archbishop of Canterbury and other churchmen who gave Princess Margaret the religious advice which, as a devout person, she decided to follow. There has even been a call for the separation of Church and State. This is called 'Disestablishment,' because one of the restricted meanings of "Establishment" is the Church of England. But the Church of England is only the spiritual voice of "the Establishment." And Princess Margaret is only the latest and best-publicized person to learn the lesson: in places of authority in Britain one must "play the game" according to the rules laid down by "the Establishment" or be black-balled.

New Books

DOCTORS WITHOUT DILEMMAS

NOT AS A STRANGER. BY MORTON THOMPSON. *Michael Joseph, London. 18s.*

EARLY in his life, Luke Marsh, only son of Ouida and Job Marsh, was bitten by a very aseptic bug. When he was hardly eight years old, he used to wait outside the houses of the doctors in the little town of Millesta, waiting to be allowed to hold their horses while they got down from their buggies (this was in the early 1900's, a little before Henry Ford whipped the horse from the highway), and hoping to be asked to carry their bags in. The doctors were kind to him, they liked the little fellow sitting on their verandah steps and waiting patiently for their favours while the other Millesta children were busy playing. From carrying bags, he progressed to be shown instruments, an appendix vermiformis, to be taken on buggy rides to patients, and then, at last, on one great day, actually allowed by Dr. Alexander, the kindest of them all, to 'assist' him in dealing with a ripe and beautiful boil on a farmer's neck.

Ouida Marsh, primly, refined, spiritualistic and highbrow, wants her son to be an artist, writer or musician—a prophet with his beacon for the world of dim-eyed gropers; Job Marsh, able, cunning, dishonest, a go-getter with the single idea of making money, wants his son to become a Carnegie or a Morgan. Ouida is a woman with a vision, pictures herself as the mother of someone who will reaffirm for the world the undying story of the spirit, she tries her hardest to transplant her vision into the mind of her son; but there is a mighty tree already there, a tree which had taken root as early as Luke could remember. Being a

woman with a vision, she realizes that her son has a vision of his own, a Vision of Medicine, and she yields. But not his father. He shouts, "A doctor! . . . I'd rather he was a pimp in a whorehouse!" But he finds that what he had treated lightly as a boyhood phase has, before he knew where he was, become the passion of a lifetime. Job is adamant, almost cruel, and would have forced his son to run away from home if Dr. Alexander had not stepped in and made it clear to him that though there was no doctor in his world or his wife's, there was nothing else in the world of Luke.

Ad so, Luke is, almost from birth, a doctor without a dilemma. Which is quite alright, since he would not have got his M. D. otherwise. His mother dies, the motor-car busts his father's prosperous chain of harness stores skyhigh, and Job just disappears, without even a letter to his son. Luke is jolted into breathlessness, he stops painting the parks red with probationer nurses, and faces a world without a dollar in it. A knock-out for anyone else, but not for Luke. Remember, he has no doubts or hesitations. The only way out was to marry the theatre nurse of the hospital where the students did their ward-work. She was a *dumb Swede*, everyone said; but there was no need for anyone to say it, she looked it and talked it, but she had money saved which could see him through college. They were married within a week.

There are other doctors too in here. They are very different from each other, between them they run the gamut from dedication to corruption, from prostitution of ability and

learning to sacrifice and absorption, from mastery to incompetence and worse, to butchery. But they have, all of them, one thing in common: an absence of dilemmas. Dr. Snider is filthy, legally and morally a murderer, a clumsy sadist in the operating-room, but he is of one piece, not a filthy mess but a filthy whole, astonishingly at peace with himself in his degradation and his monstrous incompetence. Dr. Kauffman is a tormented soul as a Jew, but he keeps sane because he is untormented as a doctor. Not much practice, true; few Christians go to a Jew, but one can fight for something, a protected water-supply for the town, and so on. Dr. Binyon and Dr. Blake are like Tweedledum and Tweedledee; they are homogeneous in their venality. Dr. Gillingham, chairman of the county board, is also without doubts; no doctor will let his profession down, meaning that the county board will suffer even Dr. Snider practising, as taking his license away from him would mean admitting that practitioners of medicine can be fallible or dishonest.

There are more approaches to Medicine deftly laid bare in the book than we can put our hands on quickly. Some just want to make money and fast; others want to get away from a small town, want glamour; or they like the dramatic quality of Medicine—life and death under your hands—and its prophetic quality—the doctor as seer, learned, clad in white wisdom, healing with his touch; some are drawn by love of study, of research, by the love of discovery, fame . . . A few, a very few, are drawn by nothing but Medicine itself, by the same compelling and mysterious power that drives a dancer to dance or a painter to paint, and do nothing else, and stop at nothing to do nothing else. Luke Marsh is thus called to Medicine, and since the book is mostly about him, it can be thought of as a hymn to Medicine. But the book is not all

Luke Marsh; though he dominates the landscape, there are scores of other things showing growth as lush as in a not-too dense forest, and *Not as a Stranger* is a small epic of Medicine, with a very long and fascinating hymn to the same deity in it.

We must also stop to admire the way in which the diary of Luke Marsh, M.D. has been dovetailed with the personal life of Luke Marsh, son of Ouida and Job, assistant and colleague of Dr. Runkleman, and, most movingly, the husband of Kristina, who, though a dumb Swede, was that rare thing, a genuine wife. There is both power and delicacy in the achievement, and the length of the novel (702 pages) is forgotten in its reward.

Doctors will doubtless feel its antiseptic force, and laymen be enabled to take the measure of a world which is to many of them mysterious, confusing and oracular. But it is to our students in medical colleges that we feel it is a must. Let them not confine themselves to the funny but anaemic Richard Gordon, when *Not as a Stranger* is rich in the vitamins that doctors need.

M. P. BHASKARAN

LEOPARDS IN THE NIGHT. By Guy Muldoon. Rupert Hart-Davis, London, 17sh.

IT is heartening to find that in this age of bombs and atom happy powers, there are still men who are contented with nature in her simpler aspects and whose pleasure lies wholly in probing her mysteries. Guy Muldoon is one such. *Leopards in the Night* tells of his experiences in the wilds of Central Africa, and in its forceful appeal and genuineness, ranks as one of the outstanding books on wild life published within the last decade.

"Few men can ever have known the fauna of Africa better, loved them more, and killed so many of them as the author of this book"—declares

the publisher in the blurb on the cover. That is a paradoxical statement, but, nevertheless, it is true to a certain extent. From what one is able to gather, Mr. Muldoon hardly ever killed an animal for "sport." Invariably, he was driven to do it, either by a need for food or as a measure of protection when human life was threatened. His interest in animals is not scientific or impersonal; it is the warm curiosity that one being has with regard to another.

Mr. Muldoon narrates one incident after another, without paying much attention to chronological order. Yet the book has the continuity of a story, since nothing is left out, so as to spoil the sequence of narration. And as a result of this, the pageant that passes before us consists not only of fangs and claws, but also human habitations. We are taken into little African villages and we see the men and women who live in this wilderness. For it is they who send Guy Muldoon into the perils that made this book, and not that sadism that men call sport.

The title of this work is rather mystifying, in so far as only one part of it deals with leopards. Actually the author had a greater acquaintance with lions, and it is about them that he has more to say. But nature will not brook partiality, and the pages resound with the primitive noises that her many children make.

After the sailor, the hunter is considered to rank next as an inventor of "tall tales". But there is such an air of candour about everything that Mr. Muldoon says, and such an absence of pride, that it is quite obvious that he is speaking the truth. The convincing nature of the book is therefore an indication of the intensity of his experiences as well as the quality of his expression.

Guy Muldoon writes spontaneously and without any attempt to impress the reader. The colloquialisms used

are many, and yet, such is the author's innate refinement, that his style never degenerates into slang. Mr. Muldoon's sense of humour is probably the most important factor that shapes his expression. It is well-nigh impossible to be humorous and stiffly formal at the same time, as the author himself seems to be aware. We do not read him, we listen to him.

Guy Muldoon has some of the qualities that make a good novelist. Apart from his style, he has the capacity to create "atmosphere". In particular, he possesses the power to communicate a sense of eeriness to the reader. This flair for the macabre is most powerfully manifested in the chapter in which he describes how he once used human bait to trap a leopard.

He sits stiff and tense, for hours on end, hemmed in by the uncanny noises of the night, waiting for a thing that the Africans believed to be an evil spirit. Close to him is the cold corpse of a negro child, and in his hand a gun that was hardly a comfort.

For the moment, we do not concern ourselves with the ethics of what the author is doing. We are only aware that the feeling which grips us is just the same kind of feeling that the witches in "Macbeth" produce in every sensitive human being.

Probably the only defect of this book lies in the author's attitude towards Africans. He has great respect for individuals among negroes, as is seen in his behaviour towards Tribe and Akin, his native bearers; but in general, his tone betrays a sense of superiority and condescension. Yet no man is faultless, and perhaps we ought to be grateful that Mr. Muldoon's attitude stops at a sense of superiority, in a country where aggression of all kinds is rampant.

E. R. JAYPAL

NEW BID TO CROSS THE SIXTH CONTINENT

By D. G. STRATTON

who is Stores Officer of the Commonwealth Trans-Antarctic Expedition and will be one of two surveyors working from Shackleton Base, on the Weddell Sea, with the main party in 1957.



Dr. V. E. Fuchs, leader of the Commonwealth Trans-Antarctic Expedition 1955-8.

A small party of men will set out from Britain within the next few days on a project long cherished by scientific explorers but never yet fulfilled: the crossing of the Antarctic Continent. Many plans and attempts have been made over the past 40 years, such as that of Sir Ernest Shackleton in 1914, but all have foundered, usually on the rock of insolvency. This latest venture, the Trans-Antarctic Expedition, will, however, start out on a different footing, with the full support of the United Kingdom and New Zealand

Governments, the Royal Air Force, industry and the general public.

The Spearhead

The advance party which leaves this month is the spearhead of a project which will entail two main camps, over 1,800 miles apart, and which is planned over some two-and-a-half years. It will cover hundreds of square miles of unknown territory. Constant scientific observations will be made, maps drawn up, new mountain areas examined geologically. Seismic echoes will probe the thickness of the ice sheet, and physiologists will examine the men's adaptation to the severities of the climate.

At the two base camps, continuous records will be kept of the weather, and much valuable research will be done on radio short wave transmission. It is also expected that much useful experience will be gained in operating aircraft under such severe conditions. The land parties will use dog teams and the latest type of snow tracked vehicle.

Queen Elizabeth II is Patron of the Expedition, and the present planning is being directed by a committee of management under the chairmanship of Marshal of the Royal Air Force Sir John Slessor.

Commonwealth Contributions

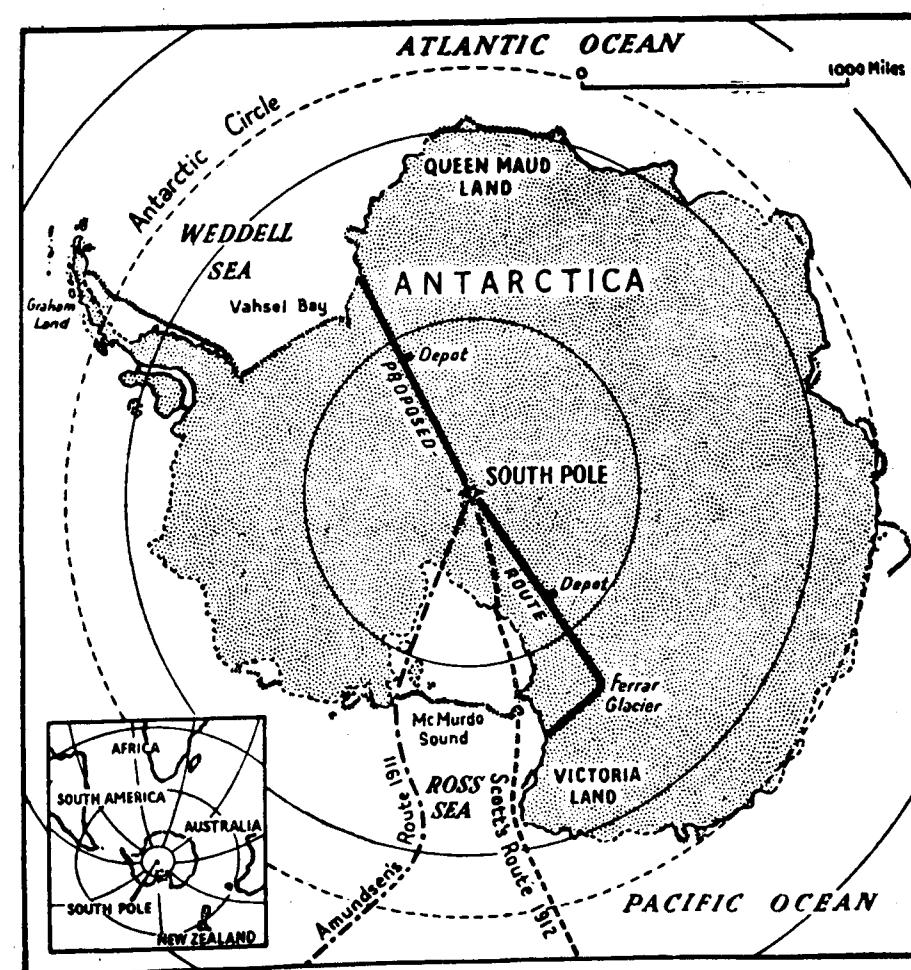
Thousands of enthusiasts have applied to join this Trans-Antarctic Expedition, which will be under the command of Dr. V. E. Fuchs, a 47-years-old Cambridge geologist. Dr. Fuchs, who is the originator of the scheme, is well-known as a Polar geographer, with practical experience in Greenland as well as the

Antarctic. The leader of the second base, which will receive the trans-continental party, is Sir Edmund Hillary, of Everest fame. The whole Expedition is predominantly a Commonwealth venture. Financial contributions to the Expedition include £100,000 from the United Kingdom, £50,000 from New Zealand, £25,000 from Australia and £18,000 from South Africa.

The advance party will sail from the Port of London in the 850-ton Canadian sealer, Theron, with eight scientists and technicians and eight "observers" on board. On reaching the Weddell Sea the light aircraft

carried on the upper deck will be used to pick a way through any pack-ice which may be encountered. Later it will reconnoitre the ice shelf which fringes the southern shores of the Sea, searching for a suitable site for the huts.

The prefabricated huts will be assembled at top speed, as the Antarctic summer is short and treacherous, and at any time the pack-ice may come swirling in, forcing the ship to start out to sea. The day the roofs are on and all secure, the Theron will steam north to civilisation with the eight "observers" and the R.A.F. Flight. At this time



Map of Antarctica, showing the proposed route of the Commonwealth Trans-Antarctic Expedition.

continuous scientific observations will begin and preparations made for the spring journeys to the south.

On To The Ice Cap

The main party is due to sail from the United Kingdom in November, 1956, under Dr. Fuchs, and at the same time Sir Edmund Hillary will build the base in McMurdo Sound which will shelter some 20 men for the winter. It is hoped that by February parties will be out in the field laying a depot about 300 miles inland, and erecting there, on the Polar plateau, an Ice Cap Station, which will be manned by meteorologists throughout the winter. On the other side of the continent Sir Edmund Hillary will be searching for a suitable route up the glaciers, to the west and on to the plateau. This is the route which will have to be followed on the last leg of the crossing party's track.

The winter of 1956-7 will be a busy time of preparation at both bases for

the major journeys ahead, for as much work will be done as possible before the scheduled departure of the crossing party. On the Ross Sea side depot journeys will be in progress with dog teams and aircraft for the support of the party from the other side of the continent.

The crossing party will itself leave in November 1957, as a train of tracked vehicles and dog teams. The principal role of the latter will be reconnaissance in crevassed or mountainous areas where route finding with the heavy vehicles would be most hazardous. The aircraft will support up to and possibly a little way beyond the Ice Cap Station, and will then wait for good weather to hop right across the Pole to the McMurdo Sound base non-stop.

Planned Meeting Place

The men at the Station will join up with the caravan, and the long pull to the Pole, which is known to stand at more than 9,000 feet, will begin. Once over the Pole the party will gradually lose height and it is hoped to meet Sir Edmund Hillary's group at or near a depot near Mount Albert Markham. Both sections of the Expedition will then move down the west side of the Britannia Range, which will already have been surveyed and examined by the Ross Sea party, to the head of the chosen glacier for the descent into McMurdo Sound. If the terrain is too difficult the vehicles will have to be abandoned and the last 110 miles traversed with dog teams alone.

This main journey is planned to take four months and to cover some 1,800 miles, most of which will be new ground. But even that will be rather less than half the total mileage of the Expedition sledge parties.

March, 1958, should see the withdrawal of both parts of the Trans-Antarctic Expedition via. New Zealand, the country which has seen the departure and home-coming of so many other expeditions to the Sixth Continent.

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THE ART AND CIVILIZATION OF THE ETRUSCANS

By BARNETT. D. CONLAN

THE big exhibition of Etruscan art recently inaugurated in Paris at the Louvre, under the title "The Art and Civilization of the Etruscans" is the most important, so far devoted to this theme. It is in many ways the great event of the season.

Organised by a group of French and Italian archaeologists and specialists and presided over by Massimo Pallottino, Professor of Archaeology at Rome University, it has been scientifically set out and divided up into two sections, one of art and the other of history.

For more than two centuries Etruscan civilization has been something of a mystery for archaeologists and historians alike. The origin of the race is not yet definitely settled, and the language has, so far, eluded all attempt to decipher it. We require another Rosetta stone in two or more languages if we are to understand these inscriptions written in an alphabet which has much in common with that of the Greeks.

There are many reasons for believing that the Etruscan race originally came from Lydia in Asia Minor. Herodotus, in his famous history, definitely says so, and we will find several of the Roman poets—Virgil, Horace, and Ovid—speaking of them as Lidians. Recent discoveries have shown that certain types of Etruscan jewels are to be found nowhere except in Lydia. At some moment during the eighth century B.C., that is, about the time Homer was engaged in writing the Iliad and the Odyssey, these Lydian tribes came to Italy and settled in the region between the Arno and the Tiber.

Herodotus explains their emigration as the result of a great famine, but there are also good reasons to think that this general exodus may have been caused by the search for tin, which at that time was a very precious metal needed in the manufacture of bronze. In the eighth century B.C. there was therefore something very like a 'tin rush' just as the last century saw a 'gold rush' and Etruria was rich in tin whereas Greece and Asia Minor had very little. This may go a long way to explain so massive an emigration. In any case the exhibition shows that the Etruscans were skilled workers in bronze and their goldsmithing was of a very high order. There is an attractive collection of jewellery to be seen here—gold necklaces, bracelets, pendants, earrings, brooches, breast plates, armlets, clasps embossed and incised and filigree work. Many of these jewels date back to the eighth century B.C. and remind us of certain descriptions in the Iliad and the Odyssey. Oriental and Egyptian influences can be traced in these forms, and, at the same time, there is a Greek simplicity of outline in some of these exhibits that contrasts with the Asiatic wealth of ornament in others. Etruscan art seems to have been open to all sorts of influences and we can detect these from one century to another. In the amphoras, jugs and clay vessels of the very earliest period we find something in common with Aztec, Inca and Mayan art, a fact that still remains to be explained. In the sculpture, bas-reliefs and bronzes there are influences from a variety of styles that recall Egypt, Assyria, Phoenicia, Rhodes, Cypress, Crete, Corinth, Asia

Minor and the Aegean. Some of these exhibits seem to be strikingly at variance with the period in which they were produced. A magnificent gold cup which dates to the eighth century B.C. (a period of decorative Oriental art), has none the less an attic purity of outline in its undecorated simplicity. In goldwork the Etruscans were master craftsmen and their method of gold granulation has never been equalled. The distinction, which we are inclined to make between the major and minor arts, was hardly known to them, for as Massimo Pallottino observes, it was not so much the great individual painter or sculptor who gave value to their art as those innumerable craftsmen in terra cotta, votive bronzes, jewellery and utensils of all sorts whose work reached a high state of perfection. In the last century it was generally thought that Etruscan art was more or less an imitation of the Greek, a sort of provincial version. This theory was suddenly exploded by the discovery of a head of Hermes and an Apollo at Veie which proved that the Etruscans had acquired a high quality of work independent of Greek art. Art critics and archaeologists began to discover an Italic structure in this work, different from and even opposed to the structure of classical Greek sculpture. Here, then, was an art form which could take the place of naturalistic Greek art which it has been the fashion to belittle since the beginning of the century.

