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SWATANTRA

On Sale Every Saturday

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ON THE COVER:

Musical Instruments Section of the Handicrafts Exhibition held in the City.

All communications should be addressed to the Editor, SWATANTRA, 2 Brodies Road, Mylapore, Madras 4. Manuscripts for publication should be typewritten on one side of the paper only and must be accompanied by a stamped self-addressed envelope. The editor cannot accept responsibility for loss or damage.

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October 1 1955

The last bale is lowered into the hold. The last derrick swings clear against the evening sky. The seeming chaos of crates and cranes and men on the quayside has resolved itself.

away on the next tide...

The freighter waits for the next tide, gently pulling at her moorings, anxious to be away on the open sea. The docker has his cup of *cha*, and turns to the next job.

India's ports depend on men like him to 'turn the shipping round' quickly... efficiently, for through his hands pass the country's imports and exports. And the planners tell us that these exports will have to be increased, not only to the dollar area, but also to other countries who can supply India with the capital goods she needs to implement the Five Year Plan.

That means more work for the dockers, and more work for the Burmah-Shell Bunkering Service. We have installations at the seven major ports in India, working 24 hours of the day supplying lubricants and fuel oil to shipping from all over the world. At every major dockside in the country, there's a familiar, exciting smell of sea and ropes and tar and oil.

**BURMAH-SHELL...
IN INDIA'S LIFE AND PART OF IT**



SWATANTRA

Vol. X. OCTOBER 1 SATURDAY 1955 No. 35

GOA AND THE U. S.

MR. John Sherman Cooper, the American Ambassador to India, said in Bombay the other day that the economic progress of the U. S. was "tied closely to the rest of the world." He added that "the world is no less dependent economically than politically." Turning to India's Five Year Plan he characterised it as an outstanding example of the ability to transform a hitherto repressed economy into a dynamic economy and expressed his "utmost admiration" for the achievement to the credit of India in working out the Plan. These isolated sentiments of the Ambassador dwelling, first, on the U. S. concern for the economic progress of the rest of the world, secondly the inter-dependence of the world both politically and economically, and third, India's record under the First Five Year Plan in converting the repressed economy of the past into the present dynamic economy, contain all the data needed for a sound policy in international affairs, and such a policy is the only logical policy that can be arrived at if the three factors enumerated by the Ambassador are placed in correlation to each other instead of being allowed to hang diffusely as unconnected piecemeal obiter dicta. What enabled India to convert her repressed economy into the dynamic one that has extorted Mr. Cooper's admiration, is the fact that the first Five Year Plan was laid securely on foundations of political freedom. If British rule had continued, no dyna-

mic change in the national economy such as the Plan has been able to produce, would have been possible. It was the freedom of India that enabled the nation to convert its repressed economy into a dynamic economy. What is true of India in the matter of the dependence of economic progress on political emancipation is true of every country in the world, and if the United States is interested, as stated by the American Ambassador, in the economic progress of the rest of the world, almost the first condition to be fulfilled is the establishment of political freedom in the backward areas whose advancement economically is sought to be secured by the U. S. policy-makers. Economic aid to countries under foreign domination is waste of effort and money. American economic objectives for the progress of the rest of the world must therefore be linked to a world freedom movement devoted to the liberation of subject countries still under the domination of imperial powers.

Goa presents an opportunity for American initiative in the direction of integrating the loose ends of their economic aims and political traditions into a sound and effective international policy. The most fantastic stories are current in the American press about the historical and geographical background of Goa. One American newspaper recently described Goa as a port in the heart of Pakistan with which India had nothing to do. It accused Pandit Nehru

of rapacious lust for territory in seeking to get the Portuguese out of Goa. The present writer met the staff of the newspaper concerned and convinced them of their blunder. But it is for the authentic custodians of American interests in India to counteract the evil effects of misinformed propaganda in the American press injurious to Indo-American relations and prepare the ground for a correct assessment of right and wrong in current international issues that require prompt settlement.

It is a pity that the American Ambassador had nothing to say of the attitude of the U. S. to Goa in the present conflict between India and

Portugal. Goa is a symbol of Western encroachment on Asian soil of which the most aggravated expression was British rule in India. After the British withdrawal, there is no room for these imperialist survivals, and even the unimaginative French Government recognised this by the quiet way in which they vacated the little pockets in India that had been in their possession. The United States can ill afford to cavil at India's neutrality in the U. S.—Soviet conflict in world affairs if in so straight and simple a matter as Goa, they confess their inability to lead by a lapse into indefensible non-committalness.

Sotto Voce

★

SECULARISM'S CURRENT FAVOURITE.



INDIA in the past has known monarchs who were spectacular converts to a faith other than their fathers' as well as those who set forth as propagators of new creeds. We had Asoka and Vishnuvardhana as well as Akbar with his Din Ilahi. The Congress rulers of Independent India have made yet another precedent. Their proclaimed allegiance is to Secularism. In practice Secularism has shown itself as intolerant and arbitrary as any other state religion of the past, but with a significant difference. The excesses of those crusading faiths proceeded from a generous warmth of emotion: this new religion of Secularism has ice-water in its veins.

It is intolerant with an intolerance which is, however, not more disconcerting than its celebrated enthusiasms. The Hinduism of the vast majority of the people of this country is looked upon as a superstition which they must be taught to outgrow by the unrelenting pressure of State power. The war on the ideological front is as fierce as that which goes on behind the Iron Curtain. The magic virtues of Change are being commended to Demos with all the virtuosity which trimmers of every age have practised. It was no doubt that *mantram* which was so potent with the Gaderene swine.

Hinduism is being bleached and

sterilised of such unfashionable ideas as the living of life as a sacrament, the acceptance of pious obligations, and the sacredness of marital ties. The ambition of our mentors is to make us as unlike ourselves as possible. Mr. Khrushchev, the new strong man of Soviet Russia, was so uncourtierlike as to tell a fair Parisienne the other day that Russian women might be unladylike in working alongside of men in all occupations but Russia did not breed harlots as Paris did. Congress India, so deferential to the wisdom of Moscow generally, was, however, all for Paris and freedom when it came to legitimising divorce.

Mr. Nehru has declared that he has no use for "kitchen-morality." He has even less use for the gods and goddesses his countrymen worship. He exhorts them to worship instead the dams and the steel works as the appropriate gods of the new era. All this one has long been prepared for. But he has also latterly developed a bump of reverence for other gods who are not indeed new to the Indian strand but have long been strangers there. He has devoutly carried the sacred relics of Moggallana and Sariputta in solemn procession and is proposing to spend a crore and a half of public money on the official celebration of the 2500th anniversary of the Buddha.

The Government's umpteen Information Departments have not been forthcoming in this matter. The Mahabodhi Society has understandably been more communicative. It is to its journal "The Mahabodhi" that I am indebted for the following particulars of the grand *tamasha* that is being planned. A high-level committee with the Prime Minister himself as Chairman and the Vice-President of India as the Working Chairman has been formed. Many Cabinet Ministers and Chief Ministers of

States, as the journal proudly announces, are members. The only non-official member is the Maharaj Kumar of Sikkim, President of the Mahabodhi Society of India; the Secretary of the Society will be his *locum tenens*.

Mr. Nehru, notwithstanding his global responsibilities and numberless preoccupations, has found time to preside at all the four meetings of the Committee held so far. The crore and a half which the Government are expected to spend may in fact prove all too inadequate if, in addition to the celebrations, they are to execute the plan they have in hand of "developing the Buddhist sacred places with better approach roads, gardens, rest-houses" *et hoc*. But money is no consideration with our Government when it comes to making a splash in the international sphere. Meanwhile Kedarnath, Gangotri, Jamnotri and a hundred other Hindu shrines remain practically inaccessible for lack of minimum facilities and Gaya, next only to Benares in sanctity, is easily the dirtiest city of India.

It must not be supposed that the Government's enthusiastic and expensive participation in the celebration of the Buddha's enlightenment indicates any unhealthy interest in other-worldly or spiritual matters. It is the Buddha's message of "Tolerance in human affairs" that they are anxious to broadcast. A symposium on the subject is to be held under the joint auspices of the Government and the U.N.E.S.C.O. in November 1956, as May in Delhi is deadly for European visitors. The Governments of the "Buddhist countries" are to be invited; so is the Dalai Lama. It would be interesting to have the reactions of Mao Tse Tung: his cordial response should put the coping stone on the triumph of tolerance in human affairs.

VIGNESWARA

SIDELIGHTS ::

FOR the past three months I have been touring in the United States. In my absence the editorial work of SWATANTRA was under the direction of Srimati Santha Rungachary. She maintained such a high level of excellence that I feel diffident about preserving it undiminished, especially as, on account of her having to leave Madras and from other causes, she will not be a regular member of the staff hereafter. Of all the journalists who have had occasion to work on SWATANTRA in the past nearly ten years since it was started, Santha has been the most brilliant. Daring and original in her outlook, she was quite unafraid to be sincere and she made no concessions to convention for the sake of propriety. She could stand alone on a standpoint of her own. Her undefeatable integrity of cerebration and the faithfulness with which she gave expression to it imparted to all that she wrote not merely an invigoration but also an exciting quality. She carries the stamp of genius. Without her charming and gracious presence, this office will never be the same again, and her exit is to me a major defeat in the march of life. Her path, wherever she may chance to dwell, will, I have no doubt, be covered with honour and glory and lead her to ever higher pinnacles of distinction and renown.

The Indian visitor to the United States is propelled into a way of life sheltered from want and privation, where rich, bounteous amenities spring from an economy of plenty assiduously nourished by the fullest freedom of enterprise ever known to man. Washington, the nation's capital, is a triumph of artistic city-planning. It radiates from Capitol Hill where Congress, the power in the State wielding sovereignty, has its

abode. The beauty of the interior of the Congress building is breath-taking. It is embellished by statues presented by every one of the States in honour of its chosen illustrious leaders. Near by is the Library of Congress, the most artistically perfect habitation ever designed by an architect for the housing of books running into millions. Any legislator can have any book of his choice sent to his desk from the Library within a couple of minutes of telephoning through a chute worked by pneumatic suction.

In the Senate and in the House of Representatives proceedings are quite informal and frequently many members are simultaneously on their feet hurling questions and debating points at each other. The discipline of addressing the Chair as a safeguard of orderliness is not insisted on in American legislative practice. Confusion and turmoil as a result of far too many voices bursting out into heated discussion at one and the same time are normal and ordinary. All on a sudden, however, there is a hush. It is the signal of an electric change in the atmosphere when genuine eloquence is listened to with rapt attention by an enraptured assembly. These are the great moments of Congress when history is made.

Noble monuments have been worked into the planning of Washington for bringing into concrete vision the outstanding events in the history of the nation and the lives of its great heroes. Lincoln, Jefferson and Washington overlook the city from memorials enshrined in the finest masterpieces of the builder's art. The Lincoln memorial is an enchanting structure of classic beauty. It owes nothing to the laborious art of the interior decorator. Its impressiveness is entirely derived from the

perfect proportions into which floor and ceiling and pillars and interior space and exterior facade have been fitted into each other to provide a background for perhaps the finest work of sculpture of modern times. The statue of Lincoln in white marble is thrilling to behold. In the environs in which it is located, it has an atmosphere of sanctity as of a temple. It is as if a great chapter of achievement in the country's history has been captured from fleeting time and presented to posterity in imperishable form. Washington is replete with monumental devices for turning historical incidents into a life-stream of integrating stimulation for accentuating national pride and unity. The illuminated national archives set apart for daily inspection by crowds in a building of exquisite taste; huge panels in colours decorating walls and ceilings of public edifices, dedicated to the illustration of historical themes by master painters; gigantic statues in bronze and marble everywhere in honour of the dead and the living great; the christening of an avenue after each of the States of the Union, blending it into the life of the capital city; the invitation to one and all every Monday to enter the White House and roam in its halls excepting the actual quarters reserved for the President's residence—all these symbolise a process of continual effort for identifying the citizen with the State and building in him a national consciousness more powerful than the enormous diversities driving their wedges into the polyglot population.

Every Wednesday when the President is in the city and is not otherwise indisposed, he holds a press conference. I attended one of these conferences and also another presided over by Secretary Dulles. The President enters the conference room by a side door without any ceremony, when the whole gathering of reporters, numbering some two hundred,

red, rise in greeting, but sit down immediately while he himself remains standing for the whole duration of the conference. This deferential reception is not given however to Secretary Dulles and at his conference nobody rises when he enters, he just comes in, and on his legs all the time, he makes a statement, answers questions and departs quietly. President Eisenhower gives an impression of labouring under no inhibitions at all in his press conference. He takes every question that is put to him with ease and relaxation, and though occasionally spirited in his rejoinders, he is never disturbed or out of temper. One feels that here is a man who has nothing to hide. An atmosphere of naturalness and cordiality, with no pose or pretension, no divergence between the exterior appearance and the inner reality of self, pervades the President throughout the conference. He is at home with himself and with others. The result is an impression of integrity and honesty, which is the main source of the President's immense personal influence and invincible popularity. President Eisenhower is the most ardently beloved of all American leaders today; and political opponents as well as supporters join in the general national tribute to his chaste and incorruptible personality. He seems to be incapable of arousing dislike or hate though here and there one comes across Rooseveltians who do not rate his gifts of intellect very highly. One great lady said to me, "When my husband was alive I had to be a Democrat. Now because of Eisenhower, I am a Republican."

Secretary Dulles is quite the reverse of the President in his press conference. He surrounds himself with an armour of noncommittalness. He is fencing all the time to ward off probes in quest of information of which he seems bent on giving as

(Continued on page 47)

NATIONALISATION OF BUSINESS

By S. RAJAGOPALAN

FEW problems are of more momentous significance at the present juncture than the future of trade and business enterprises in this country, on which depend full production and full employment, so vital an objective of the Second Five Year Plan. In truth, it was only as a means of achieving this end that in the past, cults like Fascism, Communism and Socialism sprang up in Europe in the wake of World War I and the devastation that followed it.

Trade and business now fall into two mutually exclusive categories, viz., the public sector and the private sector; and these in the main, are the distinguishing features of the two rival power blocs in the world today, founded on distinct economic theories. One theory is that private enterprise, obsessed with the profit motive, can achieve high production and employment, if released from the hampering restraints of Government and set free to operate by competitive methods. This obtains in America, Australia and Great Britain, and the prosperity it has built up therein, carries with it its own justification. The other reckons the capitalistic structure as mankind's deadliest enemy and puts its faith in State monopoly and overlordship, such as prevails in the Soviet and the satellite States; and it is idle to ignore the national regeneration and prestige it has added to the countries concerned. In between lies another school believing in mixed economy. This is to some extent reflects the policy followed hitherto in our country, which is best exemplified by the recent nationalisation of the Imperial Bank and the current banking legislation.

Business, Andrew Carnegie once said, is a three-legged stool, stand-

ing on capital, business abilities and labour: these three should co-exist. The State, for instance, can provide unlimited capital, but should it, as often happens, lack business abilities, the effect would be such as some of the State-owned enterprises in India since Independence have met with. More than one flourishing concern started by men of the highest efficiency, have tumbled down in recent history due to the want of adequate capital. And in Madras, the fate of the Choolai Mills and the Madras Electric Tramways reminds us that labour alone, acting singly, can achieve nothing. It is hence easy to understand why rich countries like America providing for full employment and production and prosperity, shrink from undertaking industrial enterprises directly but entrust them to the private sector, for individual competition, subject to limitations conceived in the interests of the public. The phenomenal growth of the automobile industry in the U.S.A. is a standing tribute to this policy.

It is not suggested that trade activities should be entirely removed from State-ownership or control, and it would be definitely suicidal for a country like India, with its teeming millions ill-fed, under-clothed and under-employed, to entrust businesses which affect the public at large to capitalists who may not look beyond themselves. Businesses which affect social well-being like banking, insurance, transport by road or rail, electricity, telephones, iron, steel, drugs and foodstuffs during war and famine, must be State-controlled if not State-owned. Indeed our Constitution provides for the State taking over trade or business, as incidental to the ordinary functions of government (Art. 289 (3)) and even in the

exercise of the police power. In regard to individual rights, Art 19 (1) (g) entitles every citizen to carry on any trade, business and commerce free throughout the country.

Generally speaking, there is no business or economic activity which is completely immune from governmental control in some form, ranging from price control to absolute prohibition. For this purpose, businesses are classified under three heads:

(1) Those that are *per se* vicious and harmful such as liquor, opium and lotteries. Prohibition of these types is called for.

(2) Those which are useful. Interdiction of this variety by the State is seldom upheld, if it violates individual rights.

(3) Those lying between the two, which may or may not be harmful depending on local conditions. These may be banned or regulated when there exists a danger that the public may be harmed thereby. Foodstuffs, clothing, fuel and the other necessities of life during periods of short supply come under this category.

ALL business is private in origin, but turns out to be "affected with public interest" by reason of its importance and indispensability to the public at large, which they acquire in course of time. Circumstances are often times created, when a close relation is forged between the public and those engaged in the business, raising a duty on the part of the latter to be just and reasonable. This would depend on a variety of factors, viz., the nature of the business, its features which touch the public and the abuses flowing therefrom. It is however well settled that simply because a business is public it by no means follows that the public can take over its management automatically. Even in respect of callings which become ill-managed,

interference has not been permitted as a matter of course, unless they affect public health. Some years ago it was reported that grave evils had crept into the organization of private employment agencies. A statutory commission found it "reeking with fraud, extortion and flagrant abuses of every kind," and legislation was enacted totally prohibiting them. The court, however, invalidated the law as being in conflict with the fundamental right to carry on business, and on the ground that the prevalence of abuses might justify stringent regulation but not complete prohibition, which meant "the destruction of one's right to follow a distinctly useful calling in an upright way." It has also been ruled that the question whether a business can be resumed by the State on the ground that it has become affected with public interest, has to be resolved by the judiciary and not by either the administration or the legislature; and it is for the court to consider, balancing the claims of the State to regulate private conduct as a means of achieving vague social objectives, against those of individuals needing to be protected against being compelled to sacrifice their rights. That is the law in America and there is no reason why it should not be so in India too, where the right to carry on business is a fundamental right guaranteed under the Constitution, although a somewhat restricted view has been taken by the Supreme Court recently when the State monopoly of the sale of textbooks claimed by the East Punjab Government was sustained. On the larger issue of the allocation of businesses between the public and the private sectors, it is only fair that before the Government takes any steps in that behalf, the entire problem should be thoroughly investigated by a high power commission; and this has become the more imperative since plans like the nationalisation of gold mines in Mysore are in the offing.

QUALITIES OF A SUPREME COURT JUSTICE

By FELIX FRANKFURTER

Associate Justice, Supreme Court of the United States.

A JUDGE should be compounded of the faculties that are demanded of the historian and the philosopher and the prophet. The last demand upon him—to make some forecast of the consequences of his action—is perhaps the heaviest. To pierce the curtain of the future, to give shape and visage to mysteries still in the womb of time, is the gift of imagination. It requires poetic sensibilities with which judges are rarely endowed and which their education does not normally develop. These judges must have something of the creative artist in them: they must have antennae registering feeling and judgment beyond logical, let alone quantitative, proof.

Judge Hand, who in 1951 retired as a U.S. Court of Appeals judge, bears quoting:

"I venture to believe that it is as important to a judge called upon to pass on a question of constitutional law, to have at least a bowing acquaintance with Acton and Maitland, with Thucydides, Gibbon and Carlyle, with Homer, Dante, Shakespeare and Milton, with Machiavelli, Montaigne and Rabelais, with Plato, Bacon, Hume and Kant, as with the books which have been specifically written on the subject.

"For in such matters everything turns upon the spirit in which he approaches the questions before him. The words he must construe are empty vessels into which he can pour nearly anything he will. Men do not gather figs of thistles, nor supply institutions from judges whose outlook is limited by parish or class. They must be aware that there are



Justice Frankfurter

before them more than verbal problems; more than final solutions cast in generalizations of universal applicability. They must be aware of the changing social tensions in every society which make it an organism; which demand new schemata of adaptation; which will disrupt it, if rigidly confined."