In many of the smaller bronzes there is a formalization which reminds us of the animal art of the steppe, which shows that Etruscan art must have originally been connected with the prehistoric art of the Mediterranean. At the height of its power that is, during the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. Etruria must have been a powerful theocracy able to hold its own against the Phoenician,

Cretan and Greek fleets. Its decline began soon after the naval defeat at Cumae when, as Pindar tells us in one of his great odes, "The Etruscans were thrown into the sea and Greece delivered from a heavy servitude."

The most significant works are the paintings that have been preserved in the tombs. Here we can study the manners of the Etruscans, their customs and rituals in a series of frescoes. One of these, the Triclinio tomb from Tarquinia has been reconstructed in its entirety with the original frescoes which had to be detached from the rock to save them perishing from the damp and contact with saltpetre. These murals represent a banqueting scene with dancers performing on the flute. A gay impression is conveyed the object of which was to perpetuate the joyful side of life for the inmates that had passed out of this world. The beauty of delicate colour in the pale blue flowers; terra cotta figures wearing the ivory white chlamys; and the rapid movement of the dancers to the sound of the flute, with the flight of birds, gives a subtle beauty to the composition which is itself a sort of visual music. There is in it much of the beauty of a Minoan fresco.

Such ritual scenes are to be found in other tombs at Tarquinia, Chiush, Caere, and at Veie and form an important body of murals which is all we have of Mediterranean painting during the thousand years that preceded the Christian era.

Greek painting has been lost but Etruscan painting has been preserved in the tombs. And there is reason to think that more of these masterpieces will be brought to light in the future, for as Sir Thomas Browne once said, "A large part of the earth is still in the urn unto us."

In CURRENT this week



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CO-OPERATIVE HOUSING SOCIETIES

CASES WHERE DIRECTORS' DECISION SHOULD NOT PREVAIL

Sri K. C. Gopalan, retired District Judge, writes:

THE present board of directors of the Madras Co-operative House Construction Society has been moved by several member-allottees of houses in one colony (X) to treat as null and void a decision of the previous board giving the benefit of a declared substantial saving in the total estimated cost of the houses in that colony to only two types of houses. Two other types of houses were not given the benefit of the saving and are required to bear a substantial extra burden of the cost. The broad ground of that decision is that, during the course of construction the Society's engineers found that the latter types of houses needed and consumed much more work than had been estimated, while the former types of houses needed and consumed much less quantity of work than had been estimated. And this situation was disclosed by the previous board, for the first time, in the Administration Report issued about 5 years after the first set of completed houses in the colony had been "let out on the hire-purchase system to members." To this day, even the main heads of the unforeseen variations from the estimated quantity of work have not been intimated to the members by the present board.

The preliminary point of law urged by the members who challenged the decision of the previous board is that there were on the board some member-allottees of houses who were interested in the decision in the sense that some of the principles and methods of valuation embodied in it

might give them an advantage which other principles and methods might not. Indeed one of the directors who sat on that board, and whose good faith is immaterial, was the allottee of a house in one of the 2 types of houses to which the board had given the benefit of the 'saving'. He continues to hold the house on the hire-purchase system, and is also a member of the present board. This position of his forbids him (at the peril of nullifying the board's decisions) from sitting on the board when it deals with any dispute relating to the final determination of the cost of the houses in the colony—especially because, from a natural bias for his own previously expressed view, he has a substantial interest in championing the impugned decision of the previous board.

Under the model bylaws for Co-operative house construction societies (as given in the Madras Co-operative Manual, 1951) "No member of the board of directors shall be present at a meeting of the board when any matter in which he is personally interested, is being discussed."

The general rule, apart from the recognised exceptions, is thus stated in Broom's Legal Maxims (under the heading 'No man can be judge in his own cause'):

"Proceedings before Commissioners under a statute which forbade persons to act in that capacity when interested, have been adjudged void. Any direct pecuniary interest, however small, in the subject matter of enquiry, will disqualify a judge. Any interest, though not pecuniary, will have the same effect if it be sufficiently substantial to

create a reasonable suspicion of bias. **The presence of one interested Justice renders the Court improperly constituted and vitiates the proceedings.**" (N.B.: It is immaterial that the interested Justice acted in good faith or that there was a majority in favour of the decision without reckoning his vote)."

The following pithy and decisive extracts from leading cases, recognise the cardinal rule of natural justice and of public policy that no man can be judged in a cause in the result of which he has a pecuniary interest, *unless the disqualification is removed by statute*:

1886 Appeal cases 449 at 457, 465 (Case against Commissioners of Sewers for Fobbing) is the most authoritative decision in point. Lord Chancellor Herschell speaks there about "the well-established rule that pecuniary interest in any member of a tribunal invalidates its decision." And Lord Watson speaks about "the wholesome rule that a judge is disqualified from deciding a case in which he is personally interested."

(1892) 1 Queen's Bench 381 at 384: "It is well known law that a man shall not act as a judge in a case in the decision of which he has a pecuniary interest, **unless relieved by statute**; the fact that a man has even the slightest pecuniary interest operates to disqualify him from adjudicating upon a case; and where there is no statutory relief, the objection remains." (per A. L. Smith J. and Mathew J.).

The legislature can, and no doubt in a proper case would, depart from the aforesaid general rule; and where the intention to do so is clearly expressed, the courts give effect to the statutory enactments, of which there are familiar examples under the English law and the Indian law alike.

Suppose that in a single-colonyed co-operative house construction society, the board of directors have to decide on, or between two or more possible, principles and methods of determining the final cost of the

houses (for the purposes of the hire-purchase deeds between the society and the members) and suppose that all the directors happen to hold houses in the colony on the hire-purchase system—then, the proper and necessary course would be to submit the matter to the decision of the general body, which, under bylaw 29, is the ultimate authority in all matters relating to the administration of the society, though all the members of the general body might have a pecuniary interest in the matter. The necessity of the situation knows no law except a working expediency.

On the other hand, suppose that a co-operative house construction society has 3 housing colonies A, B and C, and 9 directors (comprising three allottees of houses from each colony); and suppose that the board has to decide on, or between 2 or more possible, principles and methods for determining the final cost of the houses in colony A; then the 3 directors who hold houses in that colony are not to participate in the decision, though their views may be heard by the other 6 directors on the board who may, at their pleasure, give a hearing to any member-allottee of a house in that colony.

Where on any question the decision of the board of directors of any cooperative society is null and void on the ground that the board included an interested justice and was thus improperly constituted, the board can, just as the civil court can, pronounce the decision to be a nullity (I.L.R. 1953 Madras 1047 Full Bench at 1056). The board has in such a case, to determine the question afresh; and it would be right and reasonable for the board to refrain from driving the aggrieved members to a suit to which the board could have no defence, and from causing in the members a reasonable apprehension that the board's mind is closed against the members' views on the merits of the case.

SPORTS

NEW ZEALANDERS

By N. S. RAMASWAMI

FEW foreign touring teams in India have worn so hapless and woe-begone a figure as the New Zealanders. They have been unable to do themselves justice in Pakistan and from first appearances it is unlikely that any triumph will attend their efforts in India.

Little purpose will be served by attempting to minimise their deficiencies. Kardar, the Pakistan captain, may be justifiably suspected of disingenuousness when he declared recently in an interview at Calcutta that the batsmanship of the tourists was negligible in skill and their bowling ineffective, but that two or three of their fieldsmen were brilliant ones. It cannot have escaped the subtlety of this experienced captain that two or three fieldsmen however brilliant they may be cannot be an adequate substitute for efficient batting and bowling.

It was recognised from the beginning that the team would stand or fall by the performances of Sutcliffe and Reid, both of them undoubtedly great players. The latter indeed commenced the tour with a century, but has lately fallen away, though, it should be noted, his subsequent performances would have done credit to any lesser player. It has been different with Sutcliffe. Not in one innings did this accomplished player do himself full justice. The result of the eclipse of these two cricketers has inevitably meant the eclipse of the team also.

It will be difficult to believe that this decline is to be attributed entirely to lack of skill. Though

Pakistan have quickly established themselves in the comity of cricket, it may be doubted whether the superiority they exhibited over their late visitors was due to their superior prowess. The explanation, I think, is to be sought in the nature of the pitches the New Zealanders were called upon to play. Their failure is to be sought rather in the matting wickets than in any lack of skill.

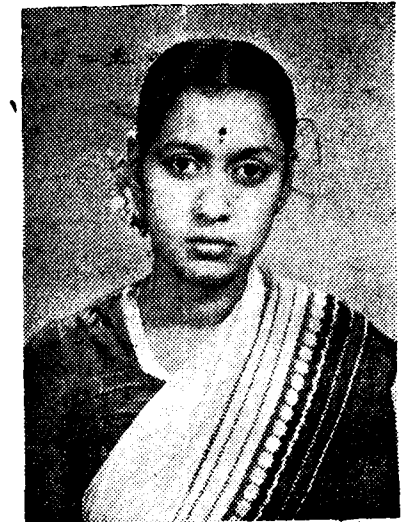
Cricketers of whatever degree are aware that the nature of the pitch largely governs success in the game. The New Zealanders of all people have no knowledge whatever of matting wickets. In one sense such pitches are not in the best traditions of cricket which, as conceived by the forefathers of Hambledon, was meant to be played on grass. It cannot have occurred to them that there are countries where it is difficult, if not impossible, to prepare grass wickets. Under these circumstances matting is undoubtedly necessary and justifiable, but it is a different question whether it is proper to require foreigners who, as it happens, have absolutely no knowledge or experience of playing upon it, to submit themselves to its tender mercies. It may be safely believed that it was this factor which laid the New Zealanders low in Pakistan.

Rejecting with rather unnecessary violence the belief entertained in many responsible quarters that Pakistan's successes of late have been due to the fact that the matches have been played on matting, he declared with a flourish that two of

Pakistan's good successes, those over England at the Oval in 1954 and over New Zealand at Lahore on the late tour, were gained on turf. But he chose to ignore some obvious facts.

No one in India will have grudged Pakistan the victory at the Oval, but it is necessary to place the fact in its proper perspective. It is well known that the England team which took the field in that match was far from a representative one. Pakistan had not been so much defeated as annihilated in the Trent Bridge Test and had barely escaped with its skin in the other two games. The England selectors thereupon chose an unrepresentative team for the Oval. I quote from *The Cricketer* which wrote at that time, "The selection of the England team for the final Test match caused considerable comment and indeed something akin to consternation in many quarters when it was announced. Seldom, if ever, has an England XI taken the field with such a long tail." For, Evans, last year a player who appeared to have lost much of his skill with the bat, entered four down. It was against such a team that Pakistan gained their victory by the slender margin of only twenty-four runs. It is this triumph that the Pakistan captain would have the world accept as a masterpiece. He will not find the world gullible.

Nor was his flourishing of the victory at Lahore as another example of Pakistan's great skill on turf wickets. The fact, of course, is that at one stage they were in danger of having to follow on. It was superlative batsmanship by Imtiaz Ahmed and Waqar Hassan, both of whom have earned the gratitude of the multitude in India by their elegant displays, which rescued them and paved the way to victory, which was not gained without a scramble at the end. It is significant that it was in this match that New Zealand raised their biggest total. Little will be served by endeavouring to gloss over



Miss M. Jayalakshmi, First Prize winner in Carnatic Music (vocal) in the music competition, 1955 held by All India Radio.

obvious facts, which are that Pakistan are a force to reckon with only on matting wickets and that New Zealand would have acquitted themselves much better if they had not been exposed to matting pitches.

The tourists, for whom much sympathy is due will be relieved that in India all their matches, except, I think, those at Ahmedabad and Banaras, will be played on grass. Their chief obstacle here will be spin bowling, of which there is a sufficiency. Gupte, Ghulam Ahmed and Mankad, not to mention lesser exponents elsewhere, are supreme and varying purveyors of spin. Pace bowling had laid New Zealand low in Pakistan; spin bowling will expect to do so in India. It remains to be seen whether this will actually happen. It may perhaps be laid down as a general rule that it is more difficult to negotiate spin than pace. But to counterbalance this is the fact that the tourists will play mainly on turf, a congenial medium. The tour, therefore, holds out interesting technical possibilities.

FILMS

By V. P. SATHE

THE Indian Film Delegation to China has returned. While Bimal Roy and Che-an Anand returned on 3rd November 55 to Bombay, Prithviraj, Krishenchander, Balraj Sahni, Krishna Gopal and others came back on Thursday the 10th November 55 night. The delegates are back home to celebrate Diwali. Back in Bombay Prithviraj has resumed his stage-plays.

Out of these delegates, I had an opportunity to meet Bimal Roy who within twenty four hours of his return to Bombay started the shooting of *Devdas* in right earnest as he wants to release the picture in Christmas in Calcutta and Delhi.

Bimal Roy visited Canton, Peking and Chung Chan. He found the Chinese even more hospitable than the Russians; and the Chinese appeared to be keen to learn from Indian films as well. China produces about twenty films per year. It has about 3,000 picture houses spread all over the vast country; its main production centres are Shanghai and Chung Chan which has a big studio with eight sound stages. The picture houses are as good as Indian picture houses; rather they are slightly better. The admission rates are very low; the price of a ticket is hardly eight annas.

In five years under State patronage, the Chinese film industry has made great progress and within the next five years the Chinese might even surpass Indian producers. The Indian films shown during the festival, *Do Bigha Zamin*, *Awara* and *Andhiyan* were very highly appreciated; especially the Indian film songs proved to be very popular

Bimal Roy was very much impressed by the perfect dubbing of Indian films in Chinese.

The most thrilling moment of the tour, according to him, was the meeting with Mao Tse Tung, the President of the Chinese Republic. Till almost the last moment, the delegates had no idea that they would meet the great Chinese leader; so when they were told about it, they felt agreeably surprised. Earlier they had met Chou En-Lai, the Prime Minister of China.

From all accounts it appears that the Chinese have liked our films and thus we have another important nation interested in screening our pictures. The exchange of films between India and China would help considerably to bring the people of both countries into closer cultural contact.

Personality of the week

Have you heard of Roman Karmen? Perhaps not, though if you are a serious student of films you might have read his article in *Experiment in the Film* edited by Roger Manvell. Or perhaps you have seen some of his documentaries like "A Day In The Soviet Union"; in any case you could not have missed his documentary record of Pandit Nehru's visit to U.S.S.R. in colour.

The man who made the film of Pandit Nehru's visit to Russia is now in India assigned to cover Marshal Bulganin's visit to India. The Russian unit is working in close co-operation with the Films Division. Karmen, whose headquarters is in Delhi, visited Bombay last week-end and it was a great pleasure to meet him on Thursday at R. K. Studios where he had come to see Raj Kapoor. After meeting Raj and seeing the studio and talking about films, Karmen said that for the first time since he had come to India he felt absolutely 'at home'. He told Raj how his son was standing three hours in the queue to get a disc-record of

Awara Hoon song and the son had expected his father to meet Raj when he came to India. Yes, *Brodiyaga* (*Awara*), Raj and Nargis seem to have become household names in the Soviet Union.

Karmen is tall, slim, handsome and looks quite healthy and energetic for his age (50). He has been all over the world. He was in Spain shooting a documentary record of the Spanish Civil War; he was in China during the anti-Japanese war; for four years he covered the last World War. Only recently he had been to Viet Nam to make a documentary film there.

During Pandit Nehru's visit to Russia he had thirty cameramen working for him. These cameramen covered 'background' shots while Karmen had his camera fixed on the

Prime Minister. For three weeks he had no rest; he rested only in a special plane allotted to him. When Pandit Nehru took rest at night, he flew to the next destination and made arrangements for the shooting so that when the Prime Minister arrived the cameras were ready to shoot.

In Bombay, Karmen was busy shooting background material from morning to evening. It is quite likely that apart from covering the visit of Marshal Bulganin, he would make a documentary on India as well. Incidentally, while in Bombay he sought Raj Kapoor's help for arc lamps, lights and generators which was readily given. Karmen was keen to meet Nargis who has gone out of Bombay for the outdoor shooting of *Mother India*.

(Continued from page 5)

doubt the Soviet leaders gave no undertaking to our Prime Minister that the Cominform would be scrapped. "But did he ask for it? No, he did not," they will tell you with the shining eyes of the good man glimpsing Heaven through St. Peter's Gate; "Nehru is a gentleman and, what is more, he knows that it pays to treat others as gentlemen too. If we act as if there were no iron curtain there will be no iron curtain for us."

It is a comforting theory. But, though Russia is a good friend of China, M. Molotov has no use for the proverbial Chinese politeness. He has curtly denounced the proposal for "a freer flow of peaceful trade, news, travel and cultural exchanges." Russia could not agree, he said, "to the so-called freedom for the exchange of persons which would enable various dregs of society to conduct unrestricted subversive activities in the countries of socialism and democracy, although as we know many millions of dollars are being

spent for these purposes." That reference to the Voice of America will be the straw at which his Indian apologists will clutch. They will say "He knows we are nice people".

But though we have happily swapped the Government brand of 'culture' with Moscow the Iron Curtain has in reality no more parted for us than for the West. No doubt our pressmen were feted. But so were American, British and French pressmen; and they had not the ambiguous distinction of being hand-picked by the Russian Embassy as ours were. But Bulganin has invited no large party of Indians to stay in Russia and teach them Bharata Natyam or the manipulation of the *takli*. (Those are the industries in which we may be supposed to excel!) Whereas Bulganin will be followed by a big contingent of experts for Bhillai. These may or may not be anxious to share with us the "knowhow" as regards steel. But they would be only too glad to try their propagandist wits on our unwitting proles.

VIGNESWARA

CORRESPONDENCE

The Editor welcomes letters on subjects of general interest or topics arising out of articles printed in SWATANTRA but reserves the right to abridge them.

S. R. C. Report and Vishalandhra

Sir,—With all reverence for the members of the S. R. Commission, it must be stated that their Report has grave inconsistencies. Different tests have been applied to similar issues. While the Report makes interesting reading, its solutions are not likely to solve the problem of re-drawing the map of India. The Report has evidently aroused more opposition than support in the country. The Commission, no doubt, has made a good analysis of the problem, but its recommendations have not been based on cogent and coherent reasoning. The Commission appears to have been obsessed by an over-emphasis on national unity.

With regard to Vishalandhra, the Commission has stated: "The creation of Vishalandhra is an ideal to which numerous individuals and public bodies, both in Andhra and Telangana, have been passionately attached over a long period of time, and unless there are strong reasons to the contrary, this sentiment is entitled to consideration." It is not understood what reasons weighed with the Commission in not straightaway recommending the creation of Vishalandhra and why a separate Telangana State has been recommended. The provision that has been made by the Commission for the unification of Telangana with Andhra after the general elections in or about 1961, is very likely to cause more harm than good to the cause of Vishalandhra. This only results in giving a further lease for the ambitious power-hunters. If Telangana is not merged now, there is no prospect whatsoever of its merger in future. It is most unfortunate that, in spite of overwhelming public opinion for Vishalandhra, it has not been agreed to by the Commission outright.

It will be useful to consider the basic principles that governed the Commission

in recommending the creation of new States. They are:

- (i) preservation and strengthening of the unity and security of India;
- (ii) linguistic and cultural homogeneity;
- (iii) financial, economic and administrative considerations; and
- (iv) successful working of the National Plan.