The decisions in the cases that really trouble judges rest on judgment, and judgment derives from the totality of a man's nature and experience. Such

judgment will be exercised by two types of men, broadly speaking, but of course with varying emphasis—those who express their private views or revelations, deeming them, if not *vox dei* at least *vox populi*, or those who feel strongly that they have no authority to promulgate law by their merely personal view and whose whole training and proved performance substantially insure that their conclusions reflect understanding of, and due regard for, law as the expression of the views and feelings that may fairly be deemed representative of the community as a continuing society.

Judges are men, not disembodied spirits. Of course a judge is not free from preferences or, if you will, biases. But he may deprive a bias of its meretricious authority by stripping it of the uncritical assumption that it is founded on compelling reason or the coercive power of a syllogism. He will be alert to detect that though a conclusion has a logical form, it, in fact, represents a choice of competing considerations of policy, one of which for the time has won the day.

It is sometimes asked, does a man cease to be himself when he becomes a Justice? Does he change his character by putting on a gown? No, he does not change his character. He brings his whole experience, his training, his outlook, his social, intellectual and moral environment with him when he takes a seat on the Supreme Court Bench.

A judge worth his salt is in the grip of his function. The intellectual habits of self-discipline which govern his mind are as much a part of him as the influence of the interest he may have represented at the bar, often much more so. For example, Mr. Justice Joseph P. Bradley was a "corporation lawyer" par excellence when he went on the Supreme Court Bench (he served as an Associate Justice from 1870 to 1892), but his decisions on matters affecting corporate control in the years following

the Civil War were strikingly free of bias in favour of corporate power.

To assume that a lawyer who becomes a judge takes on the bench merely his views on social or economic questions leaves out of account his rooted notions regarding the scope and limits of a judge's authority. The outlook of a lawyer fit to be a Justice regarding the role of a judge cuts across all his personal preferences for this or that social arrangement.

Need it be stated that true humility and its offspring, disinterestedness, are more indispensable for the work of the Supreme Court than for a judge's function on any other bench? These qualities alone will not assure another indispensable requisite. This is the capacity for self-searching. What Jacques Maritain said in another connection applies peculiarly to members of the Supreme Court. A Justice of that court cannot adequately discharge his function "without passing through the door of the knowing, obscure as it may be, of his own subjective."

THIS is not to say that the application of this view of the judge's function—that he is there not to impose his private views upon society, that he is not to enforce personalized justice—assures unanimity of judgments. Inevitably there are bound to be fair differences of opinion, and it would be pretense to deny that in the self-righteous exercise of this role obscurantist and even unjustifiable decisions sometimes are rendered.

Why should anyone be surprised at this? The very nature of the task makes some differences of view well nigh inevitable. The answers that the Supreme Court is required to give are based on questions and on data that preclude automatic or even undoubting answers. If the materials on which judicial judgments must be based could be fed into a machine so as to produce ineluctable answers, if such were the nature of the problems that come before the Supreme Court and such were the answers

expected, we would have machines doing the work instead of judges. Mr. Chief Justice Hughes (who served from 1930 to 1941) summed it up this way:

"How amazing it is that, in the midst of controversies on every conceivable subject, one should expect unanimity of opinion upon difficult legal questions! In the highest ranges of thought, in theology, philosophy and science, we find differences of view on the part of the most distinguished experts—theologians, philosophers and scientists. The history of scholarship is a record of disagreements . . ."

The core of the difficulty is that there is hardly a question of any real difficulty before the Court that does not entail more than one so-called principle. Anybody can decide a question if only a single principle is in controversy. Partisans and advocates often cast a question in

that form, but the form is deceptive.

This contest between conflicting principles is not limited to law. Recently I came across this profound observation in *The London Times Literary Supplement*: "When, in any field of human observation, two truths appear in conflict it is wiser to assume that neither is exclusive, and that their contradiction, though it may be hard to bear, is part of the mystery of things."

Judges, however, cannot leave such contradiction between two conflicting "truths" as "part of the mystery of things." They have to adjudicate. If the conflict cannot be resolved, the task of the Supreme Court is to arrive at an accommodation of the contending claims. This is the core of the difficulties and misunderstandings about the judicial process. This, for any conscientious judge, is the agony of his duty.—*New York Times Magazine*.



Kumari Pramila Vishvanath in a Bharata Natya pose in a programme of Bharata Natyam in aid of the National Kannada Education Society's Building, Bombay.

UNDER MALCOLM MACDONALD'S GANDHI CAP

By ANDREW ROTH

I WAS conversing with an Indian friend just before the Commonwealth Correspondents Association luncheon for Malcolm MacDonald, on the eve of his flight to India. As sometimes happens in a crowded room, we found we were talking about two different people. I was joking that I half expected Malcolm MacDonald to arrive in India wearing a Gandhi cap. My companion had been talking about the former U. S. Ambassador to India, Chester Bowles. He told of the reaction of a traditional American diplomat to Bowles' ability to mix with Indians, including sending his children to a local school. "He's just gone native!"

It struck both of us that this remark might just as well have been made by a traditional British diplomat or denizen of one of Singapore's 'Europeans only' clubs about Malcolm Macdonald. His total absence of racial prejudice and his boyish, charming ability to adapt himself to people of all sorts distinguishes him from the traditional reserved Briton, particularly of the class from which the normal British pro-Consul is selected.

With an excellent sense of humour (and of publicity), he, of course has capitalized on the criticisms of the stiff-necked Old Boys. "As you are aware," he said when he received the Freedom of Singapore, "I don't really know how to behave properly. Sometimes I take off my dinner jacket when I should keep it on. Often I put my tie in my pocket when a gentleman would have it round his neck. Occasionally I wear an

Hawaiian shirt when I should wear a bush shirt."

"Then, in a reference to London press criticisms of his posing for photographs with bare-breasted Borneo Dyak maidens: "Some of my friends do not wear shirts at all."

Unaccepted Conservative

Apart from this American-style exuberance and sense of public relations, there is another aspect of him which has obscured the essential Malcolm MacDonald.

Although the U. S. has recently got a good deal of deserved bad publicity for impugning the loyalty of children of leftwing parents, Malcolm MacDonald has long suffered from having "associated" with his father, the late Ramsay MacDonald. When his father, then a Labour Prime Minister, left the Labour Party in 1931 to join forces with the Conservatives, Malcolm announced support for him—against his father's advice. He said he believed his father had acted in the best interest of the country, and, secondly, that "blood is—thicker than water."

Because he crossed the floor with his father, Malcolm MacDonald has never been able to escape from the feeling of most Labourites—except his good friend Clement Attlee—that he was a "traitor" to the Labour movement.

More important, the traditional Conservatives have always regarded him without enthusiasm. I suppose this is partly the cricket-morality idea that it is better to play well for your own, losing side than to switch over to the winning side where

According to Asquith this was "a unique incident at that moment and I believe still in the experience of any leader of the House."

In 1929, another interesting incident happened in the Commons. There was a heated exchange at question time about India, in which Fenner Brockway refused to obey the ruling of the Chair. The House had just divided on the question "whether Mr. Fenner Brockway be suspended or not." Members were coming into the House to take their seats and tellers were about to take their places near the Clerk's table to note the result. Suddenly, Mr. Beckett, the Socialist member for Peckham, jumped on the table and in an insolent manner seized the Mace, put it on his shoulders and walked away. No one adopted such an insolent attitude towards the Mace since the days of Cromwell. Mr. Beckett reached the door, the Sergeant at arms, Admiral Sir Collins Keppel, without a word took the Mace from Mr. Beckett and restored it to its former dignity.

In the pre-war Yugoslav *Skupshтина*, a ministerial supporter once produced a gun and blazed away at the opposition front bench. It was customary in the Italian Chamber of Deputies for the people's representatives to throw ink pots or furniture at the Government members.

In the Ceylon Lower House, a similar incident was about to happen on February 5, 1955. Mr. Kumaraswamy, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministers for Justice and Transport, answering a charge by the Opposition member for Kotte, Mr. Robert Gunawardene of the Trotskyite Lanka Sama Samaj Party, said, "We are not the descendants of the high way robbers like the member for Kotte." Mr. Gunawardene sprang up and protested against the insinuation. But Mr. Kumaraswamy effusively reiterated what he had already said and Mr. Gunawardene picked up a

paper weight on his desk and threatened to strike Mr. Kumaraswamy should he dare to say another word. The Speaker intervened and asked both of them to leave the House.

A most savage riot broke out in the Japanese Lower House on June 4, 1954. The Government desired the extension of the session of the House for two days to pass the Police Revision Bill which would reunify the nation's police forces and empower the Prime Minister to appoint and dismiss the Chief of the Police. The Socialists opposed the Government move and a pitched battle lasting 20 minutes took place. The Liberal and Socialist Deputies hurled paper weights, punched, kicked, wrestled and charged each other. Even women representatives joined in clawing and screaming in the middle of the struggle. A male member tore off the blouse of a lady member and she had to run away from the Chamber in hysterics. For a few minutes the women members of the Socialist Party occupied the key seats in the House. The Speaker's wife, Mrs. Tsutsumi, occupied the Speaker's chair and five others seized the seats belonging to the members of the Cabinet and thereby formed Japan's first "All Women Government." But when men from the Government Party roughly handled these women to gain their seats they burst out crying and Japan's first 'Mahila Raj' (Women's Government) dissolved in tears. To restore order Speaker Tsutsumi had to summon a police force of 200.

Compared with these incidents our Parliament functioned in a dignified manner. It is true some incidents have happened in our Parliament also. In March, 1953, an interesting incident happened in the Lok Sabha. Dr. Syama Prasad Mukherjee and Pandit Nehru lost their tempers and hurled challenges and defiance at each other, all over a misunderstanding. Dr. Mukherjee was speaking on the Kashmir issue and in the

end he complained, rather irrelevantly that the Congress had been using wine and money at elections. Now wine normally suggests women. These two have traditionally gone together everywhere except in the holy places. The Prime Minister jumped to the conclusion that the Doctor was charging the Congress not only with normal electioneering mal-practices but with something worse. Hence his indignant outburst reminiscent of the wrath of Achilles. Dr. Mukherjee rose equal to the occasion and retorted that a man with such an explosive temper was unfit to be the ruler of a country. When Greek meets Greek and Achilles greets Atrides in appropriate language, there will be a tug of war. Although incidents of the kind had happened, our parliamentary institutions have usually functioned in a quiet manner. Even the leftists in our

assemblies are more suave, more sweet and more reasonable than their counterparts in the West. Pericles said that Athens was the School of Hellas. Prime Minister Nehru may say with pardonable pride that Delhi is the school of Asia—nay of the world. Parliamentary institutions have not had a very good time in Eastern Europe and Asia. Parliamentary government was suspended in East Bengal. The Indonesian Parliament is not a dignified institution. The incidents that had happened at Teheran in the Majlis are far more serious. But in Delhi the Union Parliament has worked in an exemplary way. But it may be said that it is pleasant occasionally to see the tedium what is euphemistically described as even tenor—of parliamentary proceedings relieved by an impressive display of tempers and a balanced exchange of compliments.

(Continued from page 18)

The Charming Deception

The difficulty for those consulting or trying to persuade Malcolm MacDonald is that his friendly charm can readily be mistaken for agreement. I recall an interview with him in 1949, just after arriving in Malaya from Viet Nam and Indonesia. With his usual adroitness he turned the interview around and asked what I thought of forming an anti-Communist regime around Bao Dai. I had just finished doing a long biographical study entitled the "Night-Club Emperor" and for about half an hour I expanded on the criminal folly of trying to build anything affective about a play-boy puppet universally despised by the idealistic young nationalist intellectuals of Viet Nam. As we drove away from Mr. MacDonald's residence, persuaded by his seeming agreement, I felt that perhaps I had persuaded Mr. MacDonald

to oppose the "Bao Dai experiment." A month or two later, at the Colombo Commonwealth Foreign Ministers' Conference, Malcolm MacDonald was the strongest advocate of throwing all of the West's support behind Bao Dai.

So I can agree with Kingsley Martin's comment in the *New Statesman* some weeks ago that: "His house in Singapore has been as free and as happy a place of entertainment both for Asians and British as Government House was in Delhi when Lord and Lady Mountbatten were assisting at the birth of free India."

But I can also agree with Malcolm MacDonald when he said on August 24th: "The list of my own errors is too horrible to be mentioned." But one error he cannot indulge very well in his new post: that of preferring "prefabricated nationalists' friendly to Britain to the real thing."

THE ANATOMY OF SOCIAL SECURITY

By S. AMBIRAJAN

DEMOCRACY assures equality before the ballot box, and also equality before law; but of what use are these without economic equality? Thus the critics of democracy. It is true democracy means in effect self-government, but as Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru has warned us, "self-government, if it is to justify itself, must stand ultimately for better government for the masses . . . The only real justification for Indian freedom is the promise of better government, of a higher standard for the masses, of industrial and cultural growth, and of the removal of the atmosphere of fear and suppression that foreign rule invariably brings in its train." This warning was uttered twenty years ago, but it has by no means lost its force in the altered circumstances of to-day. Once again we feel the need to adjust the claims of political freedom and economic security. There are countries which put the emphasis on one or the other alone, but the experience of the past few decades must convince us that we cannot do without either. As Messrs. Haber and Cohen point out, "Freedom without security is the freedom to starve, the freedom to be homeless, dependent, or sick. Security without freedom is the security of the prison and the concentration camp." A modern democracy, if it is to achieve a general diffusion of prosperity, must somehow reconcile the claims of freedom and security. This rather seemed like the attempt to square the circle, but in recent years the concept of the Welfare State has opened new possibilities before democracies. It is accordingly coming to be realized that, apart from exercising police functions, the State has

to discharge the duty of developing the country economically, in other words, increasing the standard of living of the people. The cardinal directive principle of State policy, as laid down in the Constitution of India, is that "the State shall strive to promote the welfare of the people by securing and protecting as effectively as it may a social order in which justice, social, economic and political, shall inform all the institutions of national life." Indeed, "justice, social, economic and political," figures in the Preamble itself, taking precedence before Liberty, Equality and Fraternity, the classic watchwords of the French Revolution. On the other hand, even a just social order may not by itself meet the entire human situation within a country. A Welfare State has also to take note of the normal risks and uncertainties of life and provide for a system of social security that will play the guardian to the more unfortunate among its citizens. Most modern Governments have introduced such social security schemes, ranging in comprehensiveness from New Zealand's all-inclusive programme to India's provision of sickness insurance for a segment alone of the labouring class. Yet our ideal is the same as New Zealand's, for the Constitution lays down as another directive principle that "the State shall, within the limits of its economic capacity and development, make effective provision for securing the right to work, to education and to public assistance in cases of unemployment, old age, sickness and disablement, and in other cases of undeserved want." Even countries which at present have no

social security programmes are taking steps to draw up plans to keep step with the rest of the civilized world.

Social security, then, is no more in the realm of mere theorising, but has been—and is being—given a key place in the practical politics of nations. But old ideas die hard, and people sometimes still ask, "Why social security"? "Am I my brother's keeper"! The necessity for a system of social security may be urged from various points of view: ethical, economical and political. The humanitarians advocate social security as a means of achieving all-round social justice. In mediaeval times, of course, social security was linked up with the idea of charity. People were required to help their less fortunate brethren by the categorical imperative of religion. The virtues of *annadhan* (food gifts) were extolled, and an exhortation like the Tamil '*Ayyamittu-un*' (Eat only after feeding others!) shows how social security was sought to be worked in practice. But charity, where it is not voluntary or born of love, is likely to prove a cold comfort, and a complete system of social security cannot be built on charity alone. The decline of religion and the rise of secularism are narrowing down the play of spontaneous charity. It is here that the State has to step in and take the work where private charity has left it. "Rob Peter to pay Paul" is an old proverb, and the modern Welfare State is obliged to rob rich Peter to pay poor Paul. The assumption is that there is enough wealth in the country, although the vast majority of the people are poor; the trouble is faulty distribution of the available wealth. But in a 'backward' country like India where the few rich are very rich and the many poor are miserably poor, even if we equalized incomes, the income per head of population would rise only from Rs. 16 to Rs. 21 per month—not a revolu-

tionary prospect at all. Our Peters have to be taxed more and more, and our Pauls have to become the beneficiaries; but this in itself, without a steep rise in the total wealth of the country, would not really solve our problems.

BUT how is our total wealth to be augmented? Production should increase, and if this is to happen labour should work with a will to success. But in a situation where the worker lives hand to mouth and is unsure of the morrow, he can only mark time, constantly worried whether he or his family would be able to meet unforeseen contingencies in the future. A worried worker is but half a worker, and even when he is present in body, his mind may be far away. Some economists therefore argue that the clue to labour efficiency and industrial productivity is the introduction of a comprehensive social security scheme. But people opposed to such expensive measures maintain that man after all works because of the fear of destitution. Remove this fear by introducing security, and you will remove the very incentive to efficiency! The point has been forcibly urged by an Australian industrialist who declares that social security is but "a device to entice people into a sense of security, and the result will be inevitably, as has happened before, that with security of employment, with ourselves cared for as far as possible by the State, we will just become a nation of slackers." But to build anything on fear is both bad business and bad psychology. Sir William Beveridge, the foremost modern advocate of social security, has therefore stressed man's duty to work as much as the State's duty to provide social security to him. Fear undoubtedly plays a part in making people work, and the removal of fear makes some people slackers; but the whole aim of a new social order is to effect a change in men's current attitudes to work. Far from being a badge of slavery or

drudgery, work should become a means of self-expression to the citizens in a Welfare State.

More than the humanitarian and the economic grounds for embarking on a programme of social security, there is the paramount political consideration that if by and large the people are to accept a government and give their best to it, they should enjoy a reasonable quantum of social welfare. Petty thefts are unheard of in the United Kingdom because, as Mr. Somerset Maugham has pointed out, "the rich are rich no longer; the poor, no longer so very poor, are better housed and better clothed . . . (and) have at last obtained the chance to live decent lives." Economists maintain that social welfare is proportional to equitable income distribution, and the implementation of schemes of social security necessarily involves income distribution. A universal social security programme can only be financed by the State, and this naturally means higher taxation and an increase in the real income of the lower income groups. By blunting the edges of difference between the rich and the poor, the haves and the have-nots, social security promotes general contentment and makes for political stability.

However we view the problem, social security seems to be a desirable end. It is meant to supplant or supplement the traditional methods of private charity, and in effect it is the security which society through government furnishes against certain risks on evils to which the people are constantly exposed. Sir William Beveridge has summed up the challenges to human security as Want, Disease, Ignorance, Squalor and Idleness. These are the five demons that block the road to reconstruction and prosperity. If we are effectively to meet the challenge, we should oppose Want by Wealth, Disease by Health, Ignorance by Knowledge, Squalor by Beauty and Idle-

ness by Work. Yet, although we may all agree that social security is a desirable end, our immediate programme would depend upon our finances, our other commitments, and the personnel—specialist and administrative—that we are in a position to deploy. Timidity that shrieks all effort and utopianism that closes its eyes to the hard realities in the situation are alike dangers that we should avoid.

A NOTE of impatience is heard from time to time that the Government of India hasn't yet brought into operation any all-embracing system of social security. The First Five Year Plan has in particular come in for some sharp criticism on account of the very meagre provision it has made for social welfare schemes. One author, for example, accuses the Government of betraying a "lack of vision in social policy and of boldness in tackling administrative difficulties." It is no doubt true that the funds allotted to social security measures amount to no more than Rs. 3 or 4 crores out of a total estimated expenditure of nearly Rs. 2,250 crores and they are meant to benefit only a minor fraction of the Indian population. Other countries have introduced comprehensive schemes of social security,—why cannot India follow suit? It is easy to understand the impatience of the critics. They meet the argument of financial insufficiency by quoting the words of Sir William Beveridge: "When people ask, can Britain afford the Beveridge scheme, it's like asking if a housewife can afford to buy bread for her family before she buys a radio. Of course, she can and should." If these words are applicable to the United Kingdom, why, they must be applicable to India as well! It is rather a fallacy to argue that because certain things are done in advanced, highly industrialized countries like the United Kingdom, Holland, Denmark or Sweden, we can try the same experiments in a sub-continent like

India that has but recently awakened from the nightmare of subjection and is not yet altogether free from feudal ways of life. It took Western countries like the United Kingdom several decades to evolve completely integrated systems of social security. In 1900, when Mr. Seebohm Rowntree published his classic work entitled *Poverty*, the emphasis was on the poverty of the people of Britain; but by 1940, Mr. Rowntree himself recognized the fact of social change, as may be inferred from his book *Poverty and Progress*. Two years later, in 1942, the Beveridge Report on Social Insurance and Allied Services came out, which became the base plank of the all-out scheme of social security which are presently put into effect. We in India today are not even where Britain was in 1900. In a country where the majority of people do not enjoy one square meal a day, the pressing problem is poverty more than security, for our insecurity doesn't concern a remote or problematic tomorrow but is the agony of the present, a harrowing and continuing agony. In such a predicament full employment at fair wages would be the best programme of social security. Under the circumstances the Mahalanobis Plan Frame for the Second Five Year Plan has rightly named as one of its objectives the liquidation of unemployment "as quickly as possible and within a period not exceeding ten years." The Beveridgian simile of Bread versus Radio should be understood, not literally, but symbolically. If the choice is between Radio and Bread, certainly Bread is to be preferred; but if the choice is between Bread for some and Hunger for others, even the distribution of the available bread may not prove a permanent solution, more Bread will have to be produced and distributed on an equitable basis. The Beveridgian plea is that, in schemes of social security, first things should come first. In the Indian context, eradication of poverty through

creation of purposive employment is the first thing on which our national energies have to be directed.

BROADLY speaking, social security comprises social assistance and social insurance. The former carries with it a charity element, for it really means one section of the community helping another section, not so fortunately situated. On the other hand, social insurance involves the community as a whole pooling its resources and sharing its risks. While limited social insurance means only the compulsory insurance of a particular group of people (say, workers in a factory) to meet future hazards, a comprehensive national scheme will embrace (as in the United Kingdom) health, education, assistance and old age pensions, housing, family allowances, child care and nutrition services. In India today an overwhelming majority of the people are below subsistence level or have incomes barely sufficient to keep body and soul together. How are they to pay contributions, however modest, towards social insurance? Under the Government of India Employees' State Insurance Act of 1948, only employees whose average daily wages are above Re. 1 are required to pay a weekly contribution of 2 annas or above but the fact is that the vast bulk of Indian peasantry and labour may not be able even to spare 2 annas per week towards any insurance scheme. For the time being, then, and till full employment at fair wages decisively alters the economic picture, we have to be content with schemes for social assistance, however unimpressive they may appear to be. With regard to a highly industrialized country like Britain the "most urgent economic problem," says Mr. E. H. Carr, "is no longer to expand production." Since the Industrial Revolution the country has been amassing wealth, and no economists think that the time has come now to distribute on a just basis the accumulated wealth. But even Bri-

ward and the weak and for the benefit of the favoured.

Low as the quality of the personnel of our services has fallen by this policy of recruitment with a premium on backwardness some sort of efficiency could still be achieved if there had been no interference from politicians in the day to day administrative details and discipline in the services. A great majority of questions asked on the floor of the Assembly are about the strength of this caste or that community in this service or that cadre and about individual postings, transfers and disciplinary action in the services. We seldom hear questions asked about the efficient working of departments or individual officers. Higher officers feel helpless in disciplining and getting work out of the service personnel from the weak and backward sections of society because of the protection they enjoy from their protagonists amongst the legislators, politicians and ministers. If discipline and respect for authority are undermined in the services, naturally efficiency suffers.

IF the head of a department, say the Registrar of Co-operative Societies, after laborious work by the department at all its levels finds a cooperative house construction society or some similar institution working improperly and orders, in-correct procedure, its supersession but the president of the society concerned refuses to hand over charge to the special officer appointed on the authority of an assurance he had from the Minister concerned that the order for supersession would be stayed and the question reviewed, and having stayed the order for supersession the Minister allows the decision to lie over for months, well, the Minister might be within his rights and authority to do so but the authority of the departmental head and the morale of the whole service would be so badly shaken that it would be impossible that the department could

work efficiently any more. Such interferences in normal administration by Ministers to oblige their friends or political associates are not just hypothetical. They are of every day occurrence. Postings, transfers, promotions, disciplinary actions and every detail of administering the services are matters of great interest to legislators and politicians. Ministers are constantly subjected to pressure by their friends and politicians in these matters for the benefit of somebody or other who would not be entitled for that benefit in the normal course of things. Most Ministers are very obliging to their friends in these matters and orders by the heads of departments are often countermanded by the Ministers. Sometimes in their incapacity to make up their minds as to which influence or interest they are to oblige, Ministers allow some of these executive decisions to lie over indefinitely. Thus colleges open without principals and lecturers, courts open without judges and departments go without a head of the department and offices work without the full complement of staff. This creates an atmosphere of uncertainty and confusion in which nobody can work efficiently. Besides officers are always apprehensive of offending political influences unknown to them. Ministers are responsible for the efficient working of their departments. By long experience and tradition a framework of service regulations has been built up for the efficient working of services. It has acquired the reputation of being the steel frame of the services on which any Government could rely for efficient administration. It should be the care of Ministers to maintain and strengthen the efficiency and integrity of this steel frame. Weakening it for gaining political advantages would be suicidal to the Government.

The comparatively low pay in provincial services as compared with the services of the Union Government and private commercial concerns is

said by the committee to be keeping off the better qualified people from the provincial services, and a plea is made out for bringing the pay scales of the services of the provincial Government on par with the pay scales of the services of the Union Government to attract the better qualified and the efficient into the provincial services. Perhaps there is some truth in this. But the unemployment amongst the educated middle classes now is much greater than what it was ten years back. Opportunities of employment for these people in the services of the Union Government and private concerns are not numerous enough yet to absorb even a fraction of them. The security service, opportunity for advancement with merit and seniority and the pensionary and other emoluments of provincial services have been attractive enough till recently for most of the educated young men in spite of its low pay scales. Certainly thousands of starving unemployed educated middle class youths cannot afford to spurn provincial service as not worth their while. But still, if the better qualified amongst them are not coming into the provincial service, it is not because they do not want to come in but because the Government is deliberately keeping them off by their policies of "social justice" discriminatory recruitment and denial of prospects of advancement for people with merit and seniority. As in recruitment, so in advancement in service, social and political considerations play a greater part than merit and experience. Policies, rules, and qualifications for promotion are changed from time to time for the benefit of favoured people and artificial grades are created in the same cadre of service to which direct recruitment based on backwardness and personality is made; thus denying the prospects of advancement to people with merit and seniority. Perhaps the Educational Department is the worst abused in this respect. No wonder that

our standards of education are fast going down. It is this insecurity of service and uncertainty of advancement that is mostly keeping the better qualified and the efficient from seeking provincial service. While the case for better scales of pay cannot be denied it is to be remembered that more pay in itself cannot impart greater efficiency to the basically backward and inefficient.

Efficiency of the services is a matter of vital importance to any Government and it cannot be a field for political manoeuvring. It should be kept above and maintained above politics. The facts brought out by the enquiry committee about low efficiency and falling standards of education are of vital significance to the country. It is to be hoped that the matter would be dealt with in an objective manner and the efficiency of the services and standards of education would be restored without political and social considerations obscuring the vital interests of the State.

THE AIR HOSTESS

Sometimes when you hear the thunder of an aircraft in the night sky, it is well to remember that an air-hostess is on duty up there, looking after her passengers. Not yet for her the certainty of bricks and mortar. She rides the sky in a metal box, ready always to console, to help, to serve—if necessary to save. In every aircraft, in between the cabin and cockpit, there is a door marked **NO ADMITTANCE**. The airhostess is the only contact between passengers and crew. It is to her they turn in doubt, in distress and in danger—and they never turn in vain. So the next time you see an air-hostess handing a glass of champagne to a film star, remember that that is the smallest part of a very big job—a job of which she may well be proud.—JERRARD TICKELL, the well-known novelist, on the BBC's Home Service.

DEATH OF A POLITICIAN

The pleasant shock was too much for Sethji to bear. He stood still . . . also his heart, the receiver dropping from his hands.

IT was on his way back from the interview with the Finance Minister that the idea struck Sethji: it was high time he entered politics. Sethji was a leading timber merchant of K—. He had waited on the Minister to request exemption for timber from sales tax. His comrades-in-trade had entrusted him the task, knowing well his ingenuity for bargaining. And the reply of the Minister! Sethji became indignant when he thought of it. The Second Five Year Plan had taken shape, the Minister had said, the Government had to save every available pie, at this juncture people like Sethji should help the Government instead of demanding exemption from taxes, it was regrettable that Sethji should have put forward an unpatriotic request like that . . .

The way he spoke, it would seem that the burden of the whole Second Plan was upon the shoulders of the Minister, Sethji thought. He could understand the nation's one or two topmost leaders talking like that. But he could not mouth this parrot-like performances of these *chota* provincial barons. The Minister had said that he was not a patriot at all. How short was his memory! He had forgotten the huge amount he had donated to the Party funds during the last general elections. He didn't give away the money as charity. He should get good returns for it. And now a simple request of his had been turned down. Well, the elections were round the corner again. And again this very Minister would approach him for funds. He would show him then . . .

It was then the idea struck Sethji:

why not he contest the next elections, get into the Assembly, even become a Minister? Spurred by the rosy thoughts, Sethji shifted heavily in the back seat of his posh limousine and asked the chauffeur to go slow.

To become a Minister! The idea appealed to Sethji with the deliciousness of *badam halva*! It was an envious post, yet so easy of attainment. He had known this very Finance Minister for years now. He was an advocate with a clean record: with no cases and uncomfortable things like that. To make ends meet was a job for him those days. It was then that he plunged into politics. He got into the District Board first, then into the Assembly, and now at last had managed to become a Minister even. Quite an easy job!

But one must get votes, Sethji thought. The Minister was returned on a Party ticket. It was more a question of the Party having been voted in than the individual concerned. If he contested, Sethji thought, he wouldn't do it on any Party ticket. He would enter the field as an Independent. He was sure he would be elected if he loosened the strings of his purse a little wide. Never mind.

But his business would go to the dogs. Profits would slump. Or would it? On second thoughts Sethji concluded otherwise. He would transfer his business in the name of his wife or son. Still people would speak of it only as Sethji's business, Minister's business rather! The prestige of his firm would soar. Precedents were there. How many ex-businessmen (only technically) were there in the Central

and Provincial Cabinets now? Did they shut shop on becoming Ministers? By God, no. It was solely with an eye on business that they entered politics. Ah, that was a grand way of doing things. A bunch of birds for a bumper shot! Sethji's mind swung to and fro clinging firmly to his own sound line of logic.

HE had no particular love or glamour for politics, Sethji was sure. But at least to spite that particular Finance Minister—Finance Minister indeed! Had he seen a crore of rupees in currency notes ever at one time? —he should have a fling at it. Once elected to the Assembly, Sethji thought, he would join the majority party if he was offered a Ministership. Not otherwise. Else he would be in the Opposition. He would attack in the strongest terms, till the terms tired out, anything and everything the Government might bring forward. To get himself publicised, he would start a newspaper even, if necessary.

Sethji's car swung in through the front gate of his house and glided to a stop in the porch. Relieved of his bulk, the car moved automatically a few steps forward!

Sethji went into action almost at once. He telephoned his comrades the failure of his mission and invited them for a chat to his house the same evening.

At this conference, Sethji deftly mooted the idea of his entering politics mostly for their collective relief, partly to spite the Finance Minister. The gathering applauded his proposal.

But the next elections were to come off only in 1957, why not make a start now? Sethji could contest the ensuing Municipal elections from the fifth ward. There was only an Independent contesting there, a comrade-in-trade was tempting Sethji.

Sethji must know what particular good was there in entering the Municipal Council. It was neither here nor there.

Why, as a beginning in politics it was good. Maybe Sethji could manipulate to become the Chairman.

Sethji jumped at that. Another thought struck him. Why not buy over the only other Independent from the fifth ward? He could get elected unopposed, then. That'll be grand.

The possibility could certainly be explored. It might cost only a couple of thousand chips at the most.

So much of silver? Fantastic! Sethji would leave it at that. No hand in self-government for Sethji at such a cost.

But didn't Sethji think he was being a bit hasty, the comrade appealed

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to him. Once inside the Council Sethji could supply all the timber required by the Municipality. It'd be quite a deal. The election expenses could be squared many times. Wouldn't Sethji see the point?

Sethji saw the point.

He filed his nomination the very next day, the last day fixed for it.

There was time till the next Saturday for withdrawal of nomination papers. The scrutiny of papers was fixed for the Monday after that.

THE money was sent to the other Independent. He gave word promising withdrawal of his nomination on Saturday—at the last moment—lest people should scent something fishy if he did it all at once. Sethji took his word at that.

And Sethji was duped. His rival refused to withdraw his nomination at the last moment. He flatly denied having received any money from Sethji and if bold enough asked him to proclaim it publicly.

Nevertheless Sethji sank into himself. His blood pressure leaped. It took him a long time to digest the disappointment.

Afterwards, the God-fearing Sethji did the next best thing in the circumstances. He called to his res-

on and begged their forgiveness for his wicked thought of entering politics. Even if elected by some chance now, he assured them, the chance of his sitting in the Council was faint. Oh, ye Gods, he didn't want to be a Minister, not even a Municipal Councillor. Save his business!

Late in the evening next Monday, Sethji was reclining on an easy chair in the sitting room of his house, a sad, sick man.

The telephone rang.

Sethji took up the receiver and listened.

"Take heart, Sethji," his trusted comrade was speaking, "the nomination of your rival has been rejected."

"What, what?" Sethji asked, excited.

"His name being not in the voters' list is the reason."

"Then?" Sethji stood up. He was trembling.

"You have been declared elected unopposed from the fifth ward," came the news lilting, rolling over the wires.

This pleasant shock was, of course, too much for Sethji.

He stood still, also his heart, the receiver dropping from his hands.

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S. KRISHNASWAMI,
Secretary.

October 1 1955

RAJGHAT: A SYMBOL AND A CHALLENGE

FROM sea-lustrated Comorin to Himavan burdened with snow, a world had been that once did know a mogul and a zamorin.

The Englishman he could pronounce as he pleased any Indian word, and what he knew not he was heard un-understandingly to trounce.

And he that came here just for trade started his dirty politics, and with diplomatic tricks divided and an empire made.

And every native meek as mouse to the Union Jack bent low salute, and every raja paid tribute in fealty to Windsor's House.

And all the land was turned a slave and its son sniffed at—a nigger, terrified by the gun's trigger, of every foreign fool or knave.

And when they rose in 'mutiny' down on them fell the iron white hand irrigating with blood the land—a page dipp'd red in history.

And then came our great Redeemer, long for our freedom was his fight, simple yet shrewd he saw aright through satyagrahi and schemer.

Accursed the day that he was shot, he who ever walked with his God, and where he rests hallow'd the sod, but on the Age an awful blot.

What have you done, my people free but sport with your freedom like a toy and what your Saviour prized destroy? Short indeed is your memory.

Are Jallianwalla's scars a lie? Is Dandi's salt a silly myth? Of liberty is it the pith still to raise the communal cry?

So does a voice sadly ask you in offices of power: clean hearts, clean hands be your dower, no—not the bureaucratic mask.

MANJERI S. ISVARAN

New Books

FABULOUS MOGUL: NIZAM VII OF HYDERABAD. By D. F. KARAKA. *Derek Verschoye Ltd., 12-14 Carlisle Street, Soho Square, London, W. 1.* Distributed in India by *Rupa & Co., 15, Bankim Chatterjee Street, Calcutta 12.* 15s net.

Reviewed by "DIOGENES"

FABULOUS MOGUL is an entertaining, and even clever, piece of writing. A skilful blend of grave and gay, of sugar and spice, without everything being nice, and with just a deft touch or two, perhaps, of ridicule, sufficient to inform the reader that serious history is not contemplated, it has been fashioned in such a way as to make up the portrait of a well-meaning, charitable, kindly, simple, pious, albeit out-dated old gentleman, devoted to poetry, whose dynasty always received the dirty end of the stick from the "Clever British," (to whom a special chapter is devoted), and who himself was sold down the river by Lord Mountbatten and the "hypocritical Congress." By means of a series of legends, anecdotes and statistics, and with some very potted down history thrown in for good measure, the author has managed to insert something to please everybody. For the antiquarian there are pleasant pen pictures of the "City of Hyder," of visits to the tombs of saints amid an atmosphere "heavy with the scent of perfume such as you get only in the Orient" (the other all too common scents have providentially not been listed), of Bhagmati, of the Mecca Masjid, of a visit to the Koh-i-Sharif at Mowla Ali and to that "Palace below the Heaven," Falaknuma. The anti-British reader will be charmed with the chapter headed "The Clever British," while on the other hand, dear old Colonel Blimp, late of Poonah and the 88th Koi Hais, now happily ensconced in Valhalla, will skip everything else to find solace in the trenchant criticisms of the Congress and the Indian

Government. We can well imagine the old Colonel shaking his fist at the shade of Sardar Patel, and vehemently saying, "By gad, Sir, you cad, Sir." Provision has equally pleasantly been made for women readers, whose mouths will no doubt water at the thought of the jeweller, Dinshah Gazdar, of Jacob's diamond, of sets of emeralds weighing over 400 carats and of perfect lustre, and rubies of such incomparable beauty that Gazdar's gems appeared but "baubles." But lest the tally of such frivolities should put wrong ideas into feminine heads in a socialistic pattern of society, the author is careful to add the caveat that "wealth beyond a certain scale is redundant." And last, but not least, we have enough statistics to gladden the heart of the most hardened statistician. The Nizam's personal wealth is given as Rs. 1,350,000,000 and the Crown lands brought in Rs. 35,000,000 per annum. From the State Treasury a sum of no less than Rs. 300,000,000 was paid into various War Funds and the Nizam contributed his mite from his personal resources to the tune of Rs. 20,000,000. A lighter touch is given to these massive details by the addition of interesting domestic statistics. There are, we are told, 4 official wives, 42 Begums, 33 children (living) 46 grandchildren, 16 daughters-in-law, 44 khanazads, 25 line-boys, and 1000 servants of vari-



D. F. Karaka

ous kinds. The Fabulous Mogul is "pater-familias" to this vast menage, which in the words of the author is "part of the estate." And very nice, too, but very troublesome to look after!

The historical and political chapters in the book are inevitably too telescopic and selective to be of value to the serious student of affairs, and their intention can only be to form a highly coloured backdrop for the drama. There are, indeed even some historical errors. The title bestowed by the Emperor Aurangzeb on the young Kamar-ud-Din was not Chin Fateh Khan, but Chin Chilich (or Qulach) Khan, and Chin Chilich Khan did not become the Subahdar of the Deccan until some years after the death of Aurangzeb, the Deccan and the title of Asaf Jah, Nizam-ul-Mulk, being bestowed on him by the Emperor Farrukhsiyar. Neither the case of the dynasty against the British, nor the latter's case have been adequately dealt with. In the welter of confusion that was India after the death of Aurangzeb in 1707 it was inevitable that allegiances should shift kaleidoscopically from time to time, and that each of the numerous contestants for power should look solely to his own interests. This cannot be cited against the British only, for even Asaf Jah, the first Nizam, followed the principle when he absolved himself from allegiance to the Emperor of the day whose Viceroy he technically was. It would be a more tenable historical thesis to argue that the early Nizams were no less clever than the British. The latter, true, gained an empire. But the former gained at least a principality. The latter obtained a "Faithful Ally" whose services were always on tap, because indeed he was less of an ally than of a subordinate feudatory under the all-embracing umbrella of paramountcy—a fact which Lord Reading, as Viceroy, did not hesitate forcibly to point out when the Nizam

attempted to be an equal as well as an ally. On the other hand, if Hyderabad lost the Berars for a G.C.B.* the dynasty certainly was given for many years some protection against the rising tide of political movements. The British being all powerful took, it is true, the larger share of the loaf, but that the arrangement suited both sides is proved by the fact that the Nizam, however distasteful to him paramountcy may have been, would certainly always have preferred the old British regime, in spite of its watchdogs from the Political Department, to the present one.