It is not known how the unity and security of India will be in danger if Vishalandhra is created at once. That there will be linguistic and cultural homogeneity for the proposed Vishalandhra is unquestionable. The financial viability of the State of Vishalandhra has also not been doubted. As regards the successful working of the National Plan, it must be mentioned that creation of Vishalandhra alone will be an easier way to successfully execute the National Plan. The luxury of a separate Governor, a legislature, a secretariat, etc., can be dispensed with by merging Telangana with Andhra. One High Court can be abolished. The capital of Andhra can once for all be shifted to Hyderabad. The Government of Andhra can save a considerable amount which is now being spent for rents for their offices in the city of Madras. The Nagarjunasagar and other multi-purpose projects can be executed with more efficiency if the administration of the projects is under one Government. The consideration that weighed with the Commission in transferring the taluks Siruguppa, Bellary and Hospet and a portion of Mallapuram sub-taluk of Bellary district back to Andhra should have weighed with the Commission still more and influenced them to recommend the merging of Telangana with Andhra. It would be most undesirable if the issue of Vishalandhra should form a part of the election manifesto of the contending parties in the 1961 elections. Thus, to a layman, the recommendation with reference to the separate existence of Telangana is utterly unconvincing.

The Government of India would, therefore, do well in giving due weight to the long cherished hopes of Andhras and agree to the creation of Vishalandhra at once.

S. V. SURYANARAYANA

Titilagarh.

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
EDITORIAL COMMENT	3
SOTTO VOCE	6
CO-OPERATIVE HOUSE CONSTRUCTION SOCIETIES	8
THE STORY OF SCHWEITZER	9
THE LOT OF THE RETAIL TRADER	12
THE HT2—THE FIRST INDIA MADE PLANE	14
THE POLICE STATE OF SOUTH AFRICA	16
WESTERN STRATEGY IN THE MIDDLE EAST	20
MR. EISENHOWER'S FUTURE	22
BRITISH LABOUR MUST HELP COLONIAL PEOPLE	24
A SCHEME FOR NATIONAL REORGANISATION	26
MENDICANT WITH A MISSION	29
INDIAN AFFAIRS	34
TIT-BITS ABOUT GLADSTONE	37
SIDELIGHTS	43
FILMS	46
Y. M. C. A. BOYS TOWN	48

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SWATANTRA

Vol. X. NOVEMBER 26 SATURDAY 1955 No. 43

HOSTS AND GUESTS

WE wonder whether Pandit Nehru, when he invited the Soviet leaders to India, anticipated that the guests would turn the visit into an opportunity for continual challenges to the West from Indian forums, as they have been doing. Pandit Nehru himself, throughout his travels, comported himself in a manner to which no exception could be taken by any of the nations that were his hosts. India is not involved in the struggle for power between the East and the West. Our conceptions of hospitality are very scrupulous, but they do not extend to any voluntary sharing of the animosities of our guests, especially when they are directed against countries for whom our friendship and goodwill is no less. The speciality of the Indian attitude in foreign affairs is the all-inclusiveness of its friendliness. We want to be at peace with the whole world, nursing hostility to none.

This has to be made very clear now, and we hope the Indian Press will not burke the duty. This duty is the more paramount, since our distinguished visitors seem to have mistaken the magnificence of their reception for a rather exclusive attachment to them and what they stand for, on our part. It is really not so. Our Prime Minister received in Russia when he visited that country early this year, a welcome of unprecedented impressiveness. It was natural for him to wish not to be outdone, and in a spirit of competitive hospitality, he has utilised his great influence to get up an even

more impressive welcome for his Russian guests than he himself had received at their hands. But in the official organising of the arrangements, he unwittingly fell into a pitfall. In a Communist country, conformity to the ruling party's direction in every matter, big or small, is the order of the day, and deviation from it is reprobated as deadly. As Mr. Khrushchev told our Members of Parliament in Delhi, "the people and the party are inseparable" in Russia. There are therefore no receptions in the name of the people except official receptions in that country and the tempo of a reception there is heightened or lowered in accordance with the pre-determined policy of the party bosses. But India is not subject to unchangeable one-party rule, nor are the people here inseparable from the ruling party. Official stage-managing of popular receptions does not fit in with the spontaneities of democratic freedom in this country. It is also unpleasantly mixed up with the memories of the parades, especially of school children treated to sweets, that used to figure as the paraphernalia of welcome when the British rulers wanted to glorify some particularly august visitor. As part of the discipline of democracy, it is incumbent on our national leaders to avoid both the British precedent of our days of subjection and the pattern of party imposition of totalitarian States. Distinguished visitors would not then commit the error of confusing the reflected popularity of an adored and well-beloved host

with mass approbation for their own particular ideologies.

There is also another factor that enters into the scale of greetings accorded to Russian guests when they visit other countries. This is the Communist Party. Every country outside Russia has a Communist Party of its own operating under the guidance of Moscow. These parties constitute the visible emblems of already accomplished feats in the export of Communism that stand to the credit of the Soviet, for all the indignant repudiation of Mr. Khrushchev of any intention to deal in any such export. Under provocation in the past Pandit Nehru himself had occasion to analyse with admirable clarity the peculiar characteristics of the Indian species of the Communist Party. He told us that Indian Communists are more excited over Russia than their own mother country and their loyalty to Russia is greater than their loyalty to India. The excited passion of these Indian Communists is a cause of magnification of the importance of everything Russian, and it has worked itself to fever heat on the present occasion to produce a festive holiday atmosphere so as to rope in vast crowds to grace the reception programmes. No non-Communist foreign leader is ever served by fraternal comrades belonging to their own esoteric circle in this manner when they go abroad. The Prime Minister and the Government can be as magnificent as they please to their masterful invitees, but in the exhilaration of playing host, let them not promote a marriage of means through infiltration between the power of Russia and the potential of the Indian Communists. Almost as if he had India in mind, Australia's Foreign Minister, Mr. Casey, has just warned Asian nations about the peril of Communist tactics. At this moment, he says, "these tactics are being employed in a hundred places in countries in South-East Asia. Their motto is that the easiest way to take a fortress is from within." For

our part we are a little sceptical of the vociferous over-effusiveness of the Russian advertisement of Bhai, Bhai, and our preference is for something less loud and more worthily sanctified in action. Soviet offers of aid in the economic sphere seem to call for caution and not credence, indeed there is a good case for applying to it all the repeated warnings to beware of foreign assistance which out of the abundance of his practical wisdom Mr. Khrushchev has been pouring out on us for our benefit. For no country has flourished so far with Russian cooperation. It has only led them to doom like a veritable embrace of Dhritarashtra. The example of China has yet to be tested by time before lessons can be drawn from it with any measure of safety.

H. D. Rajah's Reorganisation Scheme

IN an article published on page 26 of this issue, Sri H. D. Rajah pleads for the division of India into four sectors. The Northern Sector, with its capital at Delhi, is to consist of U. tara Pradesh, Punjab and Rajasthan; the Eastern, with its capital at Calcutta, will include Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Assam; the Southern, with its capital at Madras or Bangalore or Hyderabad, will consist of Madras, Kerala, Karnataka, Andhra and Hyderabad; and the Western, with its capital at Bombay, is to be formed out of Maharashtra, Gujerat, Vidarbha and Madhya Pradesh. The Grand Central Government which will be federal in nature is to be invested with complete responsibility for Defence, Foreign Affairs, Communications and Currency, while the States recommended by the S. R. C. will come into being with new agreed adjustments of powers between themselves and the sectors containing them. One objection can be levelled against the scheme, namely that the sectors

envisaged by it are too unwieldy for administrative efficiency. But as the sectors in Sri Rajah's scheme are to take over only part of the present responsibilities of the Central Government, this objection is not very valid, as the unwieldiness of the sector will certainly not be greater than the unwieldiness of the Centre. On the other hand the scheme introduces a three-fold division of functions in place of the existing two-fold division. A dual division of powers between the State and the Centre is bad enough, and it has disturbed the cohesiveness of the administration with competitive jealousies between the two forms of jurisdiction. A triple division, as suggested, would mean greater accentuation of conflicts, more chaos. The idea of over-riding linguistic loyalties with some form of multi-lingual government is sound in principle as it will make for a wider national consciousness, but it cannot be fitted into the framework of the linguistic State structure. There is no need for so many States with separate Governors, legislatures, ministries, high courts, service commissions and other expensive attributes of State individuality, and if some of them could be combined together, a broader outlook might replace the narrower, and legislatures and cabinets of higher calibre might become possible. But Sri Rajah does not plan for comprehensive multi-lingual units of government in displacement of the contemplated S. R. C. States. He wants the one *along with* the other.

Viet Nam

IN offering India's good offices in an attempt to solve the Korean problem, Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon, the leader of the Indian delegation to the United Nations, has spoken of "this wound in Asia". Another injury which threatens to fester is to be found in Indo-China, where India bears a special responsibility. Discussions were held last week at

Geneva before the four Foreign Ministers dispersed after the abortive conference between Mr. Harold Macmillan and M. Molotov on the future line of action in that country. But there is no indication that the decisions of the previous conference at Geneva last year in regard to the restoration of peace there are in the process of implementation yet.

It has been prescribed that representatives of Viet Nam and Viet Minh should hold talks for the purpose of staging elections towards the eventual reunification of the country which was dismembered last year. The progress of pacification has been good in both Laos and Cambodia, but there has been no trace of it in Viet Nam. This tendency has been emphasised since Mr. Ngo Dinh Diem assumed office as the Head of the State. Time was when this irrepressible politician appeared to be insecure, but he has contrived to consolidate his position. In the first place his army, supplied largely with American arms, has worsted the various factions, religious and feudal, which plagued the country. Then he decided that Bao Dai, who functioned as the Head of the State from the luxury and distance of the French Riviera, had served his purpose. A referendum disclosed to the surprise of nobody that an overwhelming majority of the Viet Nameese desired Mr. Diem to replace Bao Dai as the Head of the State. He has combined in his hands all the powers and he has firmly declined to hold the prescribed preparatory talks.

Mr. Diem's strength, however, lies not so much in his internal position as in the support he continues to receive from the Western Powers. There was a time when France tended to resent the patronage which the United States accorded him, but Paris has no longer any effective voice in determining the future of her former colony. Criticism has been heard in many British circles at

the dictatorial attitude of Mr. Diem, but the Washington administration has continued to support him. The reasons are not far to seek. It is convinced that he is firmly opposed to Communism, which threatens to overflow into all South-east Asia from the tenuous Viet Nam border where it has now been contained. After a long period of chaos, he has given Viet Nam a firm leadership and is therefore a valuable personage who should be given all possible support in a vital theatre of the "cold war", which since the failure of the Geneva conference to achieve an agreement on any issue except the language of the communique of disappointment, may be considered to have broken out once again. There will be much sympathy in India for the attitude the United States has adopted, but it is also incumbent

upon Washington to see to it that Mr. Diem does not erect into a policy his intransigence in refusing to hold talks with the Communists in the north. The primary responsibility is no doubt that of the two Chairmen of the Geneva conference, the representatives of Britain and Russia, but there can be little doubt that Mr. Diem will listen much more readily to the United States, which has the means of enforcing its desires. It is good to realise that the sooner the elections are held and the divided parts united (though no one can underestimate the difficulties in the path) the better will it be for peace and cordiality in South-east Asia. India, as the chairman of the international supervisory commissions in the three States, is entitled to expect a policy of statesmanship from all concerned.

Sotto Voce

CUTTING CAPERS BEFORE THE TAJ



"There's glory for you!"

"I don't know what you mean by 'glory,'" Alice said.

Humpty-Dumpty smiled contemptuously.

"Of course you don't—till I tell you. I meant "there's a nice knock-down argument for you."

A nice knock-down argument is Mr. Khrushchev's idea of glory too. How neatly he put Shahjehan the Magnificent in his place by telling his ghost that he was merely a slave-driver and the credit for the Taj went to his slaves. And, with that happy knack for bringing history up to date, which is the Soviet's special contribution to the enlighten-

ment of mankind, he suggested that a greater feat than the building of the Taj was their overthrow of the slave-driving Kings.

When he was exercising the dialectic on the Kutb-minar some prosaic person sought to stem the flow of fancy by pointing out that those splendid monuments were built by Kings who had been slaves themselves. Mr. Khrushchev was not in the least disconcerted. It was the spirit of liberty that had inspired them to rise up against their oppressors, he pointed out; but they had then turned reactionaries and planted their heels on the necks of

the common people. Luckily nobody present was so tactless, as to cite modern instances that might seem to support that theory.

"What a great master man is!": that was, said Mr. Khrushchev, the first thought that came into his head as he looked at the Taj. And we may be sure it was not put in there by Shakespeare. Though they have adopted the Bard into the Soviet pantheon, Mr. Khrushchev like Kipling's Mc Andrew is more familiar with the poetry of machines. And he didn't fail to remind India that in machines lay her salvation. The International League for the Rights of Man has just published a 250 page indictment of forced labour in the "People's Democracies" where the machine is worshipped. But it is that labour that produces the cameras and gramophone records which Mr. Khrushchev proudly presented in exchange for models of the Taj. It must naturally stand on a different footing from the slavery that produced the Taj.

Mr. Khrushchev's is not, however, the basely utilitarian philosophy of the cock on the dung-hill confronted with an uneatable emerald. He has no doubt whatever that the free man whom the "People's Democracies" are breeding, though he has started modestly with cameras and vulcanite discs, is in the fullness of time going to make more beautiful things than the Taj. But before he can do that he must rid the world of the remnants of Kings and Captains. Of them Mr. Khrushchev made this profound discovery standing under the shadow of the Taj: "While the rulers were spending their resources on building monuments the people were starving."

But it seems that, though starve he did, the glory of creating the Taj and such like should really "go to the common man, whose hard labour and skill made them what they are." It

would, of course, be perverse to argue from this that starvation must be an essential condition of making beautiful things. So far as I know neither Russia nor any other of the People's Democracies, during the lean days they have known in plenty, stood in any great danger of producing art that could vie with the Czarist splendours of the Kremlin and the Red Square.

The converse proposition is, however, the corner-stone of the Communist faith. The more steel plants, big dams and robot machines you have the more prosperous you become. And the more copious will be the inspiration that will impel you to create things of beauty. But India finds it difficult to follow this logic. After all Ustad Isa had no machines, not even a cement grinder, and yet he built the Taj. In fact, wise critics like Ananda Coomaraswamy have been strenuously maintaining, in the century of the apotheosis of the machine, that industrialism must be the death of Art.

Western civilisation floods the market, says that savant, with cheap machine-made goods; "the artist is robbed of his art and forced to find himself a 'job'; until finally the ancient society is industrialised and reduced to the level of such societies as ours" (—he was speaking to America, but he might just as well have been addressing the Soviets—) "in which business takes precedence of life." The old artists, far from being slaves, were the only completely free men this world has known. And that is true as much of Ustad Isa who worked for his bread as of the nameless builders of Tanjore and Dilwara who *con amore* created jewels in stone in their spare time for the greater glory of God. But Mr. Khrushchev will not shed a tear for this lost freedom. Rather, he will lustily sing with Aunt Jobiska—

"It's a fact the whole world knows,
That Pobbles are happier without
their toes."
VIGNESWARA

Co-operative House Construction Societies

Mr. K. C. Gopalan writes—

THE problem as to the right way of distributing savings in the total estimated cost of construction of the houses, has arisen in respect of Gandhinagar, the earliest colony of the Madras Co-operative House Construction Society which is reputed to be the largest society of its kind in India.

The final determination of the cost of Gandhinagar houses (340 in number), as already made by the previous board of directors, and the final cost-slips issued under the authority of that decision, are to be treated as nullities, because on that board (the deciding body) there were some member-allottees of Gandhinagar houses who were interested in the result. Now it lies with the present board to reach a fresh and right solution on the question of 'final cost.'

The burden or the benefit of any and every enhancement or reduction of house construction cost due to additions or omissions made by the Society at a member's instance (in variation of the type-design), rests with the concerned member alone, and raises no general question. But where the Society, without reference to the concerned members, claims, as it does claim here, to have made additions to the estimated quantity of work on 2 types of houses, and omissions from the estimated quantity on 2 other types of houses, just because the Society's engineers thought fit to do so, a general question arises. What is the right way of distributing the saving (or reduction) in the total estimated cost? And what are the relevant factors for consideration?

Under the individual ownership system of Housing Co-operatives (for example, at Gopalapuram, Madras), the house construction is the individual member's sole concern; and he takes all the risks incidental thereto, as well as the benefits of all economies and unexpected windfalls. But under the M. C. H. C. Society's co-partnership-tenancy system of hire-

purchase, all the risks, benefits and windfalls, rest with the Society; for, the ownership of the houses abides in the Society as per the terms of bylaw 39 (iii). And so, if, an accidental lightning destroyed one of the Gandhinagar houses (held on hire purchase system) in respect of which the member had paid full price and was about to apply for a sale deed from the Society, the other member-allottees of Gandhinagar houses have to bear their respective proportion of the loss which has to be made good to him. Likewise, all enhancements (burdens) as well as reductions (benefits) in cost of the various types of houses, due solely to the heavy clouds on the minds of the Society's engineers and their notably double vision, have to be proportionately shared by all the houses.

The estimated costs of the different types of houses are embodied in the hire purchase deeds which have been in force from 1949-50, (i.e., from the time that the first set of completed houses in the Gandhinagar colony were occupied by the hire-purchasing members). And in 1954-55, it was contrary to equality and settled expectations, to upset and overthrow the relative level or proportion as among those estimated costs of the different types of houses, especially because the Society has not yet intimated to the concerned members the particulars or even the main heads of the additions and the omissions said to have been made by the Society without reference to the concerned members. Thus the estimated costs embodied in the hire-purchase deeds, so long in force, furnish—and they alone furnish—the stable and equitable basis for dividing proportionately among all the 340 Gandhinagar houses the saving (or reduction) in the total estimated costs. The fresh hire-purchase deeds to be taken from the members who have not yet paid the full price thus reckoned, have to be readjusted accordingly; and such members as have overpaid the full price thus reckoned, are to get refund of the excess payment, subject of course to the Society's first charge in respect of any moneys due to the Society from such members on any score whatever.

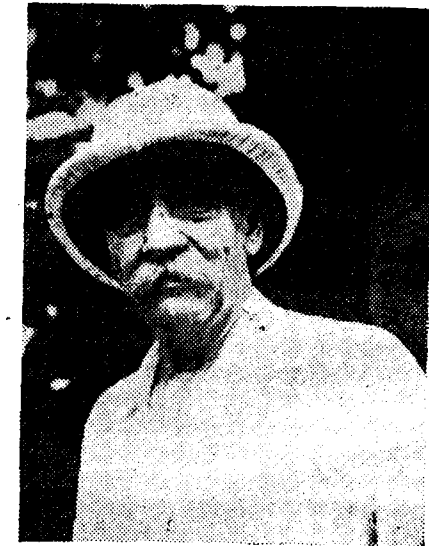
THE STORY OF SCHWEITZER

By E. M. J. VENNIYOOR

PASTOR Schweitzer of the Gunsbach parish of Alsace was a French citizen till the year 1870, but on a certain winter day in that eventful year in European history, he was declared a German, and therefore an enemy of his parent country. The transformation was obviously a painful one to the honest man, but such things had often happened to generations of Alsations before, and might happen again; for Alsace, by virtue of its geographical position, seemed destined to be a shuttlecock of war between the two hostile nations. Therefore, when Albert was born to him five years later, he took care to see that the boy was as much French as he was German, that he knew both the languages and assimilated the best in both the cultures, lest when another change in the overlordship of the province would occur, as it seemed probable, he would find it hard to reconcile himself to the change.

There was music in the pastor's home, and the greatest thrill ever felt by the little boy was when his little fingers wandered over the keys of his father's piano. As he grew up, he took to music as an act of worship, even as Bach, the great master whom he practised and popularised, did.

At school he was not much impressed by what the teachers taught him, for his heart was aching for his poor classmates who had little or nothing. But his years at the Strassburg University saw the full flowering of his genius in all its depth and versatility. He lived in the same room where a hundred years back the greatest poet since Sha-



Albert Schweitzer

kespeare, Goethe, lived. He loved Goethe with all his heart, for both were kindred spirits, "universal men," men gifted with super-human faculties. It was thus that he became in later years the foremost interpreter of the former occupant of his room, the man and his spirit. He studied a score of subjects, and during the one year he spent for military training, learnt the Bible. The result of his excursions into the holy texts was "The Quest of the Historical Jesus," the most creative reconstruction of the life of Jesus.

It was at twentyone that Schweitzer took the decision of his life. He awoke one Whitsunday morning from a deep sleep and lay still on his bed in his Gunsbach home. He felt happy about himself, for the successes that were coming so early in life were but a foretaste of what the

future would be. But soon he seemed to hear from afar the laments of a woe-begone humanity, the complaining voices of the sunless, poverty-stricken, disease-ridden millions of the world. The scripture too came to his mind with a compelling force: "To whom much is given, of him shall much be required." And so he decided in the following manner: He would study, teach and preach and give concerts during the next nine years, and at the age of thirty, relinquish Europe to bring light to some benighted area.

At twentyfive, he became Principal of the Theological College of the ancient Strasburgh University, and giving organ concerts all over Europe, rose steadily in public esteem as the foremost organist of the time. He wrote a book on Bach, first in French and then in German, and many others followed on a variety of subjects. He won innumerable friends, and one among them became a few years later, his life-long companion. Helene Bresslau was a student of social sciences, daughter of Professor Bresslau, a Jew. Their outlook on life was so identical that it was only a question of time before they would become man and wife.

His thirtieth birthday was approaching fast, and with it rose the memory of his Whitsunday pledge. A monthly report of the Paris Missionary Society working in the French colony of Gabon in Equatorial Africa fell into his hands one day, and the passionate appeal it contained, an appeal for doctors, engaged his thoughts. He had heard of Gabon as the most unhealthy spot in the whole world, the abode of cannibals. He read over the appeal once again, and took the great decision of his life—to study medicine and heal the sick of Gabon.

Thus, braving a storm of protests, he resigned the Principalship of one college, and became a student in another. Eight years of hard study brought him the degree of M.D., and after another year's training in tropical medicine, he began preparing for Gabon. Helene Bresslau had been studying nursing in the meanwhile so that she could be of help to him when he would become a doctor. He married her in June 1912.

The couple left for the Dark Continent on the Good Friday of 1913. It was a strange dreamland that they saw in Africa. There was water, and there was land, but one did not differ from the other: both were so mirror-like. The jungles were impenetrable, and the climate was killing. The air was brimming with insects carrying death in their stings. Only forty miles from the Equator, everything disintegrated in the hot steam.

His was a grim fight against the jungle. There was no roof for him to house his hospital though he was promised one before he left France, and so, after the manner of Robinson Crusoe, he had to build one with his own bare hands. A rotten hen-house became his operation theatre, and a camp cot, the table. He was surrounded soon with hundreds of sick natives, lying in the sun and the rain, and many died, for supplies had not reached him yet. He had to dig graves to bury the dead, for the superstitious natives believed that digging pits was invoking divine wrath.

Day and night the Schweitzers worked hard, and as they were conquering the jungle with all its pestilence, famine and superstitions, the first World War put an end to all their hopes. They were Alsatians, and hence were Germans. The authorities at Paris therefore thought them enemies, and orders came one day to ship them to France.

The hardships they had to brave in the internment camps were gruelling, but they learnt more about humanity from within the camps than from the outside world.

Schweitzer was deprived of the liberty to act, though he did some medical work in the camps, but he could think and write. While at Lamberene, he was working on a book on St. Paul, but the primitive folk often diverted his thoughts away from the remote theme with their innocent questions: Why should the Westerners who believe in Christ and in brotherly love kill each other? What is the meaning of civilisation, and what has happened to it? The doctor pondered over the problem and preoccupied himself with diagnosing the human malady. He discovered at last a cure for human ills, and that is his personal philosophy, "Reverence for Life." He discovered that even the smallest forms of life are driven by an innate urge not only to survive, but also to grow. Every life "wills to live in the midst of life that wills to live." He worked on the theme day and night and the result was his "Philosophy of Civilisation," a significant contribution to world peace.

Germany lost the war, and Alsace became French again. He began lecturing, healing, and giving concerts once again and there were offers of lucrative posts from all over Europe. But he was blind to all temptations and leaving his sick wife and his only child, a new-born daughter behind, went back to Lambarene to resume his mission. "There are other eminent men in Europe, he said, but not a single doctor for hundreds of miles along the Ogawe."

He resumed his fight against the jungle, and this time he had to fight against the "leopard men" too, a secret society of savages who went about killing their own brethren, disguised as leopards. With the assistance he got from his friends in the

Continent, he concentrated his efforts on building a new hospital large enough to treat all categories of patients, and raising a plantation productive enough to feed everyone who came to him hungry. It was a stupendous task, but he realised his plans by three years of hard labour.

When he went back to Europe in 1927, a vague feeling came over him that the most devastating war in history was in the making. While Premier Briand of France and Chancellor Gustav of Germany who shared between them the Nobel Prize for Peace, for 1926, were dreaming of an era of peace, millions of young Germans were rushing into the ranks of Hitler. Thus in the historic oration he made at Frankfurt in 1932, on the centenary of Goethe's death, he said of Hitler, "Mephistopheles leers at us with a thousand grimaces." The city of Frankfurt had already honoured him with the Goethe Prize, an award meant for the individual who had done the greatest service for humanity and possessed the versatility of the great poet's genius.

When the second world conflagration broke out Schweitzer was on his way to Lambarene, taking with him everything he could to keep the lamp burning. There was shooting in Gabon too, a civil war between the "Free French" led by De Gaul, and the Vichy Government of Marshal Petain. The "Free French" won, but Schweitzer wept, for the ship that came carrying medicines was torpedoed by German submarines.

Braving all hardships he hung on till the war ended, but the end came with a shock. It was the Atom Bomb. Thus on the eve of Japan's surrender, he read out to a congregation of natives, a passage from the Chinese sage Lao-Tse: "Weapons are disastrous implements,

no tools for a noble being. Quiet and peace are for him the highest good."

It may be mentioned that Schweitzer is a great lover of India and its culture. His work on Indian philosophy and his interpretations have done much to promote greater understanding of India in Europe. The study of Indian culture, as he confessed to one journalist recently, has done much to broaden his horizon, and so did his contacts with Indians, notably Gandhiji.

It is as an influence for peace that Schweitzer is serving humanity today. His message of "Reverence for Life" is gaining increasing support as days pass by. The whole world

looks upon him with worshipful reverence, and its highest honours—the Nobel Prize for Peace, Britain's Order of Merit, France's Legion of Honour, and scores of other titles and degrees—are being showered upon him, but to him, as he said, the highest reward in life has been the smiles of the lepers of Lambaréne.

Who is the greatest man on earth today? The question may be a meaningless one, at any rate a baffling one, for there is no universal standard to measure greatness. However, there are many all over the world who sincerely believe that this eighty year old medical missionary, is the greatest one.

THE LOT OF THE RETAIL TRADER

By K. N.

THE lot of the retail trader is by no means enviable. He is the agency through whom the wholesaler reaches the consumer. As such, one would think that he would be placated by the one and wooed by the other. In practice it is not so. To the wholesaler, the inroad made in his stock by the retail trader is pitifully poor and is not worth recognition except by a patronising smile; to the consumer he is the parasite who sucks the blood of the already anaemic body. He is no more responsible for the fluctuations in the prices of articles than the spoke is responsible for the turning of the wheel. Before him go the wholesaler, the distributor and the producer. He is the last and least determining factor in the ultimate price to the consumer.

To the producer goes the biggest slice. He has the excuse of machinery to be imported, raw material to

be bought, wages of workers to be paid and the finished product to be transported. That, in the production of a large quantity, all these in the aggregate will not amount to much in regard to the cost of a single unit is little known and less publicised. For guiding the policy of the company and safeguarding the interests of the shareholders the directors need to be remunerated in a becoming manner; the managing agents have to be paid their stipulated price for administering the affairs of the company with tolerable efficiency; the officers and staff have to have their just or unjust share of recompense for the work put in. The shareholders are more or less outsiders in this distributing competition. They feel satisfied if they get a fair interest on their modest investment. Where is all this to come from except from the sale of the finished product? And so, the price fixed for the sale of the manufactured article bears no relation to the actual cost incurred in producing it.

Next comes in succession the distributor. He has his paraphernalia of a well equipped office, show cases, sales manager, office superintendent,

accountant, cashier, typists, clerks, godown, distributing van, and salesmen. In many cases he will be the sole agency through whom the distribution can be effected in a particular area. He has, thus, to reimburse himself for the outlay on all this; and, unless the price of the article while going out of his store-room is adequately higher than when it comes in, he cannot meet his expenses and provide himself with a living.

The wholesaler is the next in the series. Between him and the distributor there is only a difference in degree in point of acquisitiveness. The distributor is at least some times beset with consideration for his reputation and is guided by an anxiety to retain his position when the existing contract expires. The wholesaler is not troubled with any such fears. He is a law unto himself; and, being nearer the consumer end, correctly gauges the position of supply and demand and adjusts his price accordingly. He is no respecter of persons or past connections. What guides him in the price he demands for an article is not what he has paid for it, nor his expenses, but the most he can get for it considering its scarcity or otherwise in the market and the amount of demand for it. One would imagine that when the supply is plentiful and the demand phlegmatic, the price will fall; but, to avert this catastrophe, the articles have a way of going underground and emerging again only at the time of scarce supply.

Last comes the retailer. While he has to truckle to the remorseless demand of the wholesaler, he has to look to the goodwill of the consumer. While what he purchases has to be paid for in cash, he has oftentimes to give things on credit. Though he is

aware of the maxim, 'a bird in hand is worth two in the bush' and its poignant significance is brought home to him in his experience, he has to follow in the wake of his competitors. He has to be a psychologist and a judge of human nature; and, if the customer is more adept in these, the retailer finds himself sadly disillusioned and outdone. Again, there seems to be no end to the number of new shops which are opened. With the gap between the number of educated and the avenues of employment ever growing wider, opening a retail shop seems to be an easy way of making a living. If, within the first few months his hopes do not come true, he consoles himself with the thought that his experience is not ripe and that he is not yet 'rooted' in the goodwill of the local people. But, with the march of times, he finds himself no better. If his business has increased, expenses, risks, and wastage have correspondingly increased. If he has learnt to win over customers, they have learnt to make him retain their custom at a heavy cost. If, despite these handicaps, he thrives in his trade he must be very lucky or very astute or both.

However, to a man who does not look for profit, and does not have to depend upon the store as his sole source of income, it affords a pastime and is replete with humorous incidents. The little toddler who steps in and points to a bottle of costly chocolates giving a quarter anna; the youngster who thinks a shop is meant to have everything he wants; the hard-bitten housewife who holds that there is no article which is not subject to bargaining; the man whose purse does not keep pace with his affluent looks; all these and more afford an endless variety of interest. But how many can keep a shop as a venue of entertainment?

THE HT2—THE FIRST INDIA MADE PLANE

By JAIBOY JOSEPH

IN the middle of 1951, an event took place in Bangalore, portending a glorious future for Indian aeronautics. Out of the hanger of the Hindustan Aircraft Ltd., ten miles from the heart of the town, the first aeroplane ever manufactured in India was brought out for its test flight. On the success of this test depended much of the future of aircraft manufacture in India.

The sleek little plane left the airfield, and was soon indulging in aerobatics which convinced experts that not only could India do it, but in the HT2 there was promise of a first class trainer aircraft for the Air Force and Flying Clubs.

Many months later the HT2 made the headlines in a Ceylon air show. The programme included many items of interest and it was one of the most impressive displays of its type staged in South East Asia. The main air race was a straight flight from Kankeshanthurai to Ratmalana, a distance of 203 miles. The two HT2s which entered came in first and second, bringing victory to India. Orders soon came from foreign countries for this all-metal Indian trainer aircraft.

The entire aircraft is of metal construction including control surfaces. No wood or fabric is used anywhere, thus eliminating deterioration due to weather conditions and consequent necessity for frequent replacements. All the control surfaces are operated by push-pull rod me-



The HT2—on a test flight.

chanism, thereby not only improving response and feel on the controls, but also ensuring extreme ease of handling and low maintenance in all weather conditions.

Other features include the plane's unrestricted aerobatic capacity loops, rolls and tight turns are possible with extreme ease. Recovery from a spin is remarkably easy, as it needs only 1½ turns to recover in spins upto eight turns.

The HT2 is a precursor of many other types of civil and defence aircraft now on Hindustan Aircraft's drawing boards. The roots of India's aircraft industry lie in this Bangalore factory which sprawls over 1,500 acres. The big job for the factory now is, as it was during World War II, maintenance and overhaul of all types of civil and defence aircraft. There is even a lake to accommodate amphibious planes on the factory grounds.

Highly skilled mechanics at Hindustan also assemble planes, including jets, from imported raw stock

and special parts. This means that they build wings and fuselage from aluminium and steel sheeting, assemble them with engines, instruments and landing gear supplied by foreign manufacturers.

The story of Hindustan Aircraft Ltd., goes back to 1939 and William D. Pawley, pioneer American aircraft manufacturer. Pawley had set up China's first air line and aircraft factory; the factory was established to service the planes of General Chennault's famed "Flying Tigers," an air group playing a decisive hand in the early years of the Sino-Japanese war. When the war intensified the Pawley unit moved to Burma, and then to Bangalore where it flowered into the present factory.

It was Indian industrialist Walchand Hirachand who stirred Pawley's interest in developing an aircraft factory in India. Hirachand met Pawley on a plane enroute from China to India. Walchand, who was convinced of the need for bringing air transportation to India invited Pawley to set up shop at Bangalore in 1940 with Rs. 4 million in Indian capital, a hand-picked group of 38 U. S. technicians, and about 1,500 Indian mechanics. Indian directors delegated management of the factory to Pawley for the first two-and-a-half years.

By the end of 1941 Indian mechanics were assembling three types of defence aircraft. Within three years, more than 26,000 trainees had proved their adaptability to modern aircraft production techniques.

In June 1942 Walchand handed Hindustan Aircraft Ltd., over to the Government for an aircraft maintenance base. From September 1943 to the end of World War II, Indian mechanics overhauled and did major repair work on some 30 to 50 allied planes and 300 aircraft engines each month.

Immediately after the end of the war, Indian engineers converted more than a hundred DC-3 Dakotas

left by the U. S. Army Air Force into comfortable passenger planes for India's airlines. Most of the American staff returned to their homes and factories in the U. S.

Only a few remain at the factory today from the wartime peak of 840 civilians and USAF personnel. Executives and employees of the factory are now mostly Indian. They are headed by General Manager J. M. Shrinagesh. The HT2 which has put India on the map of aircraft manufacture owes its success to these men who are forging ahead with new ideas for building a better India.

Novel Vacuum Cleaner

A machine which is a kind of enormous vacuum cleaner, except that it sucks up water instead of dust and dirt, was recently demonstrated at a British airport. The machine, called an Aeroduck, is painted a bright orange so that it is easily seen when on the runway. It is primarily a rectangular tank about twelve feet long, six feet wide and three feet high and it runs on small wheels towed by a tractor. Underneath it is a rubber scraper and as the tank moves forward the scraper gathers the water in front of it which is then sucked in by vacuum pump. On the day of the demonstration—for which wet was essential and the British weather refused to oblige with the downpour which so often blots out the fete or flower show—five hundred gallons of water were flooded on to the runway. The machine quickly dried a path more than six feet wide and sucked in water at an impressive rate.

The machine demonstrated was the latest development and Mr. Elvey, managing director of the firm, said in an interview that the Aeroduck can suck up between forty and fifty gallons of water a minute and remove about one thousand gallons in three quarters of an hour.

THE POLICE STATE OF SOUTH AFRICA

By ROSS HARKNESS

THE beatings given by police to in-offensive citizens, the interference by police in private meetings, the broad interpretation given to the words "seditious" and "communism," the number of people who have been deprived of some of the rudimentary rights of citizenship because of their political views, are beginning to alarm many liberal-minded South Africans.

They are wondering just how far their country is from becoming a totalitarian police State. They see in the free hand given the police one of many signs that their Union is treading the dangerous road to Nazism.

There are other indications, such as censorship of reading, the master race complex, the hounding of those who disagree with the Government's flouting of the rights of minorities, and the delegation of parliamentary prerogatives to irresponsible bodies. But to a visitor from a country where the police are considered the servants of the people and the protectors of the weak, the stories that appear almost daily in the South African press are the most frightening in their implications.

One recent evening, for instance, two airline pilots, U.S. citizens, staying over at the end of the regular New York-Johannesburg flight, went for a stroll. Squatting on the street by a little fire they observed a Bantu roadworker. So they squatted down beside him and began to chat. Suddenly, and without warning, they found themselves attacked by two young Afrikaner policemen, who proceeded to demonstrate the whole repertoire of jujutsu throws on them. The pilots were so badly injured they were unable to take out their flight

the next day. The U.S. Consul protested but received no satisfaction. The pilots had been fraternizing with a native, and deserved a beating!

Johannesburg newspapers reported the trial of a white man accused of interfering with the police. Evidence of the accused was that he was walking behind two husky young Afrikaners in plain clothes when, as they approached a native, he overheard one say: "Let's give this Kaffir a bump." They "bumped" him so hard he was knocked to the ground. The Kaffir protested, whereupon they proceeded to kick and punch him for his insolence. The accused ran up to take the native's part, calling at the same time to a passing motorist to get the police. The motorist returned with a traffic policeman, but in the meantime the citizen had also been beaten up. When the traffic officer arrived, the two assailants identified themselves as off-duty policemen.

Keeping them in place

The citizen subsequently brought a civil suit against the policemen for damages, whereupon they charged him with obstructing justice. The charge was dismissed when the motorist confirmed the story of the accused.

The same week two policemen, on the unsupported verbal complaint of a native, and without a warrant, broke down the door of a room in which two Indians, lived in a rooming house, and severely beat the Indians, breaking the jaw of one. When the Indians entered a suit for damages, the policemen laid charges of obstructing justice. But the charges were dismissed in court.

Again, in the trial of a man for bootlegging, evidence was offered that the police had kicked one woman in the stomach, severely injuring her, and had thrown another woman over a fence. Neither had anything to do with the boot-legger. They merely were in the way. The magistrate severely scolded the defence lawyer for entering evidence of police brutality. The actions of the police, he said, had nothing to do with the guilt or innocence of the accused.

These are cases that happened to be reported the few days I was in Johannesburg. I didn't have to go looking for them. In most cases of police brutality, I was told the offenders are young plug-uglies of 19 to 21 from the country. They've been accustomed to kicking around the black servants on their father's farms.

But the police couldn't get away with it if the public sentiment didn't condone their offences. The truth is that many Afrikaners believe a native requires an occasional beating to "keep him in his place."

Here are two examples that came to my attention. In the first, a native truck driver was slowly nosing his way around a corner of a busy Johannesburg intersection and in doing so, of course, obstructed some pedestrians. A pedestrian jumped on the running board of the truck and began pounding the driver in the face, all the time cursing him for his insolence in blocking the way of a white man. Nobody interfered. It was all right to beat a native.

The other occurred in the dining room of the hotel where I am staying. The waiters are white, but each has a black assistant to do such heavy work as carrying saucers and spoons. An assistant did something his master didn't like, so the waiter gave him a violent push, at the same time sticking out his foot and tripping him. It was considered a good joke. I should say that most such instances occur in Johannesburg and other

Transvaal towns where the Dutch-speaking Afrikaners are strongest.