In 1947 paramountcy was neatly packed up in the trunks of the departing British. And the disappearance of paramountcy naturally meant the death of the treaties and arrangements based on it. It is difficult to see what else could happen. A vacuum had been created, and India, like Nature, abhors a vacuum. During a period when positive action was necessary it was unfortunate for the Nizam that he was unaware of the wise words of a famous British statesman, "England has no permanent friends and no permanent enemies. Only permanent interests," for here was a chance of salvaging at least something that Asaf Jah I would never have missed. The British gave vent to statements (sometimes contradictory) and advice. The Indian Government gave even more than advice. They made offers that in the estimation of balanced observers such as Sir Mirza Ismail were by no means unstatesmanlike, and these proposals were based on the immediate disbandment of the Razakar organisation and the immediate establishment of constitutional government. Whether the

* The question of Berar was finally settled during the Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon. The conferment of the Grand Cross of the Order of the Bath on the Sixth Nizam led the wits of Hyderabad to say that the letters G.C.B. stood for "Gave Curzon Berar."

latter is unsuitable for India, as was contented by the Nizam, was irrelevant to the situation of the time, just as homilies to Asaf Jah I on his duties to the Emperor would have been irrelevant. Wisdom and moderation were jettisoned for the flamboyant declarations of Mir Laiq Ali and the unexamined ability of the Hyderabad State Forces to hold out for three or four months, what time worthy gentlemen had their suit cases packed ready to represent the case at the U.N.O., and to bring the matter into the international limelight—a fact which explains the necessity for swift action on the Indian side, if action was to be taken at all. Even the last earnest appeal of the then Governor-General Sri Rajagopalachariar was ignored at the time, and has, naturally enough, been similarly ignored by the author. And there are other omissions. Sir Arthur Lothian's "feeling of shame at our (English) tacit abandonment of Hyderabad" has been given an honourable mention, but can this be the same Sir Arthur Lothian who told Sir Mirza Ismail that unless the subversive Ittehadul-Muslamin was effectively suppressed, it would bring about the downfall of the State? It is difficult to see what the British, "clever" though they always were, could have done on behalf of one who consistently rejected their advice. The dual and ambiguous position of the British in India has, in fact, seldom, if ever, been appreciated either by historians or commentators. Their relations with their princely feudatories were regulated by treaties and sanads, and the Viceroy, Janus-faced, was the representative of the Crown. On the other hand, in British India the Viceroy was the Governor-General, and no treaties intervened between the ruler and the ruled. In these peculiar circumstances it was inevitable, though doubtless very amoral, that contradictory promises should have been made to both the Indian sides. If the treaties were to stand eternal, regardless of changing

conditions, and if the protection guaranteed to the Princes by them, and by numerous statements from King George V onwards, was to be perpetual, clearly the British could not leave India and their princely proteges. On the other hand, if India's guests were to remain for ever, what was to happen to all the high-sounding declarations of policy, issued from time to time from the days of Mountstuart Elphinstone onwards, that Britain was merely India's tutelary deity, and temporary at that, that India was under training for self-government, that responsible government was the aim of British rule and that dominion status was round the corner? In this peculiar and vulnerable position (of their own making) the British always had to speak with two voices, and with honeyed words, to Indian India and British India. No wonder, therefore, that even the Indian Civil Service knew not where it stood, for while Sir Arthur Lothian (of the Political Department) was blushing with shame at the thought of outdated treaties giving way to modern facts, the countenance of Mr. Philip Woodroffe (of the ordinary cadre of the service) was flushing with pride, as he penned *The Guardians*, at the contemplation of Britain's great and humanitarian purpose having been fulfilled. The English reading public have, therefore, merely to pay their money and to take their choice. For their masochistic moods there is always Sir Arthur Lothian to chastise them with the whips and scorpions of shame, while, at the same time, they also have the balm of Mr. Woodroffe's chaste prose to take away the pain.

Mr. Karaka, like the British, is also in a quandary, for having made his hero into something of a museum piece, it is difficult for him to make out a case for the preservation of the same in a modern world. Carefully selected history of the type here dished up makes easy reading, but is often dangerous to the writer, and

in skating about on this thin ice Mr. Karaka quite often falls through. He tells us on page 153, for example, that early on in a conversation with the Fabulous Mogul he realised the latter's keen sense of perception, his shrewdness in judging human character, and his mastery in the art of handling men. Yet only 40 pages earlier our sympathy has been aroused for the unfortunate Nizam, who "at the time of momentous and delicate negotiations with India was surrounded by men, who, it now seems, were unable to give him a balanced judgment . . . and who indicated that as a last resort Hyderabad could defend itself for a considerable length of time." These words actually give away the case, for they indicate that the so-called improper pressure from the Government of India was really not so improper after all. Moreover, it was neither the British nor the Congress who had surrounded the Nizam with these "unbalanced advisers." On the contrary. It was the man of shrewd judgment and the master in the art of handling men who had surrounded himself with them, and who rejected the settlement proposed by Lord Mountbatten on terms negotiated by Sir Walter Monckton—a settlement, that, in the words of H. H. the Aga Khan, "would have ensured Hyderabad the last ounce of advantage in a helpless position." But Mr. Karaka has a low opinion of both Lord Mountbatten and Pandit Nehru. There are no halos for either, he informs us, in Britain. And no doubt he is correct, since halos are out of fashion in the west. Yet even in the gorgeous east the attempted substitution of a halo for the Asaf Jahi "dastar" is a very difficult task. Mr. Karaka has made a gallant and entertaining effort, but, as he points out in conclusion, the age of the Fabulous Moghul has gone: and Aurangzeb, Zulfikar Khan, Chin Chulich Khan and the rest of the "bahadurs" have given place to Windy

Loc, Pinkie Poo, Dinkie Doo and Doodles.

THE HATE MERCHANT. By Niven Busch. Bantam Books, 25 West 45th Street, New York 36, N. Y. 35 cents.

NIVEN BUSCH studies toughness: toughness in a man, Gaspar D. Splane, who was sent out for misconduct from the seminary where his mother put him to become a priest, and toughness in a woman, the only child of Silas T. Bents, a Machine Tool tycoon. The man has vitality, and worse—not better—the power of oratory. After his disgrace, Splane had been taken up from the streets in which he had spent years of pavement pitching and thievish wandering by Senator Huey. The Senator (who has his affiliations with the once-famous McCarthy from Wisconsin) had been a power with the crowd. He created a sense of crisis all the time, created the special social and political climate which he needed in order to live.

A sense of crisis: that was it. Without it you had nothing, with it you controlled. You were the earthquake and the fire in the streets. At the same time you were the calm voice at the switchboard. You sandbagged the flood, put out the fire, sent the ambulances to the ruined houses. All began and ended with you; a complete, self-perpetuating cycle of destruction and renewal.

There would have been no telling how high Gaspar Splane would have reached with his wagon hitched to the Senator's star, but suddenly, everything was shattered: the Senator was assassinated. Splane got back to his streets and his pitching and his shills, but something else turns up for him, the Kinderwall Mission, and the novel begins.

Ma Kinderwall is an elderly and well-intentioned preacher of the gospel who draws moderate attendance at her meetings, but Splane's powerful speech-making (he is now Reve-

rend Splane) pitchforks the mission into commercial success. As the crowds swell and money starts pouring in, the great vitality of Splane asserts itself; Kinderwall, falling in love with him, is unable to resist his misuse of the Mission platform for anti-Jew and anti-Negro tirades. Everything is set for tragedy in Detroit, and Marsh, the intelligent but weak son of Ma Kinderwall, has his life with Susan and the kids blown to the four winds.

In the meantime, Mr. Busch makes a pitiless, unwavering study of Lara Bents. She has had from birth everything that money could supply; though only in her early twenties, she is already bored, and has to seek excitement in out-of-the-way places and with unusual men. Splane's power over crowds impresses her and overcomes her earlier contempt for an upstart, and she takes him out in her car to a vacant building site of her father's. We expect that she

would yield herself at last and reward him for his siege; but to Splane's incredulous mortification, she takes him instead, leaving him with the feeling that she has used him for her purpose as her father had used him for his. With all his talent and force and success, he is but a tool in the hands of men and women who are rich and who therefore matter.

Mr. Busch might have done better if he had taken more care over 'the capture' of the Kinderwall Mission by Splane. Also the suicide of Marsh appears more dramatic than convincing. But there is always excitement, and though the men and women in his novel are not memorable, its incidents remain in the mind. The strength of Mr. Busch is more in incident than in character.

It is also a relief to find that Mr. Busch does not write in one of the many dialects of the States, and that there are still American novelists who write their books in English.

THE FOLK ELEMENT IN ART

By BARNETT D. CONLAN

PARIS: There has rarely been a period, like the present, when art has played so active a part in the general economy. If the 19th century in Europe was a time of great literature then the 20th century has, so far, been one of painting. The proliferation of art throughout almost every country today, is quite a phenomenon, although it is one which often gives the impression of quantity rather than quality. It has become the fashion to paint, and everybody paints. In Paris even such corporations as doctors, policemen, postmen, railwaymen, and busdrivers hold their annual salons of more or less amateur painting. Art has become a sort of craze. In so vast a production there are necessarily signs of second rate art. This is particularly so, in the last ten years, during which there has been a certain amount of abuse in the new directions of painting. There is not a little of this new art, largely graphic in character, which can be set down as spurious. It has no connection with the natural order and the supernatural order which it claims to evoke is often of a very doubtful character. Rooted as it is in the big mechanized cities it is not very different from the new plastics turned out by the factories.

Life in the great cities of the West today is being rapidly transformed by machinery. The speeding up of every phase of life, along with an intense commercialization, is tending to convert the average citizen into an automat.

The artist is not unaffected by all this, for there is a new spirit now invading art, in part scientific, and different from that of the past which was based on the natural order. W. B. Yeats used to say that all nations

begin with poetry and end with algebra. There are many aspects of modern art in which there is not a little algebra. Sophisticated, cerebral art is very much to the fore just now, and if not exclusively a product of the big city, is none the less largely dependent on it. One might say that this type of art whether abstract or formalized according to the latest fashion is a product of our mechanized phase of civilization. For one can very well admit the distinction drawn by Spengler between Culture and Civilization: "Imperialism is civilization unadulterated. In the energy of culture man is directed inward, in that of civilization outward. Civilizations are a conclusion, the thing become succeeding the thing becoming; death following life; rigidity, expansion; intellectual age and the stone built petrifying world city following mother earth."

Spengler held that the change over from culture to civilization, took place for the Greeks in the 4th century, and for Europe in the 19th century. Writing as he did before the great wars of our time he could hardly have foreseen the enormous strides civilization would make at the expense of culture—at least in the sense that he or Goethe understood the word.

The knowledge and power which the world controls today is many thousand times that of previous centuries. The change over from the horse drawn vehicle and the sail boat, which was the order of things from prehistoric memory to our era of supersonic aircraft, is sudden and unprecedented. One would have imagined that the arts, as a result of all this would have been almost eclipsed by science and machinery, and yet,

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as we have seen, it is the contrary that has occurred.

This may perhaps be explained by the desire to escape from an atmosphere of complete mechanisation which is so characteristic of our epoch. Hence the remarkable cult of archaeology, prehistory, history and folklore which has marked the last decade. It is not at all unlikely that folklore may come to have an important place in the art of the future, especially if it happens someday to be transposed in the language of myth. It is an element that defies time and lives on when nations, cities and even religions have come and gone. The artist is more likely to have his interest heightened by forms that convey a sense of life that has been handed down during incalculable periods of time than he would be by the latest gadget of the bazaar or the newest car.

Indeed we have had an instance of this only last week. The event is, in fact, so recent, that Paris is hardly yet informed about it.

The little fishing station of Povoa di Varzim in Portugal had the initiative last month to invite a group of artists from different countries to visit the town.

The artists were entertained for a month, with no expense on their part, the only condition being that

they each presented a work produced on the spot during their stay.

Among those invited was Serge Penomarew, one of the best known sculptors in Paris.

The spectacle was of such an edifying nature that it inspired him, so he tells me, to create one of his best pieces of work, the image of a fisherman's wife waiting for his return. The fisherfolk of this remote sea resort have maintained, for many centuries, their ancient costumes, dances and songs together with a type of ritual connected with the sea. Their barques, with long slender prows, curved like the crescent moon are those of the ancient Phoenicians who settled in these parts possibly about the time of Homer. Indeed the folk aristocracy of these fisher clans of today is itself homeric. Inspired by the initiative of one of the local artists, Julio Resende, and supported by the hearty welcome of the fisherfolk themselves, this festival has just had an almost unprecedented success. As a result, Finland, Scandinavia and other countries have decided to create similar festivals, in which they will display their own folklore.

One could hardly expect however to find the same enthusiasm aroused by a factory agglomeration, a population of factory hands, and art which is abstract!

RAJAJI AND THE MEDICAL PROFESSION

By A DOCTOR

I DO not propose to enter into a discussion of the very valid and academic reasons on which we support B.C.G. vaccination as among the most practicable preventive measures against tuberculosis in India today. But I just want to point out how badly the medical profession has been treated in this affair. C.R. has said, "Suppose he objected to a fifth bridge being built across the Cauvery, people could not object to his doing so on the ground that he was not an engineer." The analogy, however, is not quite correct as he does not make a similar general statement with regard to the prevention of tuberculosis, but goes into much more scientific details. To go back to his comparison, he discusses the specifications of the construction, he argues that a child may look over the parapet of a bridge which is so much higher than the road, that he has actually seen a child falling down, that the water of the Cauvery is not at all deep and it is much safer to allow the children to swim through. He also presents statistics that the average depth is only two feet although it is ten feet at one point and much less than two feet at other points. Advising the children to take the risk of primary infection with human bacilli is as sound advice as asking them to swim through the Krishna. For this analogy the Cauvery will not do as she is as placid as a seasoned Government servant or a seasoned husband.

Apparently, the South Indian lives on parables and stories.

A Tamil weekly largely devoted to short stories explains at some length the difference between encephalitis and encephalomyelitis for the benefit of the professors of the Medical

College. I was assured by a lawyer friend that the comments in the article were defamatory and that the affected doctors should take necessary legal action in the matter. I told my friend that it is an insult not to them but to the intelligence of South India which could be persuaded to take medical advice from such a source. Medicine has been oversimplified and perhaps one gets an idea that a long course in a Medical College is totally unnecessary, that a study of the varied subjects in the syllabus is superfluous and that Medicine is merely taking a sentence here and a sentence there from any textbook.

When recently a Punjabi girl married a Mylaporean, the bride was congratulated on deciding to become a Madrassi and the best kind of Madrassi at that, a Mylaporean. South Madras has been acclaimed as the "granary of South Indian intelligence" by no less a person than our distinguished Vice Chancellor and it is surprising that the residents of South Madras are willing to spend hours on a fine evening listening to a medical talk by an eminent politician. Attending public meetings is as habit-forming as addiction to alcohol or opium. I say this from personal experience of attending all the meetings at Triplicane Beach between the years 1918 and 1925. But in those days politicians spoke politics and not Medicine. We are asked to follow the British in the matter of B.C.G. vaccination. I would like to ask whether any London audience will listen with such frequency and for such a length of time to Churchill talking on the treatment of typhoid

(Continued on page 44)

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October 1 1955

SARNATH—GREAT HERITAGE OF BUDDHIST ART

By SUBHASH J. RELE

FROM time immemorial Sarnath has been a place of immense importance. It has always attracted pious pilgrims and tourists from all over the world. Here at Sarnath, Buddha preached his first sermon which later on became the foundation of Buddhism in India. It became a great centre of Buddhist activities and has remained so for more than a millennium and a half.

Sarnath is situated some four miles to the north of the holy city of Banaras. The great popularity enjoyed by Sarnath, the birth-place of the Buddhist doctrine is eloquently proved by the large abundance of religious buildings and other monuments that were built and re-built on this spot during the many centuries of its existence by the Buddhist votaries.

The Buddhist world however has been currently celebrating Buddha Jayanti. Next year, when the celebrations will ring out with greater fervour when the 2,500th anniversary of Buddha is reached, Sarnath will be in people's minds more than ever.

The sculptural ruins of Sarnath cover an extensive area. The Archaeological Department has done a good deal of excavating at the site and a number of fascinating monuments of exquisite beauty and workmanship have come to the fore. As one approaches the site from Banaras the first landmark that attracts the eye is a lofty mound of brick-work locally known as the Chauk-andi surmounted by an octagonal tower at the top. The mound represents the ruins of a stupa on a terraced basement erected to mark the spot where the Buddha, on his way



Buddha preaching his first sermon.

from Gaya to Isipatana, first met his five former comrades who were soon to become converts to his faith. From antiquities found during excavations, the stupa appears to have belonged to the Gupta period. The octagonal tower at the top is a much later structure having been erected by Akbar to commemorate the visit of his father Humayun to this holy spot.

Half a mile to the north is the site of the Deer Park adorned with imposing buildings in the days of its pristine greatness. Though very little is known of the history of the Deer Park during the early centuries of the rise of Buddhism, the place acquired celebrity, like other holy centres of Buddhism, from the

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SWATANTRA

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time of Asoka. The Chinese pilgrims Fia Hiuen and Hiuen Tsang, visited the place in the 5th and 7th centuries A. D. respectively and have left valuable information regarding it. Hiuen Tsang however is more graphic in his accounts and gives us a picture of the prosperous condition of the Deer Park with no less than 1500 monks and nuns residing in the various establishments.

Amongst the ruins of Sarnath the most impressive no doubt is the Dhamek Stupa. Miraculously enough, it has survived the devastations. It commemorates the fact that here Buddha preached his doctrine to his five disciples and won over the King of Banaras by his intercession on behalf of a deer. Although much battered, it is 143 feet high from its original foundations and consists of a solid structure, built of massive blocks of stone at the lower stage and of brick, probably faced with stone at the upper. It is of cylindrical shape and is relieved in the lower section by eight projecting bays, each with a large niche originally containing an image. This lower section is adorned with a broad belt of carved ornament of an intricate geometric pattern with floral arabesques above and below it. The style of decoration makes it certain that this Stupa in its present form must be a monument of the Gupta period.

The antiquities so far discovered from the ruins are numerous and consist of sculptures, reliefs, figurines, seals, inscriptions, pottery vessels, etc. Almost all pertain to the Buddhist religion and cover a period of 1500 years from the 3rd century B.C. to the 12th century A.D. They have been housed in a neat little museum and a sculpture shed, situated near the ruins. Beautifully arranged, the sculptures attract the admiring gaze of the visitors by their fine and graceful execution.



Siddhaikavita

The Lion Capital, originally surmounting the Asoka pillar, now occupies a place of honour in the Museum Hall. It consists of four adorned lions, supported on an abacus over a bell-shaped lower member. The abacus itself bears relief figures of a lion, an elephant, a bull and a horse. These figures are masterly specimens of animal portraits. Experts think that these four animals represent four guards of a celestial lake called Anotatta. The Lion Capital also contains the Wheel of Law which the Buddha set in motion. Symbolical of India's message of peace and goodwill to the world, the Capital now forms the emblem of the Republic of India.

Numerous sculptures have been unearthed among the ruins. Of these the most splendid are those of Buddha and Bodhisattva. They have been rightly regarded as the Bodhi-

sattva. They have been rightly regarded as the first creations of the Gupta period. Bodhisattva is represented in an image of rare perfection. In his headgear he carries the figurine of his spiritual father, the Buddha Amita-bha. His left hand still holds the lotus stalk, the flower of which has vanished. The right hand is also missing, but the open palm of the hand still makes the gesture of imparting bounty. It was however no wonder that this new art rapidly spread not only to the rest of India, but also to the neighbouring countries of Siam, Cambodia and Ceylon.

The Statue of Buddha preaching his first sermon has been declared to be a masterpiece of Indian art. Seated cross-legged making with his fingers a sign pointing Dharma Chakra Mudra and wearing a faint smile, the Buddha appears in a state of spiritual munificence. The characteristic serenity of expression is remarkable. The folds of drapery show transparent robes through which the outlines of Buddha's person are visible. On the base are engraved figures of his five disciples, the very comrades who had deserted him and whom he met at the place called Chaukhandi. There is also a halo and the figures at the top are of two flying devas making offerings to the Master. This sculptural find was considered by connoisseurs of art as conveying more than any other piece of Indian sculpture "the true message of Buddhism."

Sarnath is also sacred to the Jainas who look upon it as the scene of the asceticism and death of Sri Amsa-natha, the third predecessor of Mahavir, the historic founder of Jainism. The modern temple near the Dhamek Stupa is dedicated to this saint.

The inquisitive layman as well as the pious pilgrims will find ample



Dhamek Stupa

recompense among the antiquities of this holy place. Many centuries have passed but these historical remains bear testimony to a great past.

(Continued from page 41)

fever, or whether indeed Churchill himself would venture to talk on such a topic. Enough quotations can be produced from literature of the serious results of chloromycetin therapy but surely a medical man should be left to decide what remedies to use, when to use them and how to use them.

It is often said that the Law is a jealous mistress in the sense that it will not allow its votaries to devote time to other matters. This is apparently not true, considering the number of lawyers who find time not only to take part in politics but even to dabble in Medicine. Medicine, on the other hand, is the really jealous mistress and in that profession one is fully engrossed with his own work and studies.

The crying need in Free India is for each man to do his best in his own chosen profession—not for the lawyer to prescribe or proscribe drugs, for the doctor to advise on agriculture and so on. Hands off the doctors; please!

SPORTS

RAM SINGH

By N. S. RAMASWAMI

IT is in the fitness of things that an appeal, signed by many influential persons, should have been issued for donations to a testimonial fund for A. G. Ram Singh, the well-known Madras cricketer. It will be the hope of everybody that the response will be satisfactory.

I first saw Ram Singh in action on a historic occasion. It may not be generally known that the first match in the Ranji Trophy tournament was played in Madras against Mysore. I was among the very few persons who watched M. J. Gopalan send down the first ball in the national tournament. But the match belonged to Ram Singh whose bowling proved too much for Mysore. They lost the match by an innings in one day.

Ram Singh's next appearance before a considerable public, if I am correct, was against the M.C.C. team led by D. R. Jardine. His experience was unfortunate. Such pace bowling as that of Clarke's had not been seen in Madras before and perhaps, with the exception of the West Indians, also since. Fate ordained that Ram Singh should meet Clarke as soon as he entered. The first ball was bowled outside the off-stump and Ram Singh "padded up" to it in the approved, though far from elegant, manner. He went through the same motions to the next delivery, though there was something frantic and hasty about him. Our forebodings were soon realised. To the third successive ball he thrust out his pads, but unfortunately it had been pitched on the stumps and it proceeded to mow down the wicket. Here was an embarrassing moment for the bats-

man and I fancy that the fact that many severe critics who for a long time refused to believe in Ram Singh as a batsman were too much carried away by this single error of judgment. It was the measure of Ram Singh's ability that he did ultimately succeed in effacing this impression.

When I next saw Ram Singh in exalted company, he had graduated to a becoming pale blue turban. He did well to honour the notable occasion, for it was the fourth and final "Test" against the Australian team led by Ryder. My recollections of this bedraggled match are rather faint, but I remember Ram Singh, at extra-cover, holding a skied catch by Macartney off Amar Singh. There is perhaps no creature in the world more to be pitied than the fieldsman waiting to hold a lofted catch; the entire ground, in fact the entire creation, appears to be hushed; everybody seems to hold his breath; and it is a cruel eternity before the ball, now resembling a cannon ball from the Big Bertha, lodges or fails to lodge in the palms. There can be little doubt that these tribulations were Ram Singh's lot before he finally made the catch. There was a sigh of relief when what seemed to be the wilting figure finally justified its claim to the distinction of the pale blue turban.

I should not perhaps mention the next incident in the same breath with these Homeric deeds, but I recollect that when I had the hardihood to open an innings against Ram Singh's bowling he conclusively bowled me with his third ball, a violent in-swing. The only consolation was a murmur of sympathy from

the slips where Sir Robert Denniston had placed himself.

There was considerable disappointment in Madras when Ram Singh was not included in the national team for England in 1946. While Mankad, of course, more than amply justified his selection, the team could not have failed to be strengthened by the presence of Ram Singh.

Ram Singh's true element was the Ranji Trophy matches against Mysore and Hyderabad. The fact that these games were far more popular in the last decade than they are now is perhaps to be attributed to the prospect, almost always realised, of a battle of wits between Ram Singh and some Hyderabad bowlers, principally, as I remember it, Ibrahim Khan and Bhoopathy. There were present here all the ingredients of a dog fight. To a frightened and partisan youthful imagination, Ibrahim Khan appeared to come down upon the batsman with fire and fury. At the other end was the frail and lonely left-hander cruelly hemmed in by ten other grimly efficient foemen. The ball appeared to fly off the pitch like lightning, but the seemingly vulnerable bat was always there to defend the wicket and in course of time to score runs. I have seldom seen a more accurate bowler than Bhoopathy, but him also Ram Singh withstood. The Mysore bowlers of those distant days seldom offered the same intense difficulties, though Darashah, with his fantastic action, must have been difficult to negotiate and Y. S. Ramaswami offered great possibilities as a slow leg-break bowler.

Few cricketers have served Madras more faithfully than Ram Singh. It is to be hoped in common gratitude that generous subscriptions will be forthcoming for his testimonial fund. But more than any amount of money he will cherish the fond remembrance which many a young boy formed of him and his great skill in his heyday. Many followers of the game in Madras

owe their abiding interest to the immense possibilities which he and that other great player, M. J. Gopalan, indicated in those distant days. Cricket was much more than a game when these two cricketers extracted the least possibility from it; character, circumstance, humour, bravura and style. I cannot help thinking that Madras cricket has fallen on evil days ever since, Ranji trophy or no Ranji trophy. There was piquancy in the older cricket; it is all unrelieved efficiency now. After some attempts I have given up watching matches in the first division of the Madras cricket league. By preference I attend third division games, where, if the strokes are appalling and the bowling hideous, there is always the possibility of the players coming to blows over an umpiring decision or over the accuracy of the scoring.

I cannot conclude this without a reference to a most amusing incident in which Ram Singh bore some part. There are probably very few persons who now lament the extinction of the Presidency matches. But to those who had watched large multitudes thronging Chepauk for this annual event there was something pathetic and forlorn at the sight of precisely six persons, five of whom were "Press-men," attending a match in the series in its last days. As Ram Singh came up to bowl he tripped and the ball fell a few yards from him. The batsman, H. P. Ward, rushed up the wicket and attempted a mighty sweep, but failed. Meanwhile the wicket-keeper also had pursued the batsman and as soon as the stroke had been completed he hurled the ball at the striker's wicket. It missed its mark and careered away towards the boundary, pursued by a probably bewildered fieldsman. In the meantime the batsmen ran two byes. It was highly unfortunate that such an unexampled incident should have been witnessed by only one person, for the other five were asleep.

FILMS

By V. P. SATHE

THERE have been many instances in the past when demonstrations have been held against the release of certain pictures as they were said to be offending the sentiments of certain sections of the community. I even recall instances when the audiences have torn the screen in cinema houses as a protest against the screening of undesirable pictures. But, as far as I recall, the incident in Jharia when the people demonstrated for the withdrawal of the ban imposed on *Railway Platform* by local authorities is the first of its kind at least in India. It is reported that one person died and several persons were injured at Jharia on September 6, 1955 when the police fired 11 rounds on demonstrators who staged an agitation for the closure of all cinemas till the ban on *Railway Platform* is lifted in that area.

The film has been also banned in Madhya Pradesh on the ground that it was likely to cause breach of peace. That is perhaps the only ground on which the State Government can prohibit the screening of a picture duly certified by the Central Board of Film Censors.

The main cause of the ban is the portrayal of a Marwari merchant who indulges in profiteering at the cost of stranded passengers. This portrayal is said to have wounded the feelings of the Marwari community. Surprisingly enough, while this allegation is made in Madhya Pradesh and Bihar, the picture has not been objected to in Rajasthan, the homeland of Marwaris. Not only that, the picture's outdoors were shot in Rajasthan in the heart of Marwar with the co-operation of the

Marwari community. Surely, showing one bad Marwari in a picture does not cast a reflection on the Marwari community.

But, unfortunately, we lack a sense of humour as is evident not only from the agitation against *Railway Platform* by the Marwaris but also the agitation against *Chacha Chowdhary* by South Indians. Indeed, Abbas was shocked when his Bengalee friends in the industry objected to the characterisation of a Bengalee clerk on the tea plantation in *Rahit*. But such objections need not be taken seriously; and in fact unless a deliberate effort is made to cultivate a broad vision which would enable a Marwari to appreciate his caricature by others or a Maharashtrian or South Indian or Bengalee or Gujarati to appreciate caricatures of themselves by other provinces and communities, we would not be able to get over narrow prejudices.

That apart, if the State Government thought it worthwhile to ban a picture because it was likely to cause breach of public peace, by the same logic, it must rescind the ban since the imposition of it has caused breach of peace in Jharia. The demonstrations by the workers against the ban have created a new situation, especially since the picture has been

(Continued from page 7)

little as possible. Sometimes however chinks of the real man break through the shield of defensive diplomatic reticence behind which he lives, as for example when he went into an outburst when Krishna Menon's name was mentioned. "Krishna Menon" said Dulles, "has many projects, none of them specific. That in fact is his special virtue." This remark provoked a delighted response of derisive laughter from the whole gathering of assembled reporters. It gave me an inkling of how Sri Krishna Menon stood with the Press of the United States.

SAKA.

passed by the Central Board as well as the Information Ministry who found nothing objectionable in it.

Picture of the week

R. S. Chowdhary is perhaps the oldest film creator now working in the film world. Since the silent days he has been writing and directing films, mainly action melodramas with patriotic fervour and fictitious background. The story of Roop K. Shorey's *Jalwa*, inspired as it is by a foreign novel, follows the same pattern. And had the picture been made in the pre-Independence era or even prior to the merger of the princely States, the picture would have some topical appeal. As it is, the story is dated and even Shorey's efforts and Johar's gags to inject it with humour do not succeed in saving it. The picture becomes lively and delightful only in the comedy portions. The efforts of Sundar and Majnu, the veteran comedians, in keeping Begum Para from Karan Dewan are far more amusing and interesting than the democratic revolt against the tyranny of Dewan by Amarnath and Meena. The idea of a prince terrorized by Dewan going out in disguise and joining the revolt against himself is not only intriguing but full of possibilities. But unfortunately, the stereotyped melodramatic treatment has robbed it of all its possible charm.

Personality of the week

It is significant that the same music director should be called to compose the musical score for the two 'technicolor' pictures produced in India so far. The honour for composing music for *Jhansi-Ki-Rani* and *Jhanak Jhanak Payal Baahe* goes to Vasant Desai who looks more like an athlete or an artiste than a music director.

Born in 1912, Vasant Desai joined Prabhat in 1929. He played bit roles and it was only in 1952 that he started taking interest in music. Studios that he is, he learnt music from

Ustad; and worked as assistant music director. In those days, he was better known as a play-back singer; his songs in *Amar Jyoti*, *Vachan*, *Dnayneshwar* and *Padosi* were quite popular.

It was when Shantaram left Prabhat and started Rajkamal that Vasant Desai got his first opportunity as a music director. The music of *Shakuntala* was a hit. Since then Vasant Desai has given music for several pictures. He studied Chinese music for composing the tunes and scores of *Dr. Kotnis* which had a Chinese background. He is always experimenting with new instruments, new folk styles. In *Ramjoshi*, he introduced Marathi *savni* in its purest form; in *Amar Bhoopali* his musical score was a highlight and it was appreciated even in foreign countries. There was a demand in England for the music of *Amar Bhoopali*.

Though a talented music director Vasant Desai did not have much scope in *Jhansi-Ki-Rani*, a picture without a song. But that picture gave him an opportunity to go to Europe and study Western music.

Jhanak Jhanak Payal Baahe provides him with the best opportunity of his career. For, this picture which abounds in dances in folk as well as classical Indian styles, demands a novel musical score. Before composing the score Vasant Desai toured round the country to study various forms of music. As a result he brought an instrument called *Santur* from Kashmir and *Khol* from Bengal. The effect of *Khol* in the Tandav dance is said to be simply wonderful.

Vasant Desai's music may not be always popular. He is not known so much for giving popular tunes as for authentic tunes. His music is consequently more chaste, Indian and in consonance with the spirit and atmosphere of the subject of the film. The music of *Shyamchi Aai* which won the President's Medal last year, was composed by Vasant Desai.

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ON THE COVER:

Governor Sri Prakasa and Pandit Nehru on their way to the ramparts of the Fort St. George from where Mr. Nehru addressed a vast gathering on the 2nd.

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SWATANTRA

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FAVOURITISM IN APPOINTMENTS

THE nonchalance with which the Home Ministry of the Government of India deals with the protests of the Union Public Service Commission in its latest report has become an annual feature, not only with the Union Government but also with the Governments of the States. The Home Ministry's memorandum on the subject deals with the objection of the Union Public Service Commission to the extension of service of some superannuated officers. It says that the obligation to consult the Commission in this matter is not statutory but follows from an executive order of the Central Government in 1946. The memorandum says that the Commission lays excessive stress on the protection of the rights and expectations of serving officers while in fact technically qualified officers are difficult to obtain. The memorandum ends with the dangerous postulate that the Government is in a better position to judge an officer than the Commission. It states that it is not an individual Minister but the Appointments Committee of the Cabinet that decides each of these cases.

The postulate that the Government is a better judge of an officer's work than the Commission strikes at the very root of the main principle underlying the creation of Public Service Commissions. It is just to avoid the play of party favouritism and personal or group patronage

through popular Ministers or the suspicion of it, that an independent Commission is entrusted with the task of recruiting the services through examination, departmental promotion or interview. In fact the principle of the separation of appointing power from the power of control of the services is just as important as the separation of the executive from the judiciary. In countries like Australia or nearby Ceylon, the separation has been carried to its logical conclusion by making the Service Commission not only independent of the executive but also as mandatory as the judiciary. Constitutional pandits feel that this position is anomalous in the sense that the Ministers are held responsible for the acts of the services over which they do not have full control. But on the other hand the Indian experiment where the Commission is an advisory body has not so far justified the faith of the sponsors of the idea. The Indian Service Commissions started their journey with great handicaps; the British in 1935 did not want to give them too much power, for they felt that it would be setting up a second government, while many Indian statesmen did not want powerful Commissions; some because they feared that the Commissions would tamper with communal representation while others suspected that they would protect the already pampered



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services from the avenging Congressmen. As a result of the subconscious operation of these fears we have only advisory Commissions even after independence.

Returning to the specific point that the Government is a better judge of the officer than an outside body like the Commission, logically this would lead to the vesting of all power of promotion with the executive. On the other hand, Article 320 (3) of the Constitution specifically vests promotion in the hands of the Commission. A dispute on this point has been going on for the past four years between the Public Service Commission and the Government in the Travancore-Cochin State where the Government has categorically refused to consult the Commission on promotion. In other States, though the Commission is consulted there are disagreements, the largest number of them being reported from Uttar Pradesh.

The main point at issue is not whether a few superannuated officers are to be given extension of service but whether our services are to be kept clean of ministerial interference, through the Government consulting the P.S.C. concerned on all matters relating to the services and accepting their advice invariably. The Government takes umbrage first under the constitutional provision 372 (1) excluding a number of matters from the purview of the Commission and secondly from the fact that the advice of the Commission may be rejected and explained away.

It is to be noted that the Home Ministry's memorandum of September 27 does not even care to take note of another even more serious objection raised by the Commission to the abuse of the power of temporary appointment by the executive. The U.P.S.C. in its report for 1954 says:

"The position as regards Ministries and/or departments of Government

making what purports to be temporary appointments for periods not exceeding one year continues to remain unsatisfactory. There was certainly a further improvement in this respect as a result of the Commission's vigilance; but cases of inappropriate appointments of this kind continue to recur and the Commission, who have no responsibility in this matter, continue to be blamed—particularly by unsuccessful candidates—for the existence of this practice."

The Commission then goes on to say that the Ministries are prone to make their own appointments on a temporary basis apparently and then present the Commission with a *fait accompli* asking the Commission to regularize the position.

It is worthwhile to go further into the history of this abuse of power since this is the particular abuse which has caused a lot of heart-burning among our educated young men. The power of temporary appointment was given to the executive during the war years and the widest use was made of this power. Unfortunately the Constituent Assembly of India sanctioned the continued use of this power through a standstill article in our Constitution (372) excluding these from the purview of the P.S.C's. As a result the provision has been abused even more than during the war years. Many candidates were appointed temporarily to high paid posts and were permanently secured in their positions through the P. S. C. itself. The matter was discussed in the House of the People in 1948. The U. P. S. C. made a trenchant criticism of this in its very first report in 1950. It said: "One category of cases regarding which the Commission need not be consulted under the old regulations deemed to be in force now under article 372 (1) is what purports to be temporary appointments for periods not exceeding one

year. The provision has unfortunately been invoked by Ministries and Departments of Government far too indiscriminately. There have been too many cases in which posts have been filled by the appointment of Ministers' nominees on the ostensible ground that the posts were temporary. A little reflection would however have shown that most of these posts were not likely to be done away with after one year. In many cases the Minister's nominees have been kept in office for periods far in excess of one year without any reference to the Commission. Such nominees of Government cannot be denied an opportunity to compete for the post when it comes to be filled regularly on competitive basis. The experience which they gain of the duties of the post at the cost of the taxpayer gives them an undue advantage over candidates from the open market. This state of things is the direct consequence of Ministries and Departments not making use of the provision properly and has naturally evoked severe and widespread public criticism. No such power of making temporary appointment without consultation with the Commission is really necessary and the Commission have proposed to Government that this limitation of their functions should be done away with." The Commission has been protesting from then on annually till this year with practically little improvement. The same abuse is made of this power in many States and protests are regularly found in the reports of the Uttar Pradesh, Punjab and Bombay Public Service Commissions. The Bombay Commission made in 1943 this stinging remark: "It is not uncommon that the Commission is requested to acquiesce in irregular appointments on a plea of urgency which has no legs to stand on."

The position thus is much more serious than the Government is pre-

pared to admit and the public are aware of. But recruitment to the services is assuming increasing importance in our country with the States' wide planning activities and increasing nationalization. Hence a just method of recruitment without departmental or political favouritism assumes supreme importance. Our services should not be allowed to become the out door relief department of party democracy.

While it would be an ideal solution to make the recommendations of the Public Service Commissions mandatory in all service matters that would require an amendment of the Constitution. It would require more interest in this matter than the Press, the public and the legislators are prepared to exhibit. The U. P. S. C. itself suggests an extremely modest solution, namely, the abolition of the exclusions under article 372 (1) and a new Superannuation Act. Regarding the latter, the U. P. S. C. in its report of 1950 said: "In other countries, the obligation to accept the advice of Public or Civil Service Commissions is more of the nature of a convention, but an indirect statutory safeguard also exists in some. For example, in the United Kingdom, the Superannuation Act of 1859, contains a provision under which no civil servant can draw pension unless his appointment had been made with the concurrence of the Civil Service Commission. The Commission consider that some such statutory safeguard should be provided by Parliament to minimise the possibility of increase in the number of occasions in which Government may seek to depart from the advice of the Commission." This is the minimum needed to make the services free from political favouritism. The responsibility rests squarely on our legislators to secure the passage of the necessary legislation early.

Sotto Voce

★

NEITHER LEARNING NOR DOING



MR. Nehru is appalled by the mounting illiteracy in the country. He is revolted by the indiscipline and vulgarity rampant among the student population. They are merely a caricature, seen as in a distorting mirror, of their elders who posture as the country's deliverers. Mr. Nehru is depressed by the decline of the reading habit such as it was. Intelligent reading is an indispensable aid to thinking. Lacking it, we lack the antidote to the pervasive poison of advertising and slogan-shouting. And yet the Prime Minister allows his yet, knowing this, the Prime Minister allows his educational advisers to pursue, in the name of "the socialistic pattern of society,"—that slogan of his own devising of which the idea-content is next to nothing and the noise is everything—to pursue courses which amount to putting a premium on illiteracy.