One day I watched four white men supervising eight Negroes painting a building. I was told the white men were the painters who had been employed to paint the building, but since that involved work they hired natives to wield the brush while they merely watched to make sure the paint was put on properly.

It is the shame of South African labour unions that they are in the forefront of the movement to depress the native still lower and to take away what few rights he has. They who should be the most stalwart fighters for the rights of man, since they have the most to lose if those rights are destroyed, are constantly petitioning the Government for discriminatory laws to protect the European against the competition of the black worker.

In January, for example, the South African mine union and the Rhodesian mine union met together to plan a joint campaign to prevent Africans from ever advancing beyond the status of common labourers. Rhodesian mines have been promoting Africans to better jobs, and the South African union warned that unless prompt steps were taken to stop this practice "repercussions might be serious."

"Poor Whites" the Crux

About the same time the European bartenders of Cape Town petitioned the Government to pass a law making it illegal for any but white men to be bartenders. They belong to a "mixed" union that includes waiters, who are mostly Asiatic or coloured. Many of the bartenders in Cape Town are Indians, and the European bartenders asked that they be all fired "for the protection of white workers."

These were not Afrikaners, but English-speaking South Africans. Most labour unionists are English-speaking. The Afrikaners, or Dutch, are the farmers. Because Afrikaners and English are at each other's

November 26 1955

throats in a way French and English never were in Canada, and because we have an understandable sentiment to favour the English, we tend to think that all that's bad in South Africa is Dutch and all that's good is English.

As a matter of fact, I could detect little to choose between the two with respect to their treatment of the native. The Dutch want to get rid of them all, by chasing them out of the country or putting them on reservations. That's "apartheid," but until that can be done, they would segregate them and treat them tough. The English want to keep the natives to do their heavy work, under a rigid system of segregation and discrimination designed for ever to prevent them from improving their lot.

Most labour unions are for whites only. A few admit Indians and coloreds, who are people of mixed race. The Negro may join a so-called "apartheid" union, but it cannot strike, cannot negotiate wages, and in other negotiations must employ white representatives.

"The crux of the matter," an informant here told me, "is the poor whites". Before the war there were about 200,000 unemployed "poor whites" in South Africa, and they were in a pretty sorry state. The Government got jobs for them all by restricting certain occupations in the Transvaal such as taxi driving, bus driving and a number of others that required little skill or training, to "whites only." That is how the South African Government can boast today that there is no unemployment in the country. It means "no unemployment among whites."

"As the education and experience of the Bantu improves, he begins to qualify for jobs now done exclusively by white workers, and the first to bear the brunt of his competition is the white worker on the lowest rung of the economic ladder," my informant said. "As the Bantu takes his

job he is forced down a notch lower—may even have to do manual labour now considered 'nigger work.'

"It is stark fear that is driving our Government on its blind rush toward destruction," he said. "The fear of a quarter of a million poor whites that they can't compete on even terms with an educated and trained native. Having once adopted the policy of apartheid, the Government is driven to declaring more and more jobs the exclusive prerogative of whites."

One effect of this is to destroy white initiative. I had quite a chat with a bus driver. He had been a holstman at a mine, and decided three years ago to migrate to Canada since he had concluded there is no future for the white race in South Africa.

"I wrote to all the mines I knew of in Canada and to the department of immigration but none of them would guarantee me a post," he said. "I don't see why they can't guarantee a chap a post, for, of course, I couldn't go to a strange country unless I was guaranteed a post when I arrived." He would only go if he was "guaranteed a post" as holstman. As long as he remains in South Africa, he said, he knows he will never be unemployed, for if times get bad the Government will fire enough natives to provide jobs for all white unemployed. When he lost his job as holstman a year ago he was promptly taken on as bus driver because there is a shortage of labour for the jobs restricted to whites.

Under such a system a workman doesn't have to be good at his job. He need only be white.

There is a considerable emigration from South Africa, and it would probably be larger if the women would consent to undergoing the "hardships" of life in America or Australia. South African white women are possibly the most spoiled to be found anywhere. One of the

November 26 1955

SWATANTRA

19

newspapers here runs a column of advice to housewives. A recent letter was from a woman complaining of the high cost of living (which is far lower than in most places). Scrimp and save as she tried, she said she still couldn't run the house on her husband's income, and she enclosed a copy of her household budget to prove it. What was the answer to her problem? "You seem to be a very economical housewife," replied the sage who runs the column. "I have studied your budget carefully, and the only way I can see by which you could make further economic is to let one of your servants go."

Immigrants Disillusioned

The Nationalist Government is always talking of the need for more immigration, but it sets such preposterous standards that few aspiring immigrants can meet them. And a large percentage of those who come quickly return home or move on to Australia.

Recently 70 of a group of 130 "learner-miners" from Germany, young fellows brought out to train for jobs from which Negroes are barred, went on strike at Krugersdorp and demanded that they be sent

home. I asked them why. They said local gangs of youths were assaulting and terrorizing them.

The Nationalists encouraged German immigration because they thought Germans would be sympathetic to their master race policies, but found they are not.

Censorship is becoming increasingly severe. The entry of more than 1,500 different publications has been banned since 1948. A large number of labour union publications are prohibited.

Prime Minister Johannes Strydom, who assumed office on December 1, is anti-Semitic and rabidly anti-British. During the war he thundered against "British-Jewish imperialism" and praised the then victorious dictators. He called South African servicemen and women "the khaki lice." He was one of the sponsors of a model republican constitution which would make the president "responsible only to God," in other words an absolute dictator.

He does not realize that the aversion of British South Africans to his totalitarian credo is founded less on love of the British than on love of British democratic institutions.—NNF.

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WESTERN STRATEGY IN THE MIDDLE EAST

By ANDREW ROTH

LONDON: After staggering about for some weeks under the impact of the sales of Communist arms to Egypt, the West has finally worked out a series of measures to counter the Soviet blow to the Western monopoly of influence in the Middle East. After considerable discussion in London, Washington, New York, Geneva and Cairo, a new series of steps have been agreed.

The remarkable fact about these steps is the degree to which they resemble precisely the policy which brought Western policy to its present crisis. Also notable is the decisive manner in which the suggestion that the U.S.S.R. be brought into a "concert of powers" on the Middle East has been rejected, despite Sir Anthony Eden's tentative proposal on this subject on October 8.

The new Anglo-American strategy consists of the following steps:

1. Heavy reliance on the authority of the United Nations to keep the Israelis and Egyptians apart, at least for the coming crucial months. It is during this period that some, particularly the British, feel that Israeli's Premier, David Ben-Gurion, who is less moderate than Foreign Minister Sharrett, may take "preventive" action which may swell into war.

2. This UN action may well be reinforced by having the Western Powers, France, Britain and the U.S.A., reaffirm more emphatically their 1950 declaration in which they agreed to take action to prevent aggression either by Israel or the Arab States.

3. Full Anglo-American support is to be given to strengthening the 'Northern Tier' of Western-supported

States: Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Pakistan. Britain is to step up supplies to Iraq, headed by its faithful friend, Premier Nuri es-Said, while the U. S. puts its effort into strengthening Iran. This strategy has been reinforced although it is of very dubious military value and politically its past effect was to push Egypt into buying Communist arms in order to recapture leadership of the Arab world from Western-sponsored Iraq. Despite this *The Times* calls the Northern Tier "the most important Western asset in the Middle East."

4. Egypt's influence is to be weakened in every way possible unless Egypt agrees to cease buying Communist arms. The British supply of Centurion tanks to Egypt has already ceased. The American offer of arms has been withdrawn. *The Times* has urged that it be made "clear that she will get no arms from the Western Powers so long as she takes them from the Communist bloc."

Egyptian influence should be further weakened by making every effort to see that its military allies—Syria, Saudi Arabia and possibly the Lebanon—are lured away from her, preferably before they accept Communist arms.

There has been less assurance about what to do about economic aid to Egypt. Recognizing that the Egyptian regime has bought arms partly because its economic reforms have not yet produced enough bread, the West would like to encourage Col. Nasser in that direction, particularly since the Russians have offered aid for the giant Aswan Dam, which may revolutionize Egypt's economy.

"Egypt should not initially be

deprived of economic assistance," reasoned *The Times*. "She might even be given economic aid to build the Aswan Dam, to which the Soviet Union intends to contribute. But if her policy continues to endanger the stability of the whole Middle East, even economic aid should be withheld."

5. A balance between Israel and her nearest neighbours is to be maintained in order to ensure that neither side has enough arms for a knock-out blow. The assumption is that Israel is well able to defend itself at present against even a combined attack. This assumption is based not on arms so much—Egypt, for example, has heavier tanks. It is based on the unified leadership, high morale, higher mobilization and better lines of internal communication of the Israelis.

In maintaining this balance there is a division of labour between Britain and the United States. The United States is to incur Arab odium by supplying arms to the Israelis. The American Administration feels it necessary to do so for internal political reasons anyway since it wants to avoid the accusation that it is pro-Arab in the forthcoming 1956 elections when the Jewish vote in the pivotal state of New York may be decisive. At the same time the U. S.

Government will seek to demonstrate that it is basically pro-Arab by selling only defensive equipment to the Israelis and denying them the jet planes the Israelis have so often requested.

The British, on the other hand, are to strengthen the Arab Legion of Jordan, which is probably the most effective Arab force for its size. This month its equipment with 10 Vampire jet aircraft will give it an air arm for the first time, demonstrating that the West can also do things for its Arab friends.

6. The West will refuse the Israeli's demand for a security pact such as that which Britain, for example, has with Jordan and the four States of the "Northern Tier". The assumption is that such a pact with Israel will alienate Arab opinion.

The most peculiar aspect of this new Western policy is that it seems to ignore the strong position of the Russians. In effect the West is saying: "We will help you if you side with us." The Russians, on the other hand, are able to say: "We will help you if you stand aside from Western alliances." The Russian terms are not only more generous, but they are more in keeping with the feelings of an area that has been struggling for a quarter century to throw off Western control.

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S. KRISHNASWAMI,
Secretary.

MR. EISENHOWER'S FUTURE

By P. G. KRISHNAYYA

NEW YORK CITY: When Franklin Delano Roosevelt suddenly passed away someone approached his wife to express sorrow for his family. She turned the tables and replied, "No, I feel sorry for the ordinary people of the world whose champion my husband was!" Similarly the illness of President Eisenhower is certainly of great concern to his family and his country but of equal concern to the rest of the world. During the last few months his influence as a man of peace and goodwill even penetrated the Iron Curtain. As such his future is of immense interest to people all over the universe.

President Eisenhower, with only 14 months left in a paying job, is in the position of any individual whose regular check is to stop coming. He has to give thought to making a living.

Before that, however, Mr. Eisenhower has the world's biggest job to fill. He must shape his own political future, deal with Congress in an election year, help his party with its campaign problems.

The President is reported firm in a decision not to accept renomination. He likewise is giving no thought to resignation. He has no present plans to try to dictate the Republican nominee. Mr. Eisenhower expects to be back on the job by January 1. If all goes well, he will be putting in an eight-hour day by February 1.

The next move

It now is expected that, sometime in January or February, President Eisenhower will announce formally his own position in politics. Until that time his mind will be preoccupied with political affairs, and problems related to the session of Congress that opens on January 3.

On top of that, however, Mr. Eisenhower is concerned with his own private plans for the time after January 20, 1957, when he will leave the White House.

The President is not a rich man, although he did realize a small fortune from the book he wrote after the war. This book netted him \$476,250 when income taxes had been subtracted. Mr. Eisenhower gave up title to the book and has drawn no royalties since.

A good part of the fortune that he made out of his war book—nearly \$300,000—has gone into the Gettysburg farm to which he expects to retire. It is understood that a substantial portion of the remainder is in a trust that the President set up for his grandchildren. Mr. Eisenhower's personal investments are in the hands of a trust company in New York and received no attention from him.

Making ends meet

As he looks ahead, the President can see a very practical personal problem.

After mid-January, 1957, the big pay check that now comes each month from the Treasury will stop coming. This check is for \$6,688.86 after withholding tax. The loss from the Eisenhower farm, estimated at \$25,000 a year, will go on. At the same time there will be living expenses to meet and a good many other bills to pay in order that the retired President may live in the style that the country will expect of him.

Mr. Eisenhower, in other words, will be up against the problem that everybody faces—that of making ends meet.

The President's friends say that he will have plenty of money to live well for a time without working. One estimate is that the nearly \$200,000 he had left from the sale of his book—after building his Gettysburg estate—has grown to around \$400,000 and that the income amounts to about \$15,000 a year. Much of this money, however, is understood to be in trust funds that cannot be touched.

When he ran for the Presidency, Ike gave up his right to his army pension of \$19,542 a year. Under Army rules this right can be regained by the President after he leaves the White House. A General of the Army, who never "retires" from the Army, continues to get his pay after active duty. That pay now is \$22,943 a year.

Choice of pensions? At present there is no pension for a President. A pension plan, though, is before Congress and has been approved by the Senate. If approved by the House and signed by Ike, the plan would entitle him to \$22,500 a year and would assure Mrs. Eisenhower \$10,000 a year for life, if she survives her husband. The President then could choose between his Army pension and his pension as President. In addition to the Presidential pension—as approved by the Senate—a retired President would be entitled to a staff equal in size to the staff of a Senator from the least populous State. The bill also would give him an office in a federal building and would entitle him to free mailing privileges.

As of now, Mr. Eisenhower cannot look forward to a pension as President because it is not law. He can look forward to an Army pension. That then would be supplemented by any income from investments not now held in trust for the Eisenhower grandchildren.

Jobs for Ike to do

In the years ahead, after he leaves the White House, it is expected by

Mr. Eisenhower's friends that he will be called upon by the nation to do many jobs and that he will gladly perform these jobs.

Again, however, that will pose problems for a retired President who does not enjoy large private means to start with. Tax laws at present make it much more difficult to earn enough money to pay private bills while performing public services.

Herbert Hoover is a former President of independent wealth. So was Theodore Roosevelt. Franklin Roosevelt would have been, but died in office. Calvin Coolidge wrote a syndicated column and served as director of a life insurance company. Woodrow Wilson, on leaving office, was troubled about his financial outlook. The mortgage on the home he bought was paid of by friends, and the ailing former President did work at home for a law firm in which he was a partner of Bainbridge Colby.

Harry Truman is reported to have saved nearly \$250,000 while President, largely as a result of tax-free expense account of \$50,000 that was provided for him by Congress. Mr. Truman since has sold his memoirs for a reported \$600,000, to be paid in five annual instalments. These payments are taxable as income so that the former President will realize from them only \$168,776. The U. S. Treasury takes the remainder.

The tax hurdle

If President Eisenhower writes his memoirs, he will face the same tax problems that former President Truman has faced. This is due to the fact that, under existing tax regulations, the return would be taxable as income, not as capital gain. Return from the sale of Mr. Eisenhower's war book was treated as a capital gain, taxed at a maximum effective rate of 25 per cent.

(Continued on page 25)

BRITISH LABOUR MUST HELP THE COLONIAL PEOPLE

By FENNER BROCKWAY, M.P.

RECENTLY I visited five countries in Africa and the Indian Ocean. One of the strongest impressions with which I have returned is the extraordinary extent to which the people in these countries are looking towards the Labour Party for help and co-operation.

Three of the countries—the Gold Coast, Kenya and Mauritius—are British colonies.

One of them, the Sudan, has been under joint British and Egyptian administration and will move forward to full self-determination next year.

The fifth country, Madagascar, is a French colony.

In all of them I found that the peoples are looking with hope to the influence which British Labour can exert towards colonial liberation.

In the Gold Coast there is an all-African Government, which has full responsibility in internal affairs. It represents the Convention Peoples' Party, which has declared itself to be Democratic Socialist.

In three years it has accomplished wonderful things. The number of children in schools has been doubled and now reaches 86 per cent of the school-age population. Even in the northern and most backward territory the number of hospitals has gone up from three to thirty.

Naturally this party feels a sense of solidarity with the British Labour Party and expects its co-operation in the achievement of full independence during the next year.

In Mauritius the majority party in the Legislative Council is the Labour Party, which regards itself as a child

of the British Labour movement. It is demanding self-government, and expects that British Labour will support it in this demand. With self-government Mauritius can become a Socialist island in the Indian Ocean.

In Kenya I found that a new African leadership is developing from the trade union movement. I was greatly impressed by Mr. Tom Nboya, its leading officer. Mr. Nboya is just commencing a year's scholarship at Ruskin College, Oxford, and I am confident that he will establish an African movement prepared to co-operate with the Labour Party in England.

In the Sudan the Independence Front won to a large degree of co-operation with Britain by the confidence which Clement Attlee inspired. They are the official Opposition in the Sudanese legislature, but even the Government has now declared for independence rather than association with Egypt, and the influence of British Labour has contributed to this result to a considerable degree.

Madagascar is recovering from the effects of a rebellion in 1946-7. The French authorities are cautiously extending democracy and I found the most hopeful movement among the Malagasies was associated with the trade unions, who are taking steps to form a Malagasy Socialist Party. Their leaders are also looking to the British Labour Movement for inspiration.

One cannot go through this experience in five different countries without realising a deep sense of British Labour's responsibility. There have sometimes been disappointments. I found almost everywhere

concern about the exiling of Seretse Khama. And concern was expressed about British Labour policy in supporting the suppression of the Constitution in British Guiana. I found some disappointment that when Labour was in office it did not do more to remove the grievances of Africans in Kenya. But despite these disappointments a fundamental faith remains in British Labour.

British Labour must justify this faith both in its political and economic policies. I am intensely conscious of millions of people in Africa and other colonial territories looking with a hope that is almost pathetic towards British Labour. If we let them down they will tend to despair and turn towards methods of violence rather than progressive political development.

I am more convinced than ever that the key to co-operation can be found in working out our policies in consultation and agreement with the colonial peoples. Even before they have attained self-government plans should be developed in agreement with them for the transition period. They should feel that these plans are not imposed by us, but are *their* plans. In this way antagonism could be turned into co-operation.

I have proposed that when Labour returns to office it should invite representatives of the major movements in the colonies to a Conference of Liberation and Co-operation. This Conference should be followed by the establishment of Round Table Conference in each colony over which a sympathetic Labour Member of Parliament should preside, to work out detailed plans for political, educational, social and economic development, including progressive steps towards full self-government in the shortest possible time.

Side by side with these political proposals plans should be worked out for the economic development of the colonial territories, and in this task the British Trade Union and Co-op-

erative Movement could give the greatest help.

A big question mark hangs over the colonies. There is a feeling of opposition in many of them. This psychology can be changed to confidence if British Labour will be bold in its policy.

We are still under-estimating the tempo of advance against colonialism. The peoples of Africa, Asia, and the Carribeans are moving towards equality with the white populations of the earth. This is the greatest dynamic revolution of this century, and Labour must identify itself with it.

I hope that at the Labour Party Conference we will speak in clear and definite terms which will gain the confidence of the peoples who are looking towards us with expectation and hope.

(Continued from page 23)

President Eisenhower, looking ahead, is shaping plans to retire to his farm. As a farmer, his friends report, he will strive to be successful and "to make his farm pay—Ike wants to be a success in whatever he is doing."

Before he can tackle the problem of making money in the purebred-cattle business, the President faces months of work in the White House. He has the tricky job of trying to remove himself from politics without letting loose a political circus in Congress and among Republicans who may aspire to his present office. Ike will be expected to take some part in the '56 campaign. He must try to put through the Congress that convenes in January a programme of new laws affecting taxes, farm policy, labour policy, business.

President Eisenhower, in other words, has his work cut out for him, both for the year ahead and in the period after January 20, 1957, when he will retire from office and go back to private life.

A SCHEME FOR NATIONAL REORGANISATION

By H. D. RAJAH, M.P.