The reading habit presupposes that measure of mastery of a language which makes reading widely and at choice in its literature a pleasure, not a task-work conscientiously and painfully accomplished with the aid of grammar and lexicon. But this noblest of all pleasures is not open today to more than a microscopic percentage of the small literate public. For the accomplishment of the vast majority in their own mother-tongues, let alone English or Sanskrit, does not reach this minimum level. The trouble is not that they have too few books to read but too little capacity to read.

It may be that the system of teaching is all wrong. If it is, it has been not a little due to the pernicious influence of another slogan—that our education was "excessively literary." The remedy officially favoured was that more of the training of hand and eye should be imported into the general curriculum. But in practice the only tangible result was the sedulous propagation of the silly belief that languages were not worth the serious attention of intelligent men. It was assumed that the Tamil born imbibed the language with his mother's milk. As for English grammar, it was a tyranny not to be borne by free men.

The mechanics of learning a language, involving hard work, is best faced in boyhood. Anybody who has seen the new method Sanskrit teaching at work in the Kuppaswami Sastri Research Institute will have been struck by the remarkable avidity for grammar in all its Paninian rigour shown by the very young; they reformulate the *sutras* with the *elan* of discovery. Language, thus taught, can be a valuable stimulant of abstract thinking. The "predominantly literary education" of ancient Greece produced not only a Plato and a Pericles but also an Archimedes. But we are asked to jettison all that as old junk and look to the light from Wardha.

A catechism for the converted issued by the Publications Division of

the Government of India finds respectable precedent for our indigenous brand of Basic Education in the Project Method and the Activity School. But in America and Britain these experiments have not ousted the classical type of Grammar School education. They are merely used to leaven the lump or as aids in the unceasing search for ways of drawing forth the infinite diversity of human aptitudes. The search is inspired by educational, not political considerations. But our Basic enthusiasts prize their pet scheme for "its insistence on the idea of social service and manual work" through which "it strikes at the very root of special privilege!"

To the objection that Basic might provide a cloak for the exploitation of child labour the author of the pamphlet artlessly replies, "If the children return to the State a part of what they receive from it, it does not mean that they are being exploited." We are assured that these schools are "expected to show a satisfactory record of intellectual progress." But one's confidence slumps when a few pages later one comes upon the bland statement that "matriculates who have difficulty in finding employment can easily teach in basic schools." The teaching of history and geography through spinning may not be "so far-fetched as it seems at first." But it is difficult to envisage our matriculates doing that triumphantly on the strength of a year's training and unlimited zeal for "national regeneration."

"Learning by doing," like any other stunt can be overworked. As Professor Wolfenden speaking at the British Association observed, the two major goals in education are the enabling of the young to become *au fait* with the rich achievement of the human adventure and the developing of the capacity for abstract thought. It is good to arouse the

child's natural interest in "the why and wherefore of every process." But if his arithmetic is to be learnt from counting slivers, a life-time will not be sufficient for acquiring in this discursive and whimsical way the minimum of what is "must" for the neophyte of the civilised life. You might as well scrap all schools and leave the boy to get his education from the Encyclopaedia.

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THE STOCK EXCHANGE

IV. The Provider Of Venture Capital

By S. NARAYANASWAMY

THE Stock Exchange is the conduit pipe through which industry mobilises the resources that help the company promoter to buy land, erect buildings thereon and install the machinery and plant that manufacture saleable goods. This as our politicians would say is the great socio-economic function of a Stock Exchange. The mobilising of capital for industry is by no means an easy task—any more than the actual setting up of an industry is a picnic. In the first place, the promoter must be convinced that he is setting out to manufacture something that is in demand and which we are importing in large quantities and that there is a reasonable chance of placing on the market articles of quality comparable to imported ones and which can be sold cheaper than the imported article. He (the promoter) may be in a position to avail of a tariff protection in force and over a period make sure that he would do with a lesser protective duty if not without any duty at all. Among the many persons in our midst who are hard to convince, the investor is perhaps the hardest. Well, he is perhaps not to be blamed for being hard-headed—for he has taken pains to save money and he has a right to know that when that money becomes what is called 'risk capital', his risks are in fact reduced to a minimum. For the man who puts his money in an industry has to be prepared for the normal risk of that industry establishing itself successfully—which involves certain reasonable assumptions as to the integrity and efficiency of the promoter or entrepreneur as he is called. Besides this he

has to wait for at least 3 years before there is a minimum return on his investment. For capital has to be subscribed, machinery orders placed, machinery manufactured abroad, meantime buildings to be erected and simpler items of plant and machinery fabricated within the country. All these take time. Then of course trial runs, experimental production, tests of consumer reaction to articles turned out and large scale advertising campaigns follow on. It is amazing how little is known of the obstacles to be surmounted in promoting an industrial company and in setting up the industry. From the facile and almost frivolous manner in which the managerial class in industry is referred to in our legislatures and in political addresses, one would think they just had to rub an Alladin's lamp and find themselves carried by the genii to the treasure trove. It has in several instances been sweat, toil and tears, heart-breaking waits and anxious watching out for machinery arrivals from abroad.

In the first place the entrepreneur has to get an idea of how much is wanted by way of capital to set up his industry. He must estimate how much land and buildings would cost, how much plant and machinery, how much working capital he would need to make a beginning and how much unlooked for expenditure to provide for. This last has enveloped more promoters in financial blizzards than you would guess. Even where firm contracts were entered into for machinery, coal costs, labour trouble and dock strikes pushed up prices abroad and entailed

delays in machinery arrivals that brought much contumely on the entrepreneur. Then at home, building costs got inflated because of higher steel or timber prices, greater fabrication costs and higher building wages. In the last 10 years, the number of Indian company promoters that got completely bogged over inflated capital costs are legion.

Once the promoter has estimated capital costs he has to decide on a capital structure for his company, determine whether he will issue preference shares alongside of ordinary shares or only ordinary shares, whether he will restrict his capital to bare needs and borrow from one of the Finance Corporations for working capital or for even a small part of his capital requirements. Then he casts about for a proper board of directors. This is not as easy as one would expect. Men with reputation for successful or skilled business management are few and these are not always available. Sometimes men are chosen for their social position or possible political influence, meaning those who have pull enough to act as 'expeditors' in cutting through New Delhi redtape. When a board of directors is thus constituted, the promoters apply for what is called "capital issue sanction" to the Controller of Capital Issues in New Delhi, sending him the relevant papers consisting of draft memorandum and articles of association of the proposed company, draft prospects and answer to queries. This sanction takes some time to get and after it is received the promoter finalises the draft memorandum and articles which are the company's charter, gets them signed by at least 7 promoters who are called "signatories to the memorandum" as required by company law and register the company with the Registrar of Companies. Then the company's prospectus is finalised and signed by the directors. The prospectus is a sacred document. The punishment for false statements in

prospectuses are drastic and directors have therefore to make sure that exaggerations or extravagant statements are avoided and estimates are reasonable. The Companies Act lays down the compulsory items of information to be given therein. The prospectus is thereafter filed with the Registrar of Companies. This is usually published in the newspaper press and in the financial journals also—depending on the size of the issue.

Before the prospectus is launched, the promoter approaches a member of the Stock Exchange to either underwrite the public issue of shares by the company which means the broker guarantees procurement of applications for the amount of capital issued or to act as brokers for the issue. If the member of the Exchange is confident of procuring the subscription and has the necessary influence and prestige in the market, he may choose to "underwrite" the issue for which he is paid an "Underwriting commission." He may prepare the ground by issue of circulars to constituents preceding the issue of the prospectus and may personally canvas important clients. If however he does not choose to "underwrite" he may agree to act as broker for the issue which means that while not guaranteeing procurement of the entire public issue, he undertakes to 'sponsor' the issue that is to say to commend it to constituents by circulars and letters. In either case, public issues have to be sponsored by a member of the Stock Exchange, if the shares of the concerned company are to command a free market—and after the subscription list is closed, the company has to apply for and obtain an official Stock Exchange quotation—which will confer on the company the hallmark of respectability. In fact banks are generally guided by the fact of shares being on a Stock Exchange official list for putting shares on their "approved list" for advances. So that

the Stock Exchange is the appropriate medium for mobilising capital for companies. The official broker or underwriter for a particular issue is mentioned in the prospectus and the fact that an official quotation has been or will be applied for by the company is also usually specified.

When Governments issue loans which is not called venture capital but 'giltedge issues', the Stock Exchange helps in that its members distribute application forms, receive them completed and forward them to the Reserve Bank or other receiving agencies of Government. The Stock Exchange thus plays a part in every type of public issue—either venture capital or loans of Governments or debenture issues by companies. If an issue of shares is successful the subscription list of a company closes very soon after opening and this is announced in the Press too. This has the effect of toning up the prestige of the shares in question. But in India the economic climate which was favourable to capital issues up to 1946 became adverse since. It is difficult to size up the investor's psychology but 9 years after the Liaquat Ali Khan Budget he is still rather wary of new issues—because of taxation uncertainties and caprices of economic policy. But there has been an indication in more recent months that venture capital will flow into industry, given the right type of industry and management. There is therefore reason for hoping that the Stock Exchange as the resource-finder for the private sector will be restored to its wanted place in Indian economy.

Before I close the series of articles about the Stock Exchange which I do with this article, I would like to say a word about the Stock Exchange Bill which is before Parliament. There is a popular impression that this Bill will cramp the style of Stock Exchanges and put them in a straight jacket. This is a misapprehension.

The Bill is largely regulatory in its intentions and provisions. By prohibiting more than one Exchange in a city and by channelling all business through the Exchanges, it will strengthen the principal exchanges and invest them with greater prestige. There are of course provisions to control rapid speculation, cornering, squeezes and such like. There are also powers vested in Government to supersede committees of Exchanges in special emergencies. But these are only breakdown provisions and would not be normally invoked. By and large the proposed legislation will do Stock Exchanges a world of good and invest them with a new prestige and with the statutory stamp of authenticity. The proposed Bill has therefore been generally welcomed by the Stock Exchanges all over India.

In the course of these 4 articles I have sought somewhat imperfectly to touch on the principal aspects of Stock Exchange activity. The situations that develop occasionally as a result of cornering activities, political or war news, bear pressures and such like have been sedulously left out. While they are charged with melodramatic material and give endless troubles to Stock Exchange committees, they will take up the range of a whole book to dwell on. To this extent this series of articles is not comprehensive. It is amazing how human ingenuity works at the behest of remorseless human greed. The Stock Exchange can be bent to serve occasional anti-social causes, if some rapacious and resourceful operator chooses to utilize its machinery. Often, for this reason, it has come in for acrimonious comment at the hands of persons who have little suspicion of what goes on inside. A sharp-edged razor can give you a smooth shave—but it can perhaps cut your neighbour's throat with equal facility. We do not for that reason throw the razor into the well—do we?

CONVERTIBILITY OF CURRENCIES

By SHANTI SHRINIVAS

IN international economics, the word 'Convertibility' means the facility of exchanging one national currency for another without restriction or restraint. Such a facility is a good thing because it would conduce to healthy economic relationship between the countries of the world by helping with the mobility of goods, services and capital from one nation to another. Inconvertibility, on the other hand, is a malady, a heavy drag on international trade and investment. But in the present circumstances of the world, convertibility can only be the result of a calculated endeavour. The destruction and chaos inflicted by World War II were so great that no nation is prepared unreservedly to conform to a code of reasonable economic behaviour. This makes the achievement of free convertibility of currencies a very difficult task.

The convertibility of currencies was not a fashionable phrase under the gold-standard system which prevailed until the early 'thirties. What was then important was that currencies should be changeable, not into one another, but into gold. The system kept up a make-believe of automatism which broke down when it failed to iron out incompatible ambitions. Soon after 1931, almost all nations began exercising rigorous control over foreign exchange transactions. The era of managed currencies intervened. Thus inconvertibility is in a way the evil legacy left by the fallen idol, the gold standard.

The immediate causes of inconvertibility are the present-day quotas, interventions, restrictions, tariffs, and other instruments of economic

selfishness. But these are themselves the unlovely offspring of the physical devastation and economic dislocation caused by the Second World War, which created an abnormal need of foreign goods in many countries and at the same time reduced their capacity to pay for them. The result was a persistent imbalance in international payments, the chief aspect of which was the notorious phenomenon of the 'dollar-gap.' Under that disequilibrium, free convertibility would have involved many nations in the disgrace of bankruptcy, as an over-enthusiastic Britain realised in 1947. These obstacles to convertibility are worsened by the insistence of some countries upon pursuing policies and programmes which cause inflationary pressures that widen the disparity between the internal and external purchasing powers of a currency and render the problem of payments more vexing and difficult than before.

A good prelude to general convertibility will be the limited convertibility of the pound sterling. What is known as the sterling area is an association of countries which, for the sake of advantages best known to each member only, have agreed to use the British pound as their common international currency and to 'pool' their dollar earnings for the collective benefit of them all. To a large extent, it is governed by an agreement restricting the use of sterling outside the area. Convertibility for the sterling area is visualised only in the hope that there is an increasing ability of the pound sterling to take care of itself in an acutely competitive world. As confidence in that currency

increases, its actual conversion will decrease and no harm will come out of the removal of restrictions upon its use. However, it is certain that there will be no hasty dash towards convertibility. England is a burnt child that dreads fire. The approach is bound to be extremely cautious and slow.

Convertibility has often been regarded not as an end in itself but as a means to world economic stability. In that light, tariffs can be singled out for specific criticism. Economic stability depends upon the capacity of a nation not alone to produce but also to consume. If every nation wishes to sell much and buy little, no amount of pledging and planning will prevent the recrudescence of instability, and the unity of sovereign States will remain always perilously fragile.

Efforts to bring about convertibility are not altogether absent. A decade ago, the International Monetary Fund began operating for the purpose, among others, of eliminating exchange restrictions and establishing the free convertibility of currencies. But the I.M.F. has always rightly held that the primary responsibility for establishing and maintaining convertibility in any country must rest on that country. Some economists are nevertheless of opinion that its articles of agreement need revision in view of convertibility, because its founders were preoccupied with certain economic facts which are today neither important nor international, such, for example, as deflation and competitive depreciation of currencies. They also feel that the I.M.F. is not powerful enough to compel recalcitrant members to adhere to its injunctions.

At present a few conditions are favourable to launch a programme for the restoration of convertibility. The overall volume and value of world trade are encouraging. So are those of the export trade of the poorer nations. Furthermore, the

imports of the U. S. show an uptrend. And in many countries there has been a rediscovery of monetary weapons. But, for the preservation of convertibility, other conditions must obtain. There must be domestic stability in all nations, and team-spirit among them. Their productive capacities must be restored to their best. The flow of international trade must be smoothened out, and an active world capital market created. Every country must keep adequate reserves, and avoid policies that cause great disturbances in the monetary field. A vital step to success is, of course, a change of outlook. Convertibility does not thrive in an ultra-nationalist climate.

There is thus no reason why currencies should continue to be inconvertible if countries desirous of convertibility would adapt their respective economic attitudes and policies to that aim. If indeed an honest effort is made, the aim will surely be accomplished. Equally surely, that accomplishment will make this world a better place to live.

MOTHER SNAKE DELIVERS SIXTY

The Smithsonian Institute's Biological Station in the Panama Canal Zone has announced the birth of 60 young snakes from one mother in a single delivery. The mother is a fer-de-lance, a snake fairly common in the American tropics. The snakes were delivered at the Smithsonian Island Laboratory. One by one, 60 young came into the world, each one-sixth as long as its mother, but much thinner. Each has fully functioning fangs and sacs of venom. From the instant of birth each could have killed a small mammal and would have been dangerous to a man. The young came into the world as closely packed balls which started to unwind at once.

PRICE-PAGE SCHEDULE

By P. SEETHARAMIAH

THE recent debate in the House of the People on the Press Commission Report was one of the most memorable events in the history of our Parliament. Price-page schedule was almost the only subject on which much heat was generated, though no light as one of the writers put it in these columns. The consensus of opinion of the House weighed in favour of it.

The Commission, in their preliminary summary of the Report are reported to have said:

"The proper functioning of democracy requires that every individual should have equal opportunity, in so far as this can be achieved, to put forward his opinions. The Commission recommend that, as a measure to reduce the differences due to economic advantages or other causes and to enable new comers to start with a fair chance of achieving success a minimum price should be fixed at which papers of a particular size can be sold. The price-page schedule should prescribe not only the maximum number of pages that could be sold at a particular price, but also the minimum number that must be offered." They also laid down that the quantum of advertisement should not exceed 40 per cent of the total area of a newspaper.

An intimate knowledge of the structure of the newspaper industry is necessary to gauge the merits of the price-page schedule. It may be taken that out of the 330 daily newspapers only about a fourth or even less, are in English and the rest belong to the several Indian languages. It must not be forgotten that English being still the official and common language of the day, most of these English papers have 'a national aspect' about them.

They have always to think in terms of the country as a whole and they cannot confine their activities to the regions where they are produced. The picture is reversed in the case of the language papers. Their interests and activities are of a local character. While the English papers think of everything in a big way, their language counterparts are always 'modest'. This, in a way, is the cause for the big circulation figures of the English papers to the detriment of the language press. As long as the English language continues to occupy the status that it has acquired so far, any efforts of the Government to deprive them of their supremacy over the vernacular papers, may only prove abortive.

Being basically commercial-minded, the press barons in charge of the several English papers began to divert their profits into other channels and the chains are the result.

Secondly, the language papers do not have their own news agencies with the result that apart from their dependence for foreign news, they have also to be at the mercy of the news agencies controlled by the press barons even for local news. Their language difficulties and financial status make it a costly proposition for them to have their own correspondents in the important centres of the country. This weakness is fully exploited by the owners of these news-agencies.

Against this background let us see how the price-page schedule affects the newspapers. The language papers being essentially of a local character their emoluments will be cut; for, they cannot increase their size without increasing the cost and if they do so the demand for them will receive a check. Hence these

vernacular papers will eventually fall back on the prescribed minimum which may be equal to their present size or even less, in which case they will be hit hard.

At the same time the language papers which are 'links' in the big multilingual 'chains' will rush forth with redoubled vigor and thus dominate the field. This state of disequilibrium will only ruin the small language newspapers. The present cold war between them will change into hot war by the introduction of this Schedule.

With a ceiling on their size the language papers cannot resort to pictorial journalism which is one of the most successful and important trends of modern journalism. The Government will do well not to mind the opinion voiced in some quarters that photos of speakers, etc., should not be published and that their names should not be revealed while printing their speeches. Nothing can be more suicidal than the curb on these.

Eventually the price-page schedule may, it is felt, meet with the same resentment as the ceiling on the length of motion pictures. If food rationing was successful during the war, it did not prove useful in peace time. Just because the schedule proved successful in Britain we can-

not follow suit. In Britain there does not exist the multilingual problem and the centres of activities of both big and small papers are almost the same, whereas in our country there are two distinct groups of language papers and each has its own sphere of activity.

In this connection it may be useful to note what Mr. C. P. Scott, had to say about 35 years ago, in regard to chains of newspapers!

"The smaller newspapers have had a hard struggle; many of them have disappeared. In their place we have great organisations controlling a whole series of publications of various kinds and even of differing or opposing policies. . . . It is much to control one newspaper well; it is perhaps beyond the reach of any man, or any body of men to control half a dozen with equal success. . . . This is a matter which in the end must settle itself and those who cherish the older ideal of a newspaper need not be dismayed. They have only to make their papers good enough in order to win, as well as to merit success and the resources of a newspaper are not wholly measured in pounds, shillings and pence."

The Government will, I hope, study this question very carefully.

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S. KRISHNASWAMI,
Secretary.

ROLL CALL OF HONOUR

By P. N. S.

IT was way back in 1927, when cricket was a joyous adventure, unspoilt by the test match atmosphere. The English team, the first official side sent over under A.E.R. Gilligan, were playing at Chepauk against an all-Madras side. The atmosphere was electric. Mercer, the swerve bowler had uprooted Mohamed Hussain's stumps for a 'duck,' and George Geary had brought off a miraculous catch at short-leg to send back H. P. Ward for three runs. Their appetite whetted, the Englishmen were on their toes, eager for more kills. Into this charged atmosphere walked in C. K. Nayudu, every movement of his displaying an intention to take up the challenge that the situation offered. And how well he did his job. With an abandon, which, the on-looker sometimes thought, bordered on recklessness, he blasted the English bowling of Tate, Mercer, Astill and others all round the wicket, and when he was out after a brief stay for 59 runs, Madras had to a large extent recovered its spirits.

Nayudu was next seen at Chepauk a few years later, round about 1933. Playing for the Indians in the Presidency match he scored a century. But what a change had come over his batting! His reckless manner had gone, and in its place was the calm, dominating spirit of the master-batsman. His batting was still adventurous and many of his strokes were not of the copy-book variety; but the strokes were so sure and their sound so reassuring that one rarely felt the unorthodoxy. One particularly remembers his late cut, the ball flicked away at the very last moment, just when it seemed to hit the off-bail; quintessence of timing and power. And the gorgeous pull, picking the ball of his toes with a

lofty disdain and sending it coursing to the on-side boundary. That day Nayudu was demonstrating to us his science of batsmanship which had made him the hero of the 1932 English season, when he toured England as a member of the first Indian official side.

Nayudu was not young when he made that tour—he was 37. But he brought back to the English memories of Ranji's wizardry, and became the rage of the country. And Neville Cardus pronounced his judgement in delightful prose when somebody compared Nayudu to Don Bradman; he damned it as a stupid comparison—Bradman was a slave to his strokes, while Nayudu was their master, he added. The *Wisden* of 1933 also paid its tribute to Nayudu and honoured its pages when it included him in its Five Cricketers of 1932.

Nayudu looked very young and very agile on the field. He was endowed with a fine physique and took endless trouble to keep it in trim. In his younger days, he was a fine athlete and looked one even in his fifties; only when he uncovered his head, his grey hair bespoke his age, and engendered the sad thought that Nayudu had become old. He played his last innings at Bangalore in 1953, when he captained Andhra against Mysore in the Ranji Trophy Championship. He made seventy and odd runs and, according to an eye-witness, who had seen the hero at his best, revealed the many graces of batsmanship enshrined in him.

Nayudu is the greatest Indian who ever played cricket for his country. He was also its unchallenged idol for nearly two decades. Bombay, scene of many of his triumphs, was so much enamoured of his batting, that

it is said that people at work used to quit their desks and hurry to the ground whenever Nayudu was at the crease, and as quickly return to duty when he went back.

Nayudu was not merely a great cricketer; he enhanced his greatness by imparting its secrets to many an youthful aspirant; perhaps he reached the culmination of his desires when Mushtaq Ali took over the mantle in true Nayudu fashion and kept the crowd talking of both master and disciple. There were many others who flourished under Nayudu's tutelage, like C. T. Sarwate, but none of them touched Mushtaq's heights.

Nayudu was the inspiration behind the success of the Indian tour of 1932; the good deeds of that side, under his *de facto* leadership, laid the foundation for India-England ex-

change, which, in spite of our deplorable 1936 tour under Vizzy—with Nayudu playing under him!—we are still maintaining. After his retirement from the test arena, besides doing invaluable service to the game in Indore, his adopted state, Nayudu gave, and is still giving, the wisdom of his experience to the game. He means so much to Indian cricket that the very mention of his name must set our hearts throbbing; nor will it be possible to repay our debt to him, though everyone of us will be ready to do our bit. On October 31 Nayudu, in true Indian manner, will be celebrating his *shashti-abdapurthi* and a purse will be presented to him on the occasion. Let us rise to the moment and contribute our best and honour the greatest cricketer of our land.

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N. GOPALA IYER,
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PRIORITIES IN THE SECOND FIVE YEAR PLAN

By Prof. C. NARAYANAN

THE first Five-Year Plan is drawing to a close, and the second Five-Year Plan is in the consideration stage. Under the first plan the main objective was to overcome the shortage in food and raw materials caused by the war and the partition. This objective has been more than fully achieved. Therefore the Planning Commission feels that "the stage is now set for a period of sustained and vigorous effort to rebuild the economy and achieve a fairly marked rise in the standard of living."

A draft plan-frame of the second Five Year Plan, setting out the broad objectives and tentative targets, has already been published by the Planning Commission.

According to the plan-frame the main objectives of the second Plan are: (1) a sizable increase in national income, so as to raise the standard of living in the country; (2) rapid industrialisation with particular emphasis on the development of basic industries; (3) fuller employment; and (4) social justice.

The total outlay in the public sector is estimated to be 3,400 crores, and that in the private sector Rs. 2,200 crores thus making an aggregate of Rs. 5,600 crores. Now what is the order of priority to be assigned to the various schemes? Whereas the first Five Year Plan was an agricultural plan, in general, the second one is to be an industrial plan. As such, top priority is to be given to industries. And among the industries the highest priority is for basic industries. The development of these industries alone would ensure a proper supply of the machinery and power within the country, and thus pave the way for

rapid industrialisation. Thus we should produce more steel, more coal, more electricity, more petrol and more chemicals. Therefore an amount of Rs. 1,400 crores is set apart for industries in the public sector. The major part of this investment is to be devoted to producer goods industries. In the private sector, out of a total investment of Rs. 2,200 crores, that on industry and transport is expected to be Rs. 500 crores. At the same time consumer goods industries have not been completely ignored. An amount of Rs. 100 crores, i.e. 7% of the total industrial outlay, is to be on manufacturing consumer goods. This is necessary in view of the anticipated 20% rise in total consumption, following a 25% increase in national income.

The important place given to small-scale and village industries, producing largely consumer goods, deserves special attention. The amount set apart for these comes to Rs. 200 crores, i.e. more than 14% of the total industrial outlay. This generous provision has been made in view of the fact that they have greater employment-potential than the large-scale industries using labour-saving equipment. On the whole, the employment target for the second plan, according to the authors of the plan-frame, should be of the order of 12 million. To provide such large scale employment the big industries adopting capital-intensive methods are unsuitable. Small-scale industries and cottage industries adopting labour-intensive methods have to be preferred. Hence the need to protect and encourage these industries.

Viewing the development outlay on industries in the second Five Year Plan as a whole, it comes to 26% of the total, while in the first Five Year Plan it came to only about 8%. Another 10.5% to be spent on power-generation, is also to be taken into account. Thus on the whole the industries sector would have for it 37% of the total outlay. This shows that there is to be a considerable shift in favour of industries in the second Plan.

Then where does agriculture stand? In keeping with the predominantly industrial character of the Plan, agriculture has been given a relatively lower priority. The total expenditure on agriculture and irrigation for the plan period is estimated to be Rs. 950 crores, representing only 17% of the total outlay, as against 39% in the first Five Year Plan. But the planners have recognised the need for securing a substantial increase in agricultural production, in order to satisfy the increased demand that might come with the increase in population and increase in the purchasing power of the undernourished masses, and in order to maintain the tempo of development in the other sectors of the economy. They have therefore not only set apart large sums under various heads, but also fixed higher targets for food grains and essential raw materials.

The planners observe that power and transport are essential pre-conditions for rapid industrial development and therefore they have made a provision of Rs. 950 crores.

Finally, for the provision of basic services and amenities such as housing, water-works, schools, hospitals and parks an amount of Rs. 750 crores has been ear-marked as against Rs. 544 crores in the first Plan. This then is the draft outline of the second Five Year Plan.

This general frame-work of the second Five Year Plan is subject to modification in the light of further

consultations and discussions. In the meanwhile the different States are busy drawing up their own plans of development.

The Madras State had also prepared a tentative plan involving a total expenditure of Rs. 394 crores. But according to the revision made by the Planning Commission it has to be cut down to about Rs. 225 crores. This is excluding Central schemes for the development of large and medium scale industries. The schemes for the manufacture of aluminium, heavy electrical equipment, steel castings and forgings, which the preliminary State Plan contained will be considered by the Central Government and decided after proper enquiry. Other schemes such as paper mill, a power alcohol plant and plants for the manufacture of sulphuric acid and super phosphate, included originally in the public sector, are now allocated to the private sector and for these the State and the All-India Finance Corporations would provide assistance.

For the small-scale industries and cottage industries the amount set apart is about Rs. 38 crores. A novel and interesting proposal is the setting up of 'industrial estates', where persons seeking to establish small-scale industries will have all the necessary facilities ready-made. A number of industrial co-operative societies are also to be started for the manufacture of articles like umbrella ribs, sewing machines, shoe-lace, etc. The sum available for irrigation and power projects would now be about Rs. 80 crores, as against the Rs. 100 crores in the preliminary draft proposals. As given in the preliminary proposals the allotment for irrigation and power is 28%, for agriculture and co-operation it is about 12%, while roads and inland waterways get 6%, housing and town planning another 6%, and community development and local development works about 9%. Greater emphasis has been

laid on welfare schemes. About 25% of the total outlay has been earmarked for social services, including education, health, women's welfare, backward classes, etc. Of these the outlay on education would amount to Rs. 30 crores. According to the Minister in charge of Planning, whatever be the reduction made in the overall size of the plan, there would not be any major alterations in the order of priority assigned to different schemes of development.

With a view to making the second Five Year Plan essentially a people's plan, mobilising local initiative and local resources, the State Government have, according to the instruction of the Planning Commission, decided to get plans prepared by the different districts with non-official co-operation.—*Courtesy A.I.R.*

MR. COOPER, A FRIEND OF INDIA

“A FORCE for peace, without question”: that is how Mr. Sherman Cooper, U.S. Ambassador in India, described Prime Minister Nehru recently.

It is customary for official diplomatic representatives to foreign countries to express fine sentiments in an effort to maintain friendly relations with the nation to which they are accredited. I have reason to believe however that Ambassador Cooper's tribute to our country and Nehru in his statements is more than a routine expression, and really reflects his deep and sincere conviction. My belief that this is so stems from an incident that occurred during a three month visit to the United States in 1952.

In November that year I was invited to a luncheon given by the Rotary and Kiwani clubs of Louisville. The guest-speaker on this occasion was Mr. Cooper, newly elected Republican Senator from Kentucky. Many of us

in India at that time were of the opinion that the Republican Party was conservative and isolationist in sentiment, less friendly to India than the Democratic Party. I shared this view at the time Mr. Cooper rose to deliver his luncheon address.

Mr. Cooper spoke at length concerning the great need for America to earn the goodwill of India and the Far-East. He advocated independence for colonies and unreserved American aid to under-developed countries.

I still remember his emphasis on India in his speech. Being the only Indian in an audience of outstanding American citizens of the locality I was greatly pleased. Many persons were turning their eyes towards me throughout the speech.

Resounding applause marked the end of Mr. Cooper's speech, and one by one members of the audience shook hands with him showing their approval of his views. This again convinced me that the people of America are sincerely friendly to India. My turn to shake hands with Mr. Cooper came quickly.

Many people surrounded us anxious to hear out short conversation. “I am very glad that an Indian journalist is amidst us today. One day I would like to visit your great country,” he said. “You are quite welcome, Mr. Cooper,” I replied. “I thank you on behalf of my country for your friendly feelings.” He rejoined “I know some Indian delegates in the UNO. They are brilliant sons of India. I have every appreciation for their efforts to achieve world peace.”

Thus ended my interview two and a half years ago with the present American Ambassador to India.

Later I asked some American journalists and other people about Mr. Cooper and got the unanimous reply: “He is a wonderful guy; a good friend of India.”

A. RAMA KRISHNA

THE MEDITERRANEAN 'OUT OF CONTROL'

By ANDREW ROTH

THE summer of 1955 has seen a significant stage in the ending of Western control over the Southern and Western Mediterranean. Virtually the whole of North Africa and odd spots in the Mediterranean like Cyprus have begun to pass 'out of control' in the sense that South Asia largely passed out of the direct control of the West in the period 1947-50. The area of quasi-neutrality or, in Pandit Nehru's words, "non-committal" is in the process of extending to the shores of the Atlantic itself.

It is a development which, historically, was bound to come. But, in 1950 those familiar with Asia and the Middle East could not help being amazed by the fact that the nationalists of North Africa allowed themselves to fall so far behind others in Asia in a comparable state of political development.

The situation has now changed dramatically and with tremendous significance. The importance of the Mediterranean in the strategy of the West has not been much in the news since Britain and the United States were arguing in 1951 over who should command the combined forces in the Mediterranean and whether Greece and Turkey should be made part of the North Atlantic (sic!) Treaty Organization or a separate Middle Eastern Treaty Organisation.

"No war with Russia could be won without the Western Powers controlling the Mediterranean," trumpeted the *Economist* at the time. The disagreement was clear. For the Americans, who reentered the Mediterranean for the first time in a century with the North Africa landings of 1942; the primary role of the Mediter-

anean has been as the right flank of its European front against Russia. A powerful fleet in the Mediterranean, plus medium and long-distance air-bases in Morocco, Libya and Turkey pushed American deterrent power closer to Soviet borders than in Western Europe.

For the British the Mediterranean has retained more traditional import as the main strategic life line of the Empire, also increasingly important for its direct access to the Middle East.

For France the Mediterranean has been chiefly a communication zone between France and its colonial rear base in North Africa.

These differences of emphasis have produced arguments over who should command the combined Mediterranean fleet, over whether France should be consulted on strategic discussions on the East Mediterranean, over the timing of a Middle Eastern Treaty Organization. But there has been no argument over the fact that control of the Mediterranean is one of the pivots of Western strategy.

Today the whole basis of Western military power has been completely undermined, by doing too little, too late to conform with the aspirations of the colonial peoples in the area.

The crisis over Cyprus has been a classic example of how to destroy imperial strategy with an imperially strategic mind. When it was decided, in 1951, to move Britain's Middle East base from the Suez Canal Zone, which Egypt was claiming, to Cyprus the diplomatic, colonial and military strategists dismissed the idea that it was at all necessary to consult the Cypriots. Of course, 80% of the

Cypriots were Greek-speaking and virtually all of these latter, including Communists almost certain to be jailed by the Greek Government, favour *Enosis* (Union) with Greece. But they had never been violent about these demands. And besides, the strategists decided, Cyprus was in the special category of a fortress-colony like Gibraltar or Malta and the likes or dislikes of its inhabitants could be overlooked in the interests of imperial strategy.

So imbued were the strategists with this belief that the Government actually went on record in the House of Commons in July 1954 that Cyprus, in effect, could never decide its own future. Having thus waved a red flag in the face of the bull of Cypriot nationalism, Britain decided on another strategem to avoid a head on collision between Cypriot nationalism and Britain. It decided to bring in a Turkish picador, to irritate the Cypriots and Greeks more by demands that Cyprus must remain British, or if not British, return to Turkey.

This divide-and-rule strategem was not only hoary but inevitably explosive. Neither Mr. Macmillan nor Sir Anthony Eden are so young that they do not recall that Turkish-Greek enmity was so bitter a generation ago that it produced one of the greatest mass migrations of modern times. Nor are they so ill-informed that they cannot realize that weak and unstable regimes like the Greek and Turkish Governments cannot withstand the temptation to divert attention against a traditional foe.

Britain tried to cover its strategy with the thin veil of an Anglo-Greek-Turkish talk on Eastern Mediterranean defense, including Cyprus. But it held this too late and conceded too little. Instead of conceding eventual self-determination and restraining Turkish chauvinism—as some elements in the Government are said to have urged—the Turks were encouraged to stonewall Greek demands

for self-determination for Cyprus. The result: anti-Greek riots in Turkey, anti-British terrorism in Cyprus and anti-British incitement by Athens Radio.

In short, by approaching the problem of Cyprus with the traditional imperial mind, Britain has converted Cyprus from a base to a beleaguered garrison and Turkey and Greece from being the main bulwarks of anti-Communism in the East Mediterranean into being each other's worst enemies. The most brilliant Kremlin strategem cannot hope to have disarmed its opponents as successfully as Britain has in an insensitive quest for a base to protect the Middle East.

This experience confirms the peculiarity of British politics that Labour is the best defender of British imperial interests. Partly because the Labour Party is more sensitive to nationalist aspirations, but largely because it is not overloaded with the 19th century minds of ex-brigadiers and retired colonial civil servants. Labour has known better (except in Persia) when to retreat with grace. In Egypt, Sir Anthony Eden, for example was convinced of the need to give up the Canal Zone base almost a year before he could persuade the rest of his party.

The dead hand of generations of Empire-builders is so heavy that Britain is not only ignoring its own recent successes in India, Pakistan, Ceylon and Burma, but is encouraging others to make blind mistakes. Last spring, for example, the British Ambassador went out of his way to proclaim that Britain supported France's policy in North Africa.

Certainly the British are strategically interested in the Southern shore of the Mediterranean. They have an aerial staging base in Libya.

But the one thing the French have never needed has been encouragement in their colonialism. In addition to the normal vested interests which an imperial country develops,

France's intelligence on colonial matters has long been stultified by the tumor of having some two million Frenchmen settled among the twenty million Arabs of French North Africa.

The vast difference of degree between even a colonial-minded investor in the home country and a man who settles in a colony and directly exploits or competes with the colonial subject has seldom been adequately appreciated. The colonial administrator or even estate manager almost always expects to retire at the end of his stay. Therefore a nationalist revolution speeds the inevitable, however uncomfortably. The white settler in a colony believes he is at home. A nationalist revolution for him takes on the character of a slave uprising or civil war.

Although the British Parliament has one or two M.P.s who regularly speak up for the white settlers of Kenya, the French Assembly has a solid core of deputies directly elected by the white settlers in Algeria. By a constitutional fiction, the departments of Algeria are considered "part of" France. And in the thinly-balanced, shifting coalitions of post-war France, these representatives of the French settlers have continually exploited their position to sabotage any liberal agreement not merely in North Africa, but anywhere else in the colonial empire. They helped block the 1946 negotiations with Ho Chi Minh and have worked strenuously to sabotage the 1954 settlement at Geneva.

It is in North Africa, however, that they have most effectively prevented the very peaceful settlement which is necessary if they are to remain in North Africa at all. French North Africa is divided in three: Tunis and Morocco have the status of protected sultanates and Algeria is constitutionally part of France, although 90% of its inhabitants are Arabs or Berbers.

There is an old saying with some truth: "The Tunisian is like a woman, the Algerian like a man and the Moroccan like a lion." The Tunisians have, for some time, been the most sophisticated, advanced and agreeable of North African nationalists. As long ago as 1950 the Neo-Destour, under its brilliant, moderate leader Habib Bourguiba was not only willing to come to an agreement, but the logic of the situation demanded it. But the settlers were able to block it. Fortunately it has now come to pass, five years late, after the settlers have secured Bourguiba's exile and provoked Tunisian nationalist into forming armed guerilla bands.

Morocco has come to have a special place in the mentality of the French upper classes. With the experience of World War II and France's occupation by the Nazis, many of those who can afford it have bought themselves a house and made investments in Morocco. In case of war, they have reasoned, they could run to Morocco, where they could be protected by the Americans while the Russians were overrunning France.

This new wave of settlers strengthened the hands of the most heavy handed extremists on the French side. The moderate nationalist former Sultan Mohammed Ben Youssef was deposed and free rein was given to Marshal Juin and el Glaoui, the immensely rich French tribal puppet. Things developed to such a pass that terrorism became prevalent on both sides, with French settler terrorists (including French policemen) murdering Frenchmen in the territory urging a settlement with the nationalists. Belatedly, M. Grandval was dispatched to Morocco. He cleared out some of the terrorists in the police, but the reforms he envisaged, including the deposing of the stooge sultan now in office and the inviting of the nationalist Istiqlal party to participate in the Government have been delayed by the opposition of the settlers, who demanded and

secured his ouster. Tension increased. Moroccan tribesmen attacked a village and hideously slaughtered men women and children. French forces retaliated with a brutality which only stopped short of the primitive cruelty of the tribesmen.