THE States Reorganisation Commission's Report has aroused the wildest of popular passions all over the country. There is an outbreak of language fanaticism which is fanned by the untimely and unwise move on the part of the Central Government to accelerate the pace of adoption of Hindi as the official language. The Hindi fanatics sowed the wind and they are now reaping the whirlwind. There is a sense of frustration among all progressive elements who fear that in the prevailing craze for acquiring more territory on the part of all the States there is little scope for constructive work of any kind for the achievement of national unity or for the improvement of the living standard of the people. Linguism was a potent weapon which the Congress wielded against the foreign rulers but it now acts like a boomerang and threatens to split up the hard-won unity of the country. I wish to state emphatically that I desire the unity of India. I am anxious at the same time that this unity should flow out from the hearts of the people who will feel a sense of brotherhood and equality as citizens of the Republic. This unity should not deteriorate into a kind of uniformity imposed from above. Real unity and a sense of brotherhood and equality among the people will be achieved only when each citizen can be made to feel that there is opportunity for him to participate in and influence the administration of the country. In democracy there must be a live contact between the minister and the voter.

Under the present Constitution of India this sense of equality and

brotherhood is entirely lacking. The Constituent Assembly which started out to forge a Federal Constitution for India came out with an Act which forged a heavy central administration at Delhi and weak puppet administrations in the various States for entirely dependent upon Delhi for every little matter. The States are reduced to glorified municipalities. The ministers at Delhi, however wise they may be and however industrious they may be, are but human beings. They cannot keep up a living contact with villagers in the far flung sub-continent of India. There is thus a certain unreality about the Central ministers and a sense of despair among the citizens. This state of affairs can be remedied only by devising new methods of administration so as to bring the ministers nearer to the people. This is especially necessary in the case of the economic development of the country, particularly region-wise which alone will give an over-all development of the nation.

There is prevailing a discontent not only in the South but in various other parts of India also, that the industries built up under the Five Year Plans are getting concentrated in certain favoured areas to the detriment of the outlying areas which are now backward in industrialisation. My simple proposal to remedy this defect is to split up the Central administration. I visualise a grand Central Government which will be federal in nature, concerned with the unity of the country and having complete responsibility in the matter of Defence, Foreign Affairs, Communication and Currency. Then there will be regional Parliaments consisting of

groups of States which will be responsible for the industrial and economic development of those regions including the execution of the Five Year Plans and similar nation-building activities. I propose the formation of four such groups to be named Uttar Pradesh, Dakshina Pradesh, Poorva Pradesh and Paschima Pradesh. The Northern group with its capital at Delhi will consist of the U.P., Punjab, Kashmir and Rajasthan. The East with its capital at Calcutta will consist of Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Assam. The South with its capital at Madras or Bangalore will consist of the States of Madras, Kerala, Karnataka, Andhra and Hyderabad. The West with its capital at Bombay will consist of the States of Maharashtra, Gujarat, Vidarbha and Madhya Pradesh. I have mentioned the names of these States as defined by the S.R.C. Report. Each of these new sectors will be quite big in population and in area and will compare favourably with the most powerful States in Europe like France or United Germany.

On a superficial view, enemies of real progress will say that I am trying for redivision of the country. But a closer study will reveal that this is quite contrary to that and my proposal if carried out will bring about real unity in India in a manner that has not been achieved hitherto. The railways have found it necessary to have such a division for the sake of efficient administration. Pakistan has stolen a march over us and has consolidated the Western area into a close-knit province. The separatist movement of the Paktoons has been effectively counteracted by the establishment of the provincial capital at Lahore which the Paktoons can easily dominate; and as a master stroke of genius, Dr. Khan Sahib, a Phaktoon himself and a brother of Gaffar Khan, the leader of the Paktoon agitation, has been made the Chief Minister. It is a tragedy that such political acumen and

statesmanship displayed by the Pakistani leaders to consolidate their nation is not available in India where a shortsighted clique is driving the country to the brim of national disintegration. The scheme I have outlined will enable India to stand up to the military aggression of Pakistan. Uttar Pradesh under my scheme will be poised for action against West Pakistan and our Eastern Province will surround on all sides the territory of East Pakistan like a nut cracker. The maritime regions of Bombay and Madras will guard our life line and our international trade routes.

My idea is that each of these proposed sectors will have a Parliament elected directly by the people and a government headed by a Prime Minister and responsible to the Parliament of the sector. While all these governments will have absolute power in economic and other matters entrusted to them, there will certainly be suitable machinery for co-ordinating their activities on an all-India basis. The grand Central Federal administration will be carried on by the President elected by the combined votes of all these four Parliaments and an elected legislature. All these four sectors will have only single chamber Parliaments and the grand Federal Centre will have only one Council elected by these four Parliaments to whom the President of India will be responsible. The Central Government will function in the manner of the American Constitution with the President as its administrative head. The Central headquarters will be removed from the militarily vulnerable Delhi and be located at a more accessible place in the centre of India. The four sectors will follow the British practice of cabinet constitutional government responsible to the Parliament and all these four governments will have Deputy Presidents as heads of States. My scheme leaves the present linguistic States

untouched. It is highly necessary that the administration of these linguistic States should be carried on in the language of the State, and not in English, as otherwise there is no meaning in forming these linguistic States. People must be more closely connected with the administration. But it may be that if the system works in practice the States and the sectors would voluntarily readjust their powers and re-allocate subjects administered as between themselves. The functioning of these sectors or provincial governments will create popular enthusiasm for the carrying out of the economic plans which cannot otherwise be secured. There will be four Prime Ministers in India instead of one as we have at present. It is very necessary that the present dependence upon one individual, however eminent he may be, has got to be eliminated. At the present moment there is no answer forthcoming for the question asked not only in India but all over the world; after Nehru, what? My proposal would furnish the direct answer and if my scheme is to be put into operation during the life time of Pandit Nehru with his co-operation and good-will, it would be the greatest service he would have rendered to the people of India.

The demand for Dravidasthan is a potent cry which has captured the imagination of the people of this part of the country. The demand, if interpreted to mean complete political sovereignty for the South, is unworkable and retrograde. The cry everywhere in the whole world is for the promotion of integrated unity among the nations so as to result in one government for the whole world and not the bringing about of further divisions in a world already too much divided. But the sentiment behind the demand for Dravidasthan can be allayed if economic power is bestowed on the people of the South who have been neglected by the British as well as by the Con-

gress governments. My proposal should also be sharply distinguished from the demand for a big Southern State put forward recently by the Mayor of Madras and certain prominent persons in Malabar. That demand is for creating a single State in South India instead of the five that the S. R. C. recommends. But big or small the new State will be quite as weak as the present States and will have no greater power and no greater pull with the Centre. My proposal is to divest the Centre and give to the regime Parliaments more powers and bring satisfaction to the progressive elements who desire to participate in building up economic progress not only in the South but in the rest of India.

RADIO CONTROLLED MODEL SHIP

ELECTRONICS has now entered the toy shop. Designers and technicians of a British firm which is the world's largest maker of toys have produced a model cargo ship controlled entirely by radio signals.

It is the first of its kind. No manufacturer hitherto has been able to offer a "readymade" radio-controlled model, though for some time the demand has been obvious from the number of people, young and old, who have gone to the trouble of building their own.

The ship, beautifully modelled and accurate in every detail, is 20 inches long. At the touch of a button or the turn of a knob on a small portable transmitter, it executes any maritime manoeuvre—alters course to any point between hard a-port and hard a-starboard, varies speed within the range full ahead to full astern, and can even be made to heave-to—which, as anyone with knowledge of radio-control will appreciate, is quite an achievement. Control is effective up to 150 yards.

MENDICANT WITH A MISSION

By K. S. R. MOORTHY

FEW events in my varied life influenced my way of thinking or characterised my actions so much as did one common occurrence, the very banality of which did not seem at that time to warrant a second thought over it. I did not know whether what I did was the only correct thing to do, but inasmuch as I was able to understand and appreciate human emotions better after this particular incident, it has remained green in my memory unto this day.

During my college days, I used to observe a particular mendicant walking on the street betimes every morning. He used to pass my house and the neighbourhood without stopping anywhere and I had not seen him asking for alms of anybody. He seemed a queer fellow. Scantly dressed, as became his clan, his forehead was plastered over thickly with ashes. A string of black beads dangled from his neck and he carried a small trident-like object in his hand. A bushy growth of beard, soft and curving upward, bedecked his youthful-looking face, while his limbs, short and heavy, displayed the ferocious strength of a forest brute. He achieved his medium height with an inch-high wooden footwear that provided the rhythmic grace for his brisk movement with a soft, flapping noise. The only thing queer about him was that he seldom talked to anybody and when he did on unavoidable occasions, he fixed his gaze on the ground and his toe would get busy drawing some fantastic lines on the earth. When he stood still, I observed he was moving his right hand up every now and then to stroke the tip of his flabby nose, that suggested a strange mannerism as though it was a reflex action induced by some spasm.

He was one of the regular early

morning visitors in the locality where I was staying. One day I saw him standing for a while at the gates of my neighbour's house. He perhaps expected the inmates to notice his presence and give him something. He stood there for a few minutes and nobody seemed to notice him and he was turning away with a disappointed look.

I did not know why the thought came to me that I should give him something when, as a rule, I did not encourage able-bodied people to resort to this kind of easy living, but my hands involuntarily delved into my pocket and I flung a coin at him with great non-chalance. His reaction was altogether unexpected. He collected the coin, did not say a word of thanks, not even batted an eyelid, but walked away at a faster pace without looking back.

The next morning, sitting outside the house I was going through the daily paper when he happened to come along. I thought he would stop at my place. Except that he just managed to slow down the pace of his walk when he reached near my house, he neither stopped nor did he even look at me. Calling him I tossed an anna into his palm. A flicker of a wan smile this time, and the figure faded away.

The third morning, he appeared again at my door. I didn't call him. My attention was in fact engrossed on something else when suddenly looking up I saw him standing at the gate with his eyes surveying the ground. As soon as he was given something he went away. He started visiting me every day since then and a stage was soon reached when unless he received something from me, he would not budge an inch.

This was a little annoying to me. I was not in a position to allot a couple of rupees every month for him in my carefully balanced budget. But he did not seem to view my difficulties with sympathy. One day, I plainly lost patience with him and said: "Look here, I am not so rich as to go on obliging you every day. Why don't you seek some other place?"

He appeared grieved at what I said. He stood there, motionless for a few seconds. He tried to say something, but no words came forth. He was about to turn away when I felt sad for having spoken to him in such a harsh tone and transferred an anna from my pocket into his hand. He received the coin in an absent-minded way with a faraway pathetic look in his eyes and lingered there for some time. My pity for him grew. I thought he was inwardly cursing himself for leading the kind of life he did. I could see he was grieved at the stabbing of my words which he took straight to his heart. It had not occurred to me that anybody in his position could afford to be so hypersensitive and yet keep his head high. Slowly, with considerable strain, he turned a half-circle and with faltering heavy steps moved away. Till his figure faded out of my sight at the bend of the street, I was looking at his direction. Throughout the day I could think of nothing else but the mendicant.

The next morning I was itching to tell him that I did not intend to be offensive or rude to him the previous day and that he should not take my outburst seriously. I was waiting for him, but he did not turn up. I felt sad at the thought that he did not want to see me any more and I tried to forget the incident.

A couple of years later, I had had to visit my native place where my ancestral lands were situated. It was the harvesting season. I had gone there to dispose of the paddy. The transaction dragged on till late in the evening and with much

money on me I did not like to spend the night in unfriendly surroundings, and so I was hurriedly walking to the station in a desperate attempt to catch the only train that night. The road was deserted even as the sun was just setting—deserted as in every countryside. The railway station was three miles away from the paddy fields. Not a soul was to be seen on the road and I was feeling apprehensive. I fastened the money on to my dhoti and concealed it close to my belly. Putting on a brave appearance I started whistling a tune to exhibit my courage. Suddenly I heard a rustling noise nearby and before I could turn my eyes and look back, a couple of ruffians had emerged before me and blocking my way bade me stop. One of them held a clasp knife in his hand and the other flaunted a lathi which he waved before my fear-stricken eyes.

"How much do you carry with you?" one of them demanded aggressively.

"I have nothing with me whatsoever, but if you can walk with me to the hotel at the end of this road, I shall stand you a sumptuous meal," I said.

"Nearly everyone of you who get caught like this always say the same thing. I take it that you do not mind if I want to search your person."

"I certainly do mind" I yelled. "What right do you have to demand money from me? Do you want me to shout for the police?"

There was a brief exchange of words in code between the two devils and one of them shouted at me, "Hands up," while the other raised the lathi above my head and roared, "You poor nitwit! Do you think we are mosquitoes to be scared away like this?"

I was not conscious that both my hands had gone up mechanically to obey their command, and both of them were hastily plundering me

with an ugly grin. While one of them caught hold of the money concealed in my dhoti, and wrested it and grabbed it, the other slapped me for giving them so much trouble instead of parting with it like a "gentleman". They were flinging all sorts of abuse at me and started searching me again for more. Sweating profusely and trembling on my knees, I feared that that was the last sunset I was destined to see.

From behind, a sleek Buick negotiated the turn in a daring right-steering and glided majestically, floating on the road, raising a cartload of dust. As soon as my eyes spotted the automobile, I raised a full-throated alarm in a determination to risk the consequences. The two bullies suddenly loosening their grip desperately tried to take to their heels. The car screeched to a stop at my cry for help and ripping open the door, a stocky young man with a clean shaven face stepped onto the ground. His hand was clutching a revolver. His quivering lips and slightly distended nostrils were seething with anger. The ruffians were scared and hurriedly threw away at my feet the money they had plundered and in one jump scurried to the thither side of the road from where they dived into the swirline river running nearby.

The gentleman whom Providence had sent to my rescue helped me in collecting the money strewn on the ground and putting his arm on my shoulder in a cordial manner, led me to his car. A buxom lady, wearing black glasses was seated on the back, who, on seeing me, removed the goggles and surveyed me with cold disdain. I thought she perhaps did not very much relish the idea of her husband getting polluted by all sorts of wayside influences. She did not seem to take any interest in our conversation mainly concerning the hold-up and she was, to all outward appearances, busy turning the pages of a

pictorial magazine. As we emerged on the wide main road, he gently tapped my shoulder and asked: "Where should I drop you?"

I was feeling terribly ashamed that I could not protect myself and the presence of the lady added to my embarrassment. I was thinking what to reply when, seeing how embarrassed I was, he volunteered: "If you have to go somewhere far away, I shall be glad if you can spend the night at my place and you can go in the morning. I think that is the only safe course."

Having survived one experience, I did not want to risk a second one and I readily agreed. After meals we settled down to conversation. It was an aristocratic household with an army of servants. Elegantly furnished, the spacious rooms vied with each other in their rich splendour. Our conversation which started with politics took a turn to a discussion on social problems and I was frankly astonished that a man of his position should know so much about the agonies of the poor and feel intimately about them. I could not help observing that my host was every now and then twitching his hand in feverish manner and the buxom lady was suffering severe mental discomfiture at the fact that the man on whom she was lavishing her love did not know that his mannerism was too awful to be exhibited among strangers.

Next morning when I thanked my host, he smiled and said: "It has been my proud privilege to have been of some help to you at last!"

I could not understand the significance of what he said and my mind was for long busily engaged in unravelling the mystery of this aristocratic young man whom Providence had sent to succour me in my hour of distress. Why was he twitching his hand like a paralytic? Nobody who had seen him would say that he was not in the pink of health. The

sadness in his eyes and that faraway look they conveyed were the only restraining influences but I thought that he felt sad because he was witness to a spectacle where one human being considered another a fair enough game and, observing the laws of the jungle, was determined to make the best of it. I had a vague feeling that I had seen him before somewhere, but I could not recollect where and when since I hardly knew any person of importance or affluence. Nor was I quite sure that I could depend on the correctness of my memory which had oftentimes proved hopelessly wrong. I remembered an old proverb which my mother had often dinned into my ears that charity, for its own sake, was the noblest of all virtues. I did not remember having practised such a virtue in any commendable scale except perhaps a few odd coins passed on to a few roadside beggars. Did that constitute charity? With self-mortification I remembered the rude words I uttered to that poor mendicant during my college days and I cursed myself for my miserliness. And what crime did he commit? Had not I myself encouraged him, in the beginning, when, in a fit of exuberance, I used to toss an anna coin into his palm and felt elated about it?

While I was thus strangely communing with myself at what had seemed a trivial past incident, it suddenly struck me that both the mendicant and the aristocrat had

one common mannerism the twitching of the hand in a feverish manner. Could it be that both were one and the same person? My imagination got bogged down with the first idea that it was impossible even in these days of word-puzzles and fabulous prize offers for a pauper to become a prince. The only thing that I was quite sure about was that the misty faraway look that I saw in the eyes of the aristocrat when I took leave of him after enjoying his hospitality had such a striking resemblance to the abject and sympathy-evoking look that I saw in the eyes of the mendicant when I rated him for pestering me. Was he at that time feeling the weight of his wealth and yearning for the care-free days he spent as a mendicant, I did not know. I felt the urge of some inexplicable force driving me mad to check up how far my imagination was right.

Since I had his address with me, it was not difficult to trace his house. When I entered there for the second time, the place looked forlorn. To my enquiry, the buxom lady, who was with us on the occasion of my first visit, gave some evasive reply. I could get no clue as to his whereabouts. I thought there was something which this lady did not want me to know. I felt disappointed and, as I was coming out of the compound, his driver, recognising me smiled and made some becoming enquiries. After a short talk with him, I asked him about his master.

"Didn't the lady tell you anything about it?" he asked in a hushed tone.

"She said she was not well and I did not like the idea of troubling her," I said. "She looks very sad and dejected."

"There is reason for her being so," he remarked in a murmur and looked out on all sides to see whether there was anybody else nearby overhearing our conversation. On being reassured

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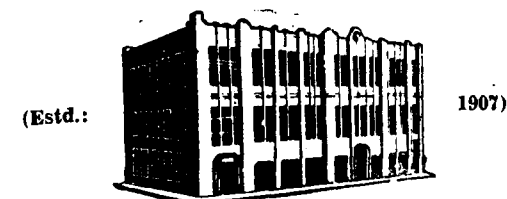
FOR THE WELFARE OF
EX-SERVICEMEN AND
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that there was no such danger, he picked up courage and continued: "It is like putting a parrot into a cage. He was a mendicant who did not seem to have any worldly desires whatsoever except a morsel of food once a day and this widowed lady, who has been most unlucky in the choice of her husbands, happened to hear him play on his flute one day and immediately took a fancy to him. I do not know how she was able to lure him, but she is a very wealthy woman. She must have tried to press him down under her oppressive wings, because she was very jealous of him. I do not blame her because he was also a very handsome person and it was natural that she had fallen for him. But, in her blindness she reckoned without her host. He could not stand all this fetish and nonsense and one fine

morning he left her high and dry and went away and I am sure he will now consider himself a very happy individual having wrenched himself away from the gripping tentacles of a human octopus. The world is strange and the people are stranger still!" He threw his hands up in a dramatic gesture of despair.

I pinched my forearm to reassure myself that I was not just dreaming. The story that I heard of the mendicant was too strange to leave my mind undisturbed and I had nothing but admiration for the man who chose to throw away riches to pursue the hard road of asceticism and self-abnegation. The puzzle having solved itself, the meaning of what he spoke with such sincerity at the time of our parting stood distinctly clear like an immaculate white patch against a dark background.

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INDIAN AFFAIRS:

By SARANGA

—GOODS WITH GOODWILL FROM RUSSIA?
 —INDIA AND THE DANGEROUS DOGMA
 —BIRTH-PANGS OF THE PLAN
 —THE PROBLEM STATE

WHILE our Russian guests are still in India, the reactions to their visit will not be freely expressed and this seems only proper when controversial personalities are concerned. The reception accorded to Mr. Bulganin and Mr. Khrushchev in New Delhi was undoubtedly an outstanding one and their movements in the City were keenly observed by curious crowds. Their Indian tour was thus well begun. Western observers were anxious to know whether the Russian leaders have captured the imagination of the Indian people to the extent of the latter becoming potential converts to Communism or of accepting Russian professions at full value. But the most widely accepted view is that the citizens of Delhi—like other Indian citizens—responded to the Prime Minister's call to honour the Soviet people, who have honoured him, by giving an enthusiastic response to the two leaders. Thus was gathered at Palam airport, 12 miles away from the City, three times the number of people who gathered at Moscow's central airport to greet Mr. Nehru. The two Russian leaders who have little experience of what a spontaneous response in a democracy would be like, relaxed and enjoyed it and probably got a better idea of the hold Mr. Nehru has on his people. Perhaps the difference between Moscow and Delhi was also due to the fact that

the citizens of the capital of a Big Power usually take such visits of leaders of less powerful countries for granted, whereas Indians are more conscious of the attention paid by the Soviet Government. And no Indian can deny that this has been due entirely to the role of the Prime Minister in international affairs.

Mr. Khrushchev has, however, interpreted the sentiments of affection shown by Indians as a tribute to the active support rendered by the Soviet Union to the peoples in their struggle against colonial slavery and a recognition of the Soviet desire for peace. In this, as in other remarks, he has shown himself to be slightly different from Prime Minister Bulganin who has used diplomatic language with good effect. A certain amount of bluntness is associated with Mr. Khrushchev and his categorical denial of any desire on the part of the Soviet Union "to export the ideas of Communism" or to compel the acceptance of Soviet ideas of reconstruction of society must be treated as significant though this is not the first occasion in recent months in which these statements have been made. Mr. Bulganin in his address to the members of Parliament sought to "sell" Soviet policy to India. Mr. Khrushchev's speech was an elaborate justification of the inevitability and necessity of the methods employed during the Soviet

Revolution, which was perhaps meant as a reply to the constant emphasis on the Indian side of the peaceful achievement of Independence here. There was hardly any reference to this aspect in the Soviet leaders' statements, in spite of some occasional references to Gandhiji—a significant omission.

As expected, there has been a reiteration of the scope for Indo-Soviet economic co-operation in the speeches of the Russian leaders. The reaction to these offers in the American press has shown the persistence of wishful thinking on the subject. Assumptions are still being made in that the Russians will not carry out their promises, without any serious study of what India's needs are and how far Russia can barter or supply on credit the requirements under the Plan. Steel, for example, will prove the biggest headache and if the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe can together trade anything up to about a million tons a year during the next five years, the planners in Delhi will feel greatly relieved because that would bridge part of the foreign exchange gap and assure certainty of supplies which cannot be assumed if India depends on the marketable surpluses of steel in Western countries for her entire needs.

Only Mr. Walter Lippmann—a lone voice—has called for a revision of the "dangerous dogma" in the U. S. A. about military alliances, which, he points out, has poisoned Indo-American relations. Unfortunately this warning comes too late and is liable to rejection as a piece of 'hind-sight'. Mr. Lippmann wants the U. S. A. to outbid the Soviet Union for securing power and influence even if it means large expenditures on economic aid. Even so, the countries concerned, like India, cannot be unaware of the possibility of the charge being laid that the aid-seeking countries are playing one big Power against another. The

timing of the Russian leaders' visit at a time when the Plan is being drafted with serious doubts about resources makes the position all the more delicate in seeking this aid.

Like Topsy, the Second Five Year Plan has 'grewed'. Soon after the Finance Minister's statement that the present estimates of outlay will even exceed Rs. 4,800 crores (assumed only a fortnight ago), Mr. Nanda has indicated that the present size of the Plan is nearer Rs. 5,400 crores and has to be pruned down to match available resources. Matching is a term which is of doubtful application in this context because even the original Rs. 4,300-crores Plan provided for 'stretching' of resources for about Rs. 200 crores after providing for deficit financing of nearly Rs. 1,000 crores, foreign aid of Rs. 400 crores and so on. Unless there is a prospect of additional foreign aid, the gap in resources will have to be met by deficit financing if the Plan is to be implemented fully. Indian businessmen may be enthused by the prospect of deficit financing and take an optimistic view but if some of the current doctrines about cottage industries hold sway, the production of consumer goods, on a sufficient scale to match the additional purchasing power, will be seriously affected, leading to inflation.

On the other hand, there is also the prospect of a shortfall in the Plan which would make it necessary to find the entire money in the public sector. The fear here is that such shortage in execution may affect the complementary nature of some of the schemes, particularly of rail transport, coal and some of the other essential projects. There are several dilemmas involved here and some formal solutions will have to be found if the Plan should take shape in a meaningful way. The actual

implementation may depend on various external factors, and the Russian method of executing five-year plans on a year-to-year basis has found some favour in certain quarters. An alternative suggested is that the Plan as it is can be maintained—to avoid the appearance of reducing its size—but that it can be spread over six years, as the Colombo Plan once set out to do. These are some of the difficulties. The major source of the difficulty is the demand of the Railways for money for adequate transport facilities and it is believed that these would require a minimum provision of about Rs. 1,200 crores (against their demand for about Rs. 1,500 crores). But planning ambitiously is not limited only by the resources in finance within the country. It depends on the supply of the required materials on the scale needed and the availability of trained personnel for the more complex types of work. Even mining engineers are in short supply at the present time and the public sector which even in 1948 visualised its own rapid expansion and laid down the Policy Statement, has done little to plan for the training in suitable numbers of the men needed to work at intermediate levels, even if the top level personnel are to be brought over from abroad. So, it would be wrong to believe that finance alone is the limiting factor in the Plan, though it is undoubtedly the biggest of all.

Events in Bombay this week have confirmed the earlier fears that the problem of this State's future may not be easily solved even by the Working Committee's directive. All the ugly features of a linguistic movement in a composite State are there and it was unfortunate that businessmen should have given the impression that they have been instrumental in bringing about the estab-

lishment of a separate State. Those who have professed a belief in the virtues of a composite State should now be able to agree to the demand for a composite State with Vidarbha in it. And if the Gujarat groups choose to secede from it on the ground of their being in a minority, their professions will stand exposed, besides their having to leave the residuary State in much the same shape as the Maharashtrians have all along wanted. There has been some loose thinking about this matter because of the faith that an imposed solution will somehow get accepted eventually. Or, if in the alternative, the big composite State of over 48 million people comes to stay, it will provide a good balancing factor, in a political sense, to the size of U. P., which stands alone in this respect and dominates the rest in population and political influence when all the other States have been split up into small bits, each allowing in its own language to the point of losing all influence at the Centre. Mr. Panikkar's note on U. P. would not then go in vain.

Pity The Poor Bee-

"There has been much interesting scientific work done in recent years on the amount of labour done by the members of a hive in making honey. It's said that the entire field work of about three hundred bees is needed to fetch home enough nectar to make a single pound of honey. And if it was possible for one bee to do all the work—gathering, processing and storing away a pound of honey—she would need to work all day and every day for more than eight years. In doing it she would need to fly distances equal to more than twice round the earth at the Equator! Think of that the next time you spread a spoonful of honey on your bread!"—E. R. B. McCluggage.

TIT-BITS ABOUT GLADSTONE

By Lt.-Col. C. R. KRISHNASWAMI, M.S.

IN biographies of great men written very soon after they have passed away, the presentation of the subject in a heroic garb by the author without any indication of some of their ordinary human foibles, leaves the discerning reader in a state of dissatisfaction. After years have lengthened the perspective and allowed the lava of controversy to cool and harden into history, new scales of value arise. It is often noticed that many men less prominent than the central figure, possessed many rare and estimable virtues; and also that the reputation of some was a little over-rated. Too often the author, an ardent admirer of the subject of his theme, tends to lighten the darker shades, though very unconsciously.

Gladstone strode the political arena of Britain like a Colossus for 61 years in the nineteenth century till a little while before his death in his eighty-ninth year. A study of his relationship with some of his colleagues and contemporaries and of some of the incidents which occurred during the course of his colourful career, will give us a fairly correct appreciation of the varying shades in his make-up.

High church Anglicanism had bitten so deeply into his nature very early in life that he not only contemplated entering the church as a career after leaving the university, but it also influenced his conduct all through life and his judgment of men and matters. Many of his friends had expressed disapproval of his religious exuberance and gently hinted to him that, avoiding the pitfalls of enthusiasm on the one hand and indifference on the other, a sober religion could be cultivated. But he would never heed. When his elder

brother was engaged to be married to a unitarian, he made no attempt to conceal his dismay. His father had to pull him up: "For God's sake, reflect again what you may be sowing the seeds of."

Helen, his sister younger to him by five years, was neurotic and exhibited Romish tendencies. Gladstone very heartlessly advised his father to use coercive methods to correct her or to turn her out of the house. Gladstone's bigotry turned her more contrary and he was scandalized to note that she tore up pages of the Prayer Book for toilet purposes.

While in the present day no notice will be taken of such things, he felt particularly pained that in the Palace no grace was said before a meal and that Queen Victoria attended service in a kirk and not in an English church. Except for a short period early in his life, his relationship with the Queen was very unpleasant. He was incapable of making the necessary imaginative effort to understand and make allowance for the human weakness of Royalty as the Queen was incapable of making the intellectual effort to understand Gladstone. There were undoubtedly faults on both sides. Tales were carried to the Queen of Gladstone's street-walking propensities. Gladstone's method was to walk the streets in unfrequented quarters by night, alone, at least once a week, armed with a stout stick. He would wait for prostitutes to accost him and he would then reply with courtesy, simplicity and charm, his idea being to rescue them and rehabilitate them. These altruistic efforts sometimes led to embarrassing situations. One young fellow attempted to blackmail him with a threat of exposure. He

had not given up this habit till late in life.

The Queen expressed a desire for a very small additional vote for the purchase of gun metal for her husband's statue. For three years he persistently opposed it, while the first thing that Disraeli did on his coming to power was to sanction the grant. This strengthened her conviction that overbearing obstinacy and imperiousness governed Gladstone's character.

The Queen wanted to make Lord Landsdowne, the retiring Viceroy of India, a duke. Gladstone firmly refused to offer anything more than a G.C.B., although the Queen had written that such an offer would be almost an insult. The Queen had reminded him in a letter that the Sovereign, and not the Prime Minister, was the fountain of honour. Gladstone retorted: "While it is true that the Sovereign is the fountain of honour, it is also true that the Sovereign is the fountain of law." The rift between the Queen and himself was so wide and deep at one time that he did not receive an invitation for the marriage of one of the Princesses of the royal household.

The telegrams from the Sovereign to the P. M. were always in cypher. But on the occasion of the Sudan crisis she sent an open telegram to him, for anyone to read through whose hands it passed, that all the frightful loss of lives could have been averted by timely action.

In September of 1884, Sir Donald Currie took Gladstone, Tennyson and Sir William Harcourt for a cruise in his yacht, *Pembroke Castle*. Gladstone informed the Queen that he was going to the Hebrides. But the North Sea was so calm and the weather so perfect that Tennyson suggested a change to Denmark instead of Hebrides. This was approved by all. When they berthed at Copenhagen, the arrival of such famous men could not fail to be noticed. When

Gladstone was invited to dinner by the King and Queen of Denmark, he met at the palace the Emperor and Empress of Russia, the King and Queen of Greece and the Princess of Wales who were there at that time. When Gladstone informed the Queen of this on his return, the Queen snubbed him and said that the Prime Minister of Great Britain could not move about like a private individual and that the meeting with such personalities would give rise to political speculation which it was better to avoid. No wonder Gladstone felt hurt at this reprimand.

The Queen took the Prince of Wales, who with his son acted as pallbearers at the funeral of Gladstone, to task by asking him whose advice he sought and what precedent he followed. The Prince, who was then fifty seven, replied simply that he had sought no advice and that he knew of no precedent.

When one reviews the many misunderstandings that happened between the Queen and Gladstone, one is struck by the appalling childishness and disgusting pettiness of both the parties. It is a justifiable speculation, that the whole Irish question would have been solved long ago in a most amicable manner if the Queen had only favourably considered his proposal that the Prince of Wales be sent to Ireland as the Viceroy and thereby pacified the very emotional Irish. If only Gladstone had heeded his wife who had recommended that he had better pamper the Queen a little which she, as a woman, knew to be a diplomatic move, the course of events might have been different. He never heeded anybody's advice and he went his own way always.

He was a graceful speaker with a singularly melodious voice. But a love of splitting hairs, an excess of moral earnestness and a capricious sense of proportion alienated on occasions the sympathies of a certain

number of well-intentioned but less gifted men. Gladstone's oratory though effective was not of the highest or of the most enduring quality. It did not, like Chatham's, appeal to elemental passions, nor like Burke's to elemental principles which hold the fabric of civilization. To Peel, who complained to Graham that he could not comprehend what Gladstone meant, Graham replied: "It is always difficult, through the haze of words, to catch a distant glimpse of Gladstone's meaning." Once the Pope who had successively met Gladstone, Cardwell, Lord Clarendon and the Duke of Argyll, pithily summed up: "Mr. Gladstone I like, but I do not understand. Cardwell I understand but do not like. I like and understand Lord Clarendon. The Duke of Argyll I neither like nor understand."

Between 1846 and 1859 British politics hinged on personal factors. Gladstone found the Conservative outlook on foreign policies was the exact opposite of his own. So he embraced the Whig cause in spite of Palmerston whom he disliked for his noisy jingoism. Another reason was that Disraeli was in the Conservative party, though Disraeli had gone out of his way in asking Gladstone to join the Cabinet, but without any avail. "If he could swallow Pam, couldn't he swallow Dizzy?"

A society lady at that time remarked about Gladstone: "There is an element of the parvenu about him. If he were soaked in boiling water, and rinsed until he were twisted into a rope, I do not suppose a drop of fun would ooze out."

From the beginning to the end, the relationship between Gladstone and Disraeli was notoriously marred by acrimonious controversy. There were no two persons in the political arena of Britain who hated each other more. They were engaged in endless tirades against each other. It was almost an epic battle.

Disraeli once characterised Gladstone as "a sophisticated rhetorician inebriated with the exuberance of his own verbosity and gifted with an egotistical imagination that can at all times command an interminable and inconsistent series of arguments to malign an opponent and to glorify himself."

Disraeli was irritated by Gladstone's insistence that all important political questions involved clear-cut moral issues. He considered that, in an imperfect world, the choice must lie between policies of varying degrees of expediency. Though Gladstone made an emotional appeal to the moral and religious instincts of the masses, to John Ruskin who once asked him if he thought one man was as good as another, he replied: "Oh dear, no. I am nothing of the sort. I am a firm believer in the aristocratic principle—the rule of the best. I am an out-and-out inegalitarian."

Disraeli had the power of saying things in such a manner in two words as to drive a person of Gladstone's peculiar temperament into a great state of excitement. Edmund Burke in a famous passage had deified "prudence and conformity to circumstances" as the "God of the lower world." Due to Gladstone's intolerance and uncompromising nature, he confounded these qualities in his opponent with "depravity." Disraeli cared little for detail of consistency, but was as skilful in handling his followers as Gladstone was stiff and obstinate. Lord Granville, Gladstone's only personal friend, advised him to cultivate society, talk to members and take some notice of them. "In Parliament there is often no other effective way of influencing individual votes."

Disraeli introduced the reforms contemplated in the very Reform Bill of Gladstone (on which he was bagged) by making a few changes here and there and calling it the Household Suffrage Bill. Gladstone, unable to contain himself, termed it

"disaboli cal cleverness with unexampled rapidity," and a loud laugh against him was roused by Disraeli by congratulating those on the Government front bench on the "security provided by a good broad piece of furniture" between themselves and the excited Leader of the Opposition. The contrast between the sphinx-like nonchalance of Disraeli's face and the alternating gloom and excitement of Gladstone's was freely commented upon. Calmness was not one of Gladstone's attributes and courses of compromise were uncongenial to him. There was a riddle that went round:

"Why is Gladstone like a telescope?"

"Because Disraeli draws him out, looks through him and shuts him up."

When Disraeli's end came on the 19th of April 1881, Gladstone incurred much odium for his conspicuous absence at the funeral on the plea of pressure of work. The Prince of Wales and other members of the royal family, foreign ambassadors and ministers, and the leading statesmen including Lord Hartington (Marquis of Devonshire) and many other liberals, attended the funeral.

When Gladstone succeeded to the Chancellorship of the Exchequer after Disraeli in 1883, there was a very unseemly quarrel over the Chancellor's robes and some furniture in No. 11 Downing Street. The correspondence which started in the first person ended in each addressing the other in the third person. The contemporary opinion was that Disraeli had no justification at all in clinging to the robes (he made them a heirloom in the family because they were worn by Pitt), though with respect to the furniture, Gladstone was in the wrong.

Abraham Lincoln, Alfred Tennyson and Charles Darwin were also born in the year 1809—Gladstone's year of birth. Due to a certain preju-

dice against Americans, he in a letter to his father dubbed them 'a dishonest and unprincipled people' and in common with a good number evinced a certain amount of sympathy in private with the South during the Civil War. At the mayoral banquet at Newcastle, in a very tactless speech, which on later reflection, he himself characterised as one of "incredible grossness," he gave a vague public expression to his private sentiments. This indiscretion caused some harm to Anglo-American relationship for many years.

Gladstone held Bright in high esteem as one of the most unselfish of men and was beholden to him for many helpful suggestions from time to time. Even Bright wrote of Gladstone at that time: "He is unstable as water in some things; he is for union and freedom in Italy and for disunion and bondage in America. A handful of Italians in prison in Naples without formal trial shocked his soul—but he has no bond of sympathy for the four million bondsmen of the South."

After Newark, Greenwich and Oxford had rejected Gladstone, the proud, handsome, brilliant but perverse Roseberry sponsored his candidature for Midlothian in 1879. His resounding success in the Midlothian campaign was in a large measure due to the superb management of Roseberry who, though only thirty-two at that time, had a great hold on the Scottish lowlands and on the Scottish academic world by reason of his impressive character and eloquence. On his accession to power, Gladstone's treatment of Roseberry to whom he was under obligation for many services and much kindness, was very shabby. Roseberry, the rising hope of Scotland and already a force in England, possessed the rare magnetic quality which attracts and moves currents of opinion and was thought of highly by the Queen and Prince of Wales. The older man could have certainly handled the young patri-

cian more wisely as well as more kindly and given him as he wanted a seat in the Cabinet with exclusive responsibility for Scottish affairs instead of one of lesser rank—the First Commissioner of Works. Roseberry on his part was not without faults. He was extremely sensitive and was given to the habit of sulking, if things did not pan out as he wished. In politics one has to be thickskinned. When in a later Cabinet, Roseberry became the Foreign Secretary, he gave Gladstone such an uncomfortable time that Gladstone exclaimed at one time that his choice of Foreign Secretary was an inexcusable blunder.

Parnell and the Irish question

There was a good deal of agrarian discontent for a number of years till in 1880 the hopes and loyalties of the masses of Irish people had come to be centered in the person of Charles Stewart Parnell who was thirty-four at that time. He co-ordinated all the political and terrorist programme in a single realistic movement directed by himself as President of the Land League. He commanded an idolatrous love from the Irish masses, though he was himself a Protestant and a landlord. Proud, reserved and reckless, he had a masterful character which commanded respect. Unlike the other Irish Members of Parliament, there was no trace of inferiority complex in him. The Land League was declared illegal and Parnell was arrested under the Coercion Act and jailed. As, in consequence of this, other secret societies grew, Parnell felt that his position as a leader was jeopardized and was anxious to negotiate. Joseph Chamberlain negotiated through Justin Mc. Carthy and O'Shea, the husband of Parnell's mistress. Parnell with other leaders were released on condition that he would support the Land Act of Gladstone. This, when it leaked out, was denounced by the Conservatives as an infamous ruse to gain the support of Irish members. Even many mem-

bers of Gladstone's Cabinet were not for conciliating the Irish and there was a schism which forced Gladstone to resign. In 1885 therefore the relations between the Conservatives and the Parnellites became very close. As it was the object of Parnell to obtain the best terms he could for the cause he represented, he played one party against another and privately begged Gladstone to reveal his views and intentions. The latter was positively determined against entering into any counterbidding; and it must be said to his credit that he sincerely hoped that Lord Salisbury and Randolph Churchill would further the cause of Irish Home rule, unmindful of who got the credit.