It is in this explosive country that the U. S. has three of its greatest overseas air bases. Of what use would they be in a war without the consent of Moroccan nationalism?

Bombshell Of Russian Arms For Egypt

ALTHOUGH long toyed with by the Egyptians and long rumoured as on the eve of achievement, the actual announcement that the Soviet bloc will supply MIG fighter aircraft, heavy army equipment and small naval craft to Egypt has exploded with all the force of a heavy bomb amidst structures built of matchsticks and based on sand.

This one gesture has signalled the end of the period when the West could shore up its eroding position in the Arab world by dangling before Arab rulers samples of jet planes and tanks. To the new and shaky Arab regimes these military supplies from the West meant military power and the chance of a 'second round' with Israel. To the West the supply of arms was the invisible 'carrot' with which it was possible to feed friends and lure those more reluctant. The result was that the Arab legion of British-financed Jordan was well-equipped while the military forces of Egypt have been limited, according to *The Times*, to "a hodge-podge of aging British weapons—Bren gun-carriers bought from the withdrawing Army in the canal zone, for example, at which many a British cadet corps would look askance." When Egypt asked the United States for more modern arms, according to the Prime Minister, Col.

Nasser, various political strings had been attached, including insistence that Egypt should join a mutual security pact.

In addition the West had used its monopoly of modern arms supplies to the Middle East to maintain a balance between the forces of Israel and the Arab States whose desire to eliminate the new Zionist State has been restrained largely by the military difficulty of doing so. By co-ordinating their policies of arms supplies the Foreign Office and State Department have sought to prevent either the Israelis or the combined Arab forces from having enough for a 'knock-out' blow against the other.

Now this whole Anglo-American structure of rewarding allies and maintaining a balance of Arab-Israel forces has been knocked and destroyed by the Egyptian purchase of Soviet arms. What can be used by the West now to reward its allies and puppets if independents like Egypt can do as well in Soviet arms-shops? That is, what can be done apart from a race to supply Iraq and Jordan and Turkey with more jets and tanks, with the end-result that the Arab world would be littered with the tinder which only the spark of a new frontier clash on the Israel border might convert into a devastating 'second round' which can only damage the West's potential allies on both sides of Israel's border.

"No less important," *The Times* Cairo correspondent warned, "acceptance of Russian arms may be the thin end of a wedge leading to increased Russian influence in Egypt and among the Arabs. An obvious possibility is that the supply of arms may be accompanied by technical experts and advisers."

Although Moscow Radio has described this supply of arms as a "normal commercial transaction" what the Soviets have acquired is not

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TRUMAN'S MEMOIRS

HARRY S. TRUMAN, the little man from Missouri who became the President of the U.S.A. much to his surprise and also of everybody who knew him, was totally unprepared for the job. The one thing that helped him once he became President is his outstanding comprehension of American history and the role of the President. In the memoirs he has written he says;

"I have often thought in reading the history of our country how much is lost to us because so few of our Presidents have told their own stories. It would have been helpful to us to know more of what was in their minds and what impelled them to do what they did . . . Very few are ever authorized to speak for the President. No one can make decisions for him. Even those closest to him . . . never know all the reasons why he does certain things . . ."

Harry S. Truman says in his memoirs, of which the first instalment has just been published, that he believes his administration paved the way for preventing the third World War for "as far ahead as man can see." It did so, the former President contends, by making sure of this country's military strength, and by dealing with Soviet Russia on a "give and take" basis.

The first chapter of the memoirs, dealing with his first eighteen days in the Presidency, also contains Mr. Truman's version of the tongue-lashing he gave Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov in a face-to-face meeting at the White House on 23rd April 1945. This was just eleven days after Mr. Truman had become President upon the death of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

When Mr. Molotov protested his sharp language, Mr. Truman said he informed the Communist leader:

"Carry out your agreements and you won't get talked to like that."

Mr. Truman said he was concerned about Russia's refusals to carry out the Yalta agreements to bring certain democratic leaders into the Lublin or Warsaw provisional Government in Poland and pledge to hold free elections to choose a permanent one.

The story of the White House session is told in *Life* magazine in the first five instalments of the "Truman Memoirs." The instalments make up the first volume which will be brought out in book form in November by Doubleday and Co.

Mr. Truman is reported getting \$600,000 for this and a second volume to be published early next year. He told a Kansas City news conference he is not planning any further literary efforts, but he added, "You can never tell what will happen."

Mr. Truman coupled praise of the late Republican Senator Robert A. Taft, Ohio as a "highly ethical straightforward and honorable man with a description of him as a "violent partisan" with a "sense of dynasty."

"Like John Quincy Adams and Benjamin Franklin he wanted to keep the Presidency in the family" Mr. Truman writes.

Mr. Truman also tells of getting his "first bit of information" about the development of the atomic bomb after he became President. He recalls Fleet Admiral William D. Leahy, his chief of staff, as saying in his "sturdy salty manner; 'That's the biggest fool things we have ever done. The bomb will never go off and I speak as an expert on explosive.'"

Mr. Truman credits Averell Harri-man, then Ambassador to Russia and now Governor of New York, with

advising him at the start that "Stalin is breaking his agreements."

He also relates a long trans Atlantic telephone conversation with the then British Prime Minister Winston Churchill on April 25, 1945. Mr. Churchill read Mr. Truman a 700 word message from the British Ambassador in Stockholm, reporting that the German Gestapo Chief Heinrich Himmler had notified the Swedish Red Cross that Adolf Hitler was dying of a brain hemorrhage. Himmler proposed to surrender German forces on the Western Front to General Eisenhower while continuing the war against Russia on the Eastern front.

Mr. Truman replied: "I think he (Himmler) should be forced to surrender to all three Governments, Russia, you and the United States. I don't think we ought to consider a piecemeal surrender."

Mr. Churchill agreed and said that until the Germans surrendered everywhere, "the attack of the Allies upon all sides and in all theaters where

resistance continues will be prosecuted with the utmost vigour!"

The two agreed to send substantially the same message to Stalin to inform him of Himmler's offer and their decision.

In his memoirs, Mr. Truman tells of writing letters to his mother, who died while he was in office and his sister Mary Jane in Granview.

His account of how he was called on the telephone at Speaker Rayburn's office in the late afternoon of April 12 and ordered to go "quickly and quietly" to the White House has been told many times. Mr. Truman reveals his account at he wrote it to his mother and sister.

Mrs. Roosevelt put her arm on my shoulder and said, "Harry, the President is dead."

"It was the only time in my life, I think that I ever felt as if I'd had a real shock. I had hurried to the White House to see the President and when I arrived, I found out I was the President . . ."

—P. G. Krishnayya's Service

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merely Egyptian cotton and rice, but a considerable success for their policy of surrounding themselves, so far as possible, with a neutral belt. "The Egyptian leaders," *The Times* correspondent cabled, "who are honest but frighteningly inexperienced in foreign affairs, have genuinely tried to follow a 'third force' line between the opposing world forces."

Unfortunately for the West, Col. Nasser found there were few opportunities for neutralists or quasi-neutralists to buy American or British arms. But now that he has the promise of Soviet arms, he will almost certainly be offered British and American arms as well. And this will certainly strengthen his belief that

the position of a neutral is best guaranteed by careful dealings with both sides.

This could have been avoided had the West not indulged in the puppet politics of the Middle East. There was a legitimate interest, common to Arabs and Israelis, and the rest of the world, in not encouraging an arms race in the Middle East. But to refuse arms to Egypt primarily because it would not truckle to Anglo-American ideas of Middle Eastern defense simply pushed the Egyptians into their arms deals with the Soviets.

It is the West's refusal to face the new facts of Arab independence, rather than Soviet cunning, which gives the Kremlin the opportunity to strike blows such as this.

A NEW FORCE FOR PEACE

By Mme. SUN YAT SEN

THE old Asia is no more. The new Asia has arisen.

This is a fact of immense importance, encompassing the radically changed status of almost half the world's population. Whoever wants to judge events correctly must make it the premise of his judgment. The vast multitudes of Asia are moving forward to see that long-delayed justice is done, to better their fortunes according to their own design. Nothing can stop them from fulfilling these sacred obligations to themselves, to their countries and to history.

Arising from circumstances brought about by the character and results of World War II, a considerable group of newly-independent countries has emerged in Asia. The conditions under which they won their freedom, and the methods by which it was achieved, were different in many cases. Yet there was a factor common to all: the protracted and unremitting struggle of the peoples against the foreign oppressors of their lands. This had revived on a new foundation, despite all obstacles, the ties that had bound these countries together from remote antiquity. Since winning independence, basing themselves on this priceless heritage, they have forged fresh links—born of the similarity of the problems they face in safeguarding their hard-won freedom, and of their peoples' efforts to throw off the blight of poverty and ignorance.

Having so much in common in their past and present, these nations find themselves of one mind on many vital issues as they take their place in regional and world affairs today. In expressing their own needs and aspirations, they invariably reflect

those of the whole of resurgent Asia. This similarity of viewpoint, it is already apparent, is a new force which has come out of the East to influence the affairs of the entire world. Founded on the struggle for the right of self-determination by each people, it asserts the inseparable connection of this goal with the achievement of world peace. With the interweaving of these two struggles, history has entered on a new course.

In times past, it was typical for each nation to fend for itself. The new attitude is a product of our own epoch, when the interdependence of peoples, nations and regions has been made sharply evident by the scientific advances of Man. It is highlighted with especial sharpness by the facts of life in Asia, where the peoples have suffered so long from outside intrusion and are still suffering from it, where all burn with the desire to lift themselves out of economic and cultural backwardness. As a result, countless millions have come, almost simultaneously, to high political understanding. They know that their progress must be based on a double foundation—*independence*, which releases the will and genius of each nation; and *world peace*, which makes possible the cooperation of equals for joint benefit.

The renowned Five Principles, or Panch Shila as they have come to be known in India, are the highest embodiment of this new force for peace. They are:

- Mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty;
- Non-aggression;
- Non-interference in each other's internal affairs;
- Equality and mutual benefit;
- Peaceful co-existence.

The first international documents to make the Five Principles a guide to relations among States were the joint declarations issued by the Premiers of China, India and Burma in June 1954. These historic statements grew from both the old and the new links between Asian countries. They showed what role these countries have undertaken in present-day world affairs. From the outset, the Five Principles were advanced as a code of conduct not for Asian nations alone but for all nations. Since then, governments everywhere have been urged to state their attitude toward these principles, which can do so much to normalize conditions in the world, avert war, and open up bright prospects for the peoples. As Prime Minister Nehru has put it, Panch Shila is a challenge of Asia to the rest of the world and "each country will have to give a direct answer."

The Democratic Republic of Vietnam responded immediately. In the past year and a half, the Five Principles have been incorporated, in letter or spirit, in joint statements by China and the Soviet Union; China and Indonesia; India and Yugoslavia; Burma and Yugoslavia; the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia; the Soviet Union and India; Poland and India; China and Vietnam; the Soviet Union and Vietnam. Many other events have testified to their value, to the responsive chord they have struck among the people of the East and the West.

It was the idea of the Five Principles that formed the basis for the restoration of peace in Indo-China through agreements reached at Geneva in 1954. This settlement stipulated respect for the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of the three States involved, and non-interference in their internal affairs. That the fuse sputtering in Indo-China did not set off a world-wide explosion was due in large measure to the positive

contributions of Asian States, mainly the Colombo powers and China. Clearly, the Geneva settlement was reached in the spirit of the Five Principles. Clearly it is in this spirit that it is meant to be carried out.

India, Burma and Indonesia, three countries which subscribed to the Five Principles, joined with two other Asian States, Pakistan and Ceylon, to call the historic Asian-African Conference. Everyone feels now that this gathering has had world-wide influence. The Bandung Declaration on the Promotion of World Peace and Co-operation included ten principles which were an extension and development of the original five. It gave further evidence that the concept of peaceful co-existence, in the minds of the vast populations of Asia and Africa, is directly linked with their own national demands.

The Five Principles, and the results reached in Asia by their application, had their deep effect in helping to bring about the long-awaited meeting of the heads of governments of the Soviet Union, the United States, Britain and France at Geneva last July. One cannot separate from them the fact that the ambassadors of the United States and China sat down, in August, at the same table to discuss immediate outstanding problems.

What is the great hope that the Five Principles, reflecting the new forces for peace, arouse among the peoples? What is it that wins such world-wide confidence in these ideas, not entirely new in themselves, which have issued from the heart of Asia at this particular juncture in history?

The answers to these questions are connected with the facts of our time. True, such principles had been voiced as policy before, in the United Nations Charter for instance. But the peoples had seen them announced only to be sidetracked; they had seen the United Nations turned into a voting machine to rubber-stamp

the actions of certain ambitious powers. They saw the resolving of important international problems impeded instead of being promoted. They saw relations between States deteriorate. They saw the Far East ablaze with two wars. The world seemed headed for a holocaust. But this ran counter to the hope and desire of the peoples, who had had more than enough of war. Because there had been an immense political awakening in all corners of the earth, the peoples began to speak out. A peace movement of tremendous proportions developed. There were States of a new type in the world, whose own interests required that the people's voice be heard at all times, that the nations return to negotiations as a way of settling problems, that every government pledge itself not to resort to force.

Taking impetus from the actions of the world-wide peace movement and of these states, the Five Principles emerged from the East. They appeared at a moment when the peoples, wearied by tension and fear, were seeking for an end to the "cold war" that poisoned all things, and an end to the monstrous threat of atomic slaughter. Moreover, the leaders and nations who put forward the Five Principles were obviously sincere. These ancient Asian lands, which have a long history of amicable relations with each other, and which need peace today for their own progress, were proposing a fair, simple way for all nations to live together in peace.

What has the application of the Five Principles proved? First, it has shown the validity of their basic premise: that while all peoples seek a fruitful, healthy existence, each wants to pursue this goal in its own way, consonant with its own history and conditions. If this premise is accepted, all countries which observe the Five Principles in letter or spirit, no matter how they may differ in structure and customs, are

honour-bound to treat and respect others as equals.

Secondly, practice has shown that where respect and equality exist, what the peoples have in common is stressed, and differences are not allowed to grow into antagonisms. When none wishes conflict, outstanding questions between States can be sincerely negotiated. What is more, observance of the Five Principles does not merely prevent antagonism and conflict. It leads positively to the enrichment of mutual understanding, it increases co-operation, it benefits the peoples, and it consolidates international peace.

This is the heart of the Five Principles. This is why they have captured public imagination on all continents and come to the fore-front of the world scene.

It was three Asian States—China, India and Burma—which voiced the principles that have won such broad and growing support. In making their big contribution to extending the area of peace in the world, they greatly enhanced their own international position. Never in the modern era have the nations of Asia stood so firmly on their own feet as they do now, defending their own rights and at the same time showing how tolerance and wisdom may be exercised in foreign affairs. Asia has broken with the past, entered an entirely new phase of historical development, and in so doing helped the whole world in the solution of its problems.

It was in the process of the struggle to drive imperialist oppression from their soil and open the path to progress for their peoples that China, India, Burma and other Asian nations revived old links and forged the new ones from which the Five Principles sprang.

This has helped to create the climate for further relaxation of international tensions.

SYAMA

Would the Governor come? Would he notice her art?

SHE wanted to be a great dancer. That was her life's ambition. And now, after a day's hard toil rehearsing and re-rehearsing her dance numbers, she felt ever so peaceful and tranquil in mind, as she rested on the terrace-under the starry sky. It was so refreshing. She had just had a bath—her long dark tresses were still slightly moist as she held them at arm's-length to be combed out and bound into a loose knot.

The night was very quiet. The lone ray of light from a slightly open window did not disturb her as she rested, musing about the day's events. Trivial; yet, to her, so full of meaning. The rehearsal on the dance floor, the repeated attempts to reach what the master wanted of her, the 'trial-shots' for the film, and, the actual 'take'—an immense effort for a three-minute sequence. All these, in retrospect, seemed so important; for, one day, she was going to be a great dancer on the Screen, to charm and delight millions of people.

It was really her husband's idea. She had never dreamed of it even, before she met him. In the quite village where she lived with her parents, one would not even mention such a thing: going on the screen, as a dancer! But her husband, on their very first night together had exclaimed: you are made to be a dancer, my dear, and you shall be one! But, they did not tell anyone at home as they made their plans; and when she left the village

with him, they all thought she was just another dutiful wife going to the city to keep home for her husband.

They should really have stayed a few days more at their husband's home with his aged mother, but, Sekhar said they could not wait! To the City he took her, and within an hour of their arrival she was before the venerable dance teacher—a great friend of Sekhar, who agreed with him: "Yes! She *shall* become a good dancer!" And, her lessons began. Lightly at first; but, within the week, she was working strenuously. Guruji was a merciless task-master!

Sekhar's eyes would sparkle with delight as under the guidance of the expert, she executed a rather difficult dance pose. The master himself gave little praise. Again, and again, he would make her repeat the pose until it would recur to her even in her dreams—as a vivid vision. Sekhar would not let her attend to the usual household work even. "Let it wait," he would say, "first, you must perfect what Guruji taught you yesterday!" And, he would watch her admiringly, drinking in, as it were, the grace and beauty of her movements.

At first, it only amused her, and gladdened her immensely, perhaps to see him so lost in the ecstasy of her art. But, little by little, the fever took her and now her soul's ambition was to be a dancer. A really talented artist who could please millions with her art. She wanted to

be famous and make her husband rich, very rich, richer than any they knew.

Her one great regret, however, was that they could not have Sekhar's aged mother stay with them. Syama had developed such an attachment to her that when they were leaving the old lady, the tears came to her eyes. "Who will take care of her now—she, so feeble and poor in eyesight, who would take care of her!"—she said to herself, again and again.

But, Sekhar would not hear of bringing his mother to the city. "In good time, all in good time," he would say, whenever she broached the subject; "Mother will come at the proper time." But Syama was not so hopeful. Often, she thought of giving up all this and rushing off to the old woman's side, to nurse her and take care of her in the quiet village, and in her husband's ancestral home.

SHE was now dancing for the films.

At first, Guruji was not for it; but, a friend, who was the Art Director of a new concern, persuaded him to let her try her luck on the Screen. "Art is all right," he pursued, "but, money also counts!" Not that they paid her much for her roles; but, to Sekhar each new engagement, however minor the role, meant one step further towards her stardom and he would endeavour tirelessly to get her 'booked.'

It was such tiring life! Days and days of training; and the uncertainty of how it would all turn out to be. Often, the producer took tremendous risks in the hope of gaining the public's favour; and one could never say whether the picture would be an event or an utter flop. You just had to wait and see—hoping for the best.

With all her art, Syama continued to have a minor role in the pictures that she danced in. The one in which she had been working now,

had a very ordinary person as leading lady. "Why do they make so much fuss over her?" she wondered, "talent she has little, and charm none whatsoever!" Yet, she attracted much attention and the entire studio would hum with activity when she was on the set. Perhaps it was luck;—that is all!

Would she have luck? Who knows! Guruji was fond of saying that luck is fleeting, but merit lasts. Real merit is everlasting; nothing can mar or hamper it. But, how few can recognise merit when they see it!

One day, her husband came to her with great news: "I was at the Ajanta Theatre today. What a fine place! Oh! it was so grand! We saw the Premiere of *Kadambari*. What a great crowd! And, all the great ones were there. The Governor himself was present! He made a speech too! And the theatre! It is really heavenly!!" . . . he went on, on and on, forgetting to taste the fine meal she had cooked for him.

Later, when he was resting and she was alone in the kitchen, she thought of the Ajanta Theatre and of *Kadambari*. It must indeed have been a grand occasion. Would her dance ever be seen in that Theatre by such an audience? Would the Governor say a few words in praise of her? One day, she would leave the films and make Dance her life's vocation. One day!

She had seen the Theatre from the road so often—indeed, watched it, as, stone by stone, it neared completion. She had seen the huge walls rise higher and higher till they seemed to touch the very sky. A beautiful garden had taken shape round the great building, and dimly lit fountains sprayed their cool waters heavenwards, as twilight merged into night.

"It must be grand to dance in a