Parnell, being convinced that without passion it would be hard for any constitutional revolution to reach completion and as Lord Salisbury was alarmingly coldblooded, was in a fix. Elections were fast approaching. Gladstone in one of his speeches pleaded for the return of his party independent of Irish votes. That made up Parnell's mind and he directed all Irishmen to vote for the Conservatives and they did. So long as the Salisbury-Parnell alliance continued, the voting in the Parliament was a dead heat. A few days after taking office, one of Salisbury's men gave notice of a new Coercion Act. Gladstone rushed into the fray and with the help of the Irish Nationalists who now swung in his favour, overthrew Salisbury's Government and himself took office in his 76th year. People at the time wrongly thought that he had sold himself to Parnell for the sake of another spell of office. Due to his inept handling of Chamberlain there was the schism of the Radicals from his party and on the introduction of the Irish Home Rule Bill his Government fell once again. The feeling against sanction of Home Rule for Ireland was so high that an incident which happened then is worth narrating. On an afternoon in August of that year,

while Gladstone was strolling in his gardens, he was knocked down by a wild heifer and bruised badly. The animal was shot down the next day. A beautiful and an elaborate wreath was sent to Hawarden with a vulgarly inscribed card attached: "To the memory of the patriotic cow which sacrificed its life in an attempt to save Ireland from Home Rule." When Lord Salisbury took office once again and repressions in Ireland went ahead under the Chief Secretaryship of Balfour, the latter got the soubriquet "Bloody Balfour."

It was the purpose of 'The Times' to bully Parnell by publishing in facsimile a certain letter purporting to have been written by him, openly inciting murder and arson. Parnell as he was not sure of getting justice in English courts, and as the judgment in Irish courts could not be easily executed in England, very

discreetly kept quiet at first but only denounced it in Parliament as "villainous and barefaced forgery." His opponents wished to involve him in costly law suits and ruin him financially. Parnell's patience exhausted, he engaged Lord Russell of Killowen and Asquith. The latter by his brilliant cross-examination of Piggot proved the letter to be a forgery and *The Times* compromised by paying £5,000 to Parnell of which he was in sore need. The swing of public opinion turned in Parnell's favour, and Gladstone set the seal upon Parnell's rehabilitation by inviting him to Hawarden. Even Edinburgh conferred its freedom on him. In 1880 Parnell was cited as co-respondent by O'Shea in a suit for divorce against his wife. To be cited in divorce proceedings in those days was to close a political career, e.g. Sir Charles Dilke. Respectability was the key-note of the codes of that age. While it set a premium on hypocrisy, the prevailing atmosphere was equally uncongenial to patrician frivolity and plebeian boisterousness. Social Rhodes cabled to Parnell "Resign—marry—return."

Though everybody knew that Mrs. O'Shea was living openly with Parnell with the connivance of her husband, yet this was the first time that Gladstone took any notice of it. Having therefore reached the conclusion that Parnell should resign his leadership, he drafted a letter to Morley to that end to be shown to Parnell. Morley was not able to run him to earth; and the Irish party by that time re-elected him leader. Gladstone hastily published his letter in consequence of which Parnell was deposed, and Home Rule was lost for Ireland. History would have been different if the Grand Old Man of English politics and the darling of the Irish nation had come forward together to place the Irish Home Rule Bill on the table of the House.

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SIDELIGHTS ::

WHEN I was at Denver some three months ago, an Indian student brought me the clipping of an editorial of the *Denver Post* that contained the most fantastic comment that I had ever come across on the Goa situation. It said that Goa was within Pakistan, it had always been there for centuries, and the Prime Minister of India was a rapacious land-grabber in seeking to get Goa annexed to India. The editorial moved me to pay a visit to the office of this newspaper. I was received by Mr. Lucas and Mr. Chapin of the editorial department. When I pointed out their mistake they expressed regret and contrition. It was not however a matter for settlement between us. Editorial ethics demanded that the readers who had been misled in the first instance should be put in possession of the correct facts as soon as possible after they became known. I do not know whether this course was adopted as I left Denver almost immediately. But in the course of the talk I had with Messrs. Chapin and Lucas, Pandit Nehru's foreign policy came in for discussion. His attitude of neutrality was severely criticised. I said it was the direct result of the American lapse into negation as it had given Pandit Nehru nothing worthwhile to get excited about—and it could be changed if the American Government adopted a positive constructive attitude towards a cause dear to the democratic heart of Nehru. As an example of such a cause, I mentioned the freedom of enslaved people all over the world. They were then kind enough to say that if I put in writing what I had spoken to them just then, they would be interested to print it as a guest editorial. I did not stay long enough to see the guest editorial in print, but through the courtesy of Mr. Tufty

of the USIS, I was favoured with a couple of copies of it last week. I reproduce it below, as the subject matter seems to have become more relevant on account of the tensions caused by the Geneva debacle:

"Nehru's Policies Misjudged"

"The neutrality policy of Mr. Nehru, Prime Minister of India, is not correctly judged in some quarters in the United States. For a proper perspective, it is sometimes useful to see ourselves as others see us. American concern for freedom in the 'free world' makes at present no sense in India, for the simple reason that there are therein large areas that do not govern themselves and are subject to foreign domination. Almost the whole of Africa is parcelled out among the European colonial powers as their domain.

"This contradiction between the description of freedom and the reality of freedom in the so-called free world of American definition has to be removed if the people of Asia and Africa who form more than half of the world's population are to be won over to an appreciative response to the United States' objectives in international affairs.

"President Roosevelt realized this and frequently pressed upon Britain the need for quitting India. When Mr. Churchill retorted that the policy to be pursued in India was a domestic matter into which the United States had no right to intrude, President Roosevelt insisted that the freedom of India was an international issue, because unless such freedom be maintained there could be no peace in the world.

"It should likewise be realized by the successors of President Roosevelt that unless freedom is universally

established and every country still unfree is liberated from foreign domination, there would be no peace in the world. As the Communist zone is not amenable to Western persuasion and as Communist Russia has brought several East European countries under its own domination, it is futile to seek to bring Russia at this stage within the orbit of a world freedom movement for the liberation of subject peoples. But the United States can and should head such a movement for the rest of the world outside the Iron Curtain, where its influence is great.

"India cannot be indifferent to such a movement organized under American initiative. Mr. Nehru's neutrality will disappear the moment the United States calls upon the European colonial powers to quit Asia and Africa in the same way in which President Roosevelt called upon Britain to quit India towards the end of the last world war. It will be replaced by warm approbation and active cooperation.

"There will then be a new alignment of world forces consisting of, to start with, the United States, India and Britain. For, after doing the biggest thing ever done by an imperial power by renouncing rule over India, it is unlikely that Britain will cling tenaciously for long to the minor territories where she still holds sway.

"A new combination of powers consisting of the United States, Britain and India will have tremendous possibilities. It will attract to itself all the democratic forces struggling for mastery over totalitarian encroachments. It will gather the tempo of an overwhelming moral force in international affairs. It will develop the climate for discrediting aggression (colonial aggression quite as much as Communist aggression) and set in motion trends for making the so-called free world really free, with every country within it master in its own area. It will release the power of the United States from entangle-

ments in the dubious manoeuvres of decadent allies of diminishing potency, surviving feebly from an age that is outmoded and gone, and transfer it to the side of the newly awakened millions of hitherto backward continents having the future in their grasp because of their resurgent consciousness.

"Unlike other powerful nations in the past which looted weaker people and built for themselves profitable empires, the United States has been taxing itself heavily to give away millions of dollars in foreign aid programmes for the economic rehabilitation of backward countries.

"Everybody in the United States wants freedom for every part of the world and nobody has any sympathy for any of the imperial-minded European colonial powers. But the policy of the Government is not yet in full conformity with the temper of the nation."

* * *

Since the article reproduced above was written, world events have moved swiftly. The Prime Minister of India has got closer to the Russian leaders. Any amount of intimate relationship in a social way as between host and guest can exist between India and Russia without affecting adversely our capacity to promote peace in a conflict-ridden world. But Mr. Khrushchev has already placed on the hospitality of India a further interpretation. He has said that India and Russia stand now together side by side for establishing enduring and everlasting peace among the nations of the world. From the time of Lenin the conquest of the world for Communism has been the aim of the Russian leaders. After Lenin, there was a bitter fight between Trotsky and Stalin as to how Lenin's aim of world revolution was to be achieved. Trotsky was for a simultaneous attack on the capitalist systems of all countries integrating into it as its most vital force the rebellious parti-

cipation of the working classes all over the world. Stalin was for postponement of the world struggle till after the completion of the consolidation of Russian power as a Nation State. Communist expansion outside Russia was adjusted to the power resources of the Soviet State throughout the Stalinist regime. Its first experiment in invasion was carried out on the fall of France in the Second World War. Since then different countries and millions of people have been brought under Russian domination and the new empire of Communism with its armed forces firmly planted on the shores of the Baltic and extending right up to Western Europe is the youngest and most recent to be added to the old list of imperialisms. It would draw the line at no boundary if it had power to pass beyond.

Mr. Khrushchev's challenge to the West, "Compete with us in making friends with India" has fallen a little wide of the mark in the context of the contemporary world situation. If Pandit Nehru is to fulfil his destiny as the world's outstanding democrat, the moral support of India in international affairs should not be a matter for purchase with special favours. It must only be secured through an exemplification of genuine concern for freedom as the basic foundation of world peace. In the competition for Indian support in the international sphere, Russia as the seat of a Communist empire is most disadvantageously placed. The United States has no empire of its own but most of the surviving non-Communist empires that would have dissolved, are held in precarious life by artificial respiration supplied through U.S. instrumentality. The abandonment of neutrality for active appreciation and cooperation would be revealed in Indian foreign policy; if ever, only in favour of that leading power in the world which shows the greatest practical concern for the liberation of subject countries. If

the East and West should enter into mutual competition for ending the imperialist dominations in their respective spheres of influence, the dynamism of Indian neutrality would have been blessed with success, and the whole world would have been saved for peace, free from the tensions of actual and prospective aggressions.

SAKA

"THE SPIRIT OF GENEVA—DON'T BE DECEIVED"

Excerpts from an editorial in the widely read Geneva newspaper *Journal de Geneve*:

"(Because) when one presses the Soviet Government to confirm by actions some corroboration of its verbal assurances and its peace-loving protestations, this is what one gets:

"Reunification of Germany by free elections—premature.

"Effective control of atomic arms—impractical.

"Liberalization of movement for private persons—technically impossible.

"This is what the Soviet Union wants:

"(A) A Germany endowed with all the 'social' achievements of the Pankow regime (East German Government) in a Europe in which all defensive alliances are dissolved.

"(B) A purely propaganda proclamation outlawing atomic arms when no one can know what it is doing with its own, and

"(C) The shepherding of previously prepared trips of chaperoned delegations and journalists.

"If this is the spirit of Geneva we would rather state immediately that we can recognize nothing in common between it and the humanitarian tradition and the historic respect for others that have made the reputation of our city, thanks also to the institutions that have found it propitious to function here for several generations."

FILMS

By V. P. SATHE

DURING the stay of the Russian leaders in India several cultural programmes have been chalked out to acquaint the foreign guests with our cultural heritage. The programmes would mainly consist of music, songs and dances. As we have no stage tradition today comparable to the West, it is not surprising that no stage play is being shown in honour of our guests.

But certainly one expects that the films are also works of art and as such they would be included in the cultural programmes. Yet, unfortunately, it appears that no film so far has been included in any such programme. Indeed, while on the one hand Gopi Krishna's dances are included in the cultural programme organised in Bombay, it is a pity that *Jhanak Jhanak Payal Baaje* and *Shri 420* have not been included. It seems as if the Government has not yet overcome its prejudice against films. Otherwise, there is no doubt that at least the abovementioned films as well as *Patha Panchali* would have been screened in honour of the distinguished guests.

In this connection the visit of Dr. Mohamed Hatta and the King of Nepal to see *Jhanak Jhanak* at Metro is worth noting. Equally worth remembering is the fact that Marshal Bulganin has consented to attend the premiere of the Russian film *Romeo and Juliet* in Bombay.

Films have become an important part of our national life and as already the Soviet Union has set a precedent by holding an Indian film festival in Russia last year, it would have been only proper if Marshal Bulganin were shown some of our outstanding films during his brief

sojourn in addition to the display of our music and dances.

Picture of the week

P. R. Films' *Bahu*, as the title suggests, is a domestic drama. But it is not strictly domestic since we have gangsters and night clubs to add spice and melodrama to it.

Produced by Bikram Pahawa and directed by Shakti Samanta, the erstwhile assistant of Phani Majumdar, *Bahu* is based on a story by Darogaji, a veteran scenarist and it follows the age-old cliches and coincidences. It is a kind of story in which everything you expect does happen and that too at the right moment.

Usha Kiran plays the role of Paro, the talented daughter of a poor widow. At a Divali party she gives a dance; and the lamp in her hand falls down on the saree of her friend Sheela. As a result she is humiliated and Sheela's uncle asks her mother for her hand for his son Basant; and so Paro becomes Basant's wife.

On the wedding night Basant walks out on Paro without even looking at her face and goes to a night club to gamble and play with his sweetheart Rita. But Paro does not grumble. She meekly submits to her fate while her father-in-law watches her suffering helplessly and Basant has a good time with Rita.

Ultimately Basant is turned out by his father and poor Paro who cannot solve her own problem is out to help others. First she helps Sheela's mother; then she comes to Sheela's rescue when she remains pregnant and her lover walks out on her. Paro pretends that she is having a baby instead of Sheela and thus prepares the ground for a misunderstanding that results in her being driven out of the house. The poor innocent child is left in the care of Paro's mother while both Paro and Sheela seek refuge at Rita's home and a temple.

In the tradition of old Indian films

Paro becomes a maid servant of Rita and ultimately saves the husband from ruin at the hands of Rita, Ajit and their gang.

There is nothing new or original in the story. It has been told again and again on the screen; this time it has been told fairly well, though in no distinguished manner. Technically, the picture is competently made. The performances of Usha Kiran, Karan Dewan, Shashikala, Bipin Gupta, Pran, Johnny Walker are as good as the artistes are known to be. Some of the dialogues by Vrajendra Gaur are good and lend force to the story.

It is difficult to believe that Hemant Kumar of *Nagin* fame has given music for this picture. The haunting lilt of *Nagin* is conspicuous by its absence; the tunes are old, some of them reminiscent of O. P. Nayyar's popular pattern. Only the last three songs are sweet and sonorous. Hemant has used the vina and the flute as often as he could. His music is in keeping with the entire pattern of the film which is stale and yet fairly amusing.

Personality of the week

Alfred Hitchcock is arriving in India this week. Hitchcock is known in the film world as a master of suspense and he has kept up his tradition for the past two decades and more.

Hitchcock began his career in Britain in the thirties; the picture that made him great was "39 Steps" starring Robert Donat and Madeline Carroll. During the thirties, he made a number of pictures in London; the most prominent amongst them was *The Lady Vanishes* which many critics still regard as Hitchcock's best picture.

The pictures he made in Britain had two characteristics; they had terrific suspense and at the same time they were very human in their content. But after he went to Hollywood, his pictures revealed more regard for technical craftsmanship

and less regard for human values. This process which began with *Spellbound* reached its climax in *Strangers In The Train* and *Rope*.

The two pictures which proved exceptions to the rule were *I Confess* and *The Rear Window*. In *I Confess* the character of the priest who cannot give away the murderer was human; and this picture had a distinct human appeal as it stressed the great human values. Though the idea of murder is very gruesome in *The Rear Window*, Hitchcock rightly does not show any graphic details of the murder and reveals for the first time a rare human insight in portraying the diverse characters whom the lame news cameraman watches from the window.

As a craftsman, Hitchcock is a master, from whom every director ought to learn. It is only to be hoped that in future he will not lose sight of human values and lay more stress on them in his suspense-filled taut dramas. To this master of suspense, we commend *The Wages Of Fear* in which Clouzot has achieved the same effect as Hitchcock without showing a single murder! When would Hitchcock make a suspense drama without a murder? All his fans eagerly look forward to that day.

News of the week

Robert Riskin, the well-known scenarist who wrote all important Capra's films including *It Happened One Night*, *Mr. Smith Goes To Washington*, *Meet John Doe*, died in September according to a report published in *Motion Picture Herald*.

A CORRECTION

In the issue of SWATANTRA last week, the authorship of the article "Vegetable Milk" printed on page 27 was wrongly attributed to K. V. Srikanth. This error is regretted. The correct name is K. V. Srinath.

Y. M. C. A. BOYS' TOWN

BEHIND the Fort Station there is a small group of cottages amidst very neat surroundings. This place is not visible to the ordinary passer-by. It is not much publicised. But more is done there for homeless boys in an unostentatious manner than is being done by all the peddlars of various schemes of educational reforms and uplift organisations. To those of us who have thought about the problem of homeless children on the wayside, here is an object lesson. Half-starved, naked children who, unattended, will become the dregs of society, are a tragic sight anywhere. From these to have shaped the healthy, happy and useful citizens of tomorrow who can without difficulty find jobs in institutes like the Victoria Technical Institute and others, is an achievement. And this the Boys' Town has done. It should be noted that, except for a few individual donations, the YMCA which conducts these towns has not been receiving much aid from any quarter.

Though when the idea was mooted in 1947 nearly half the number of boys ran away at first, it has taken root and now Boys' Town can boast of 82 boys. The upkeep of each boy costs about Rs. 250 per year. To see the youngsters of this Boys' Town take pride in something which they have done with their own hands like a table or a chair, an object of cane work, or a suit stitched to perfection is to have our faith in our youth renewed. Given the proper direction and instruction, they will turn out to be the equals of any in the world. And here it should be emphasised, that it is not only in carpentry and cane work and tailoring that they are trained. The boys have a school managed by the D.P.I. In the hostel everything is managed by themselves, and they get their first lessons in self-government without

the blighting touch of political controversy scarring them. In fact politics is sedulously avoided, and how wisely can be seen if we turn our glance towards other institutions. To my repeated enquiries if Government aid had been sought, the answers invariably were that they did not need it. To inculcate a spirit of self-help, in the hapless and to goad the conscience of the sections of the community which are better off to help their poorer brethren, being the very laudable objects of the organisers, their reluctance to seek aid from the Government is understandable.

The only occasion when the YMCA tries to raise a large sum of money to run the Boys' Town and community centres is the annual carnival it holds. To this carnival are brought things by the members themselves, and the proceeds from their sale go to the maintenance of the Boys' Town. The public which visits these carnivals may not be aware of the purpose, and hence sometimes the crowd may be thin. This is the unfortunate result of lack of publicity by the organisers. Mr. Mathrubhootham, the enthusiastic Vice-president of this year's carnival (scheduled to be held from December 3rd to 6th) lays more emphasis on the spread of the idea of a Boys' Town than mere collection of money. Mr. V. G. Williams, the General Secretary seems to be a man with a mission. Behind his quiet, unimposing exterior, he hides a fund of energy and is a very eager propagator of the many laudable projects for the improvement of the lives of homeless boys. The President, Mr. K. V. Srinivasan, is a man full of invigorating ideas.

With such a band of devoted workers, an organisation ought to be able to go a long way and one hopes that this idea of a Boys' Town spreads to larger and larger sections of the people. —V.V.S.

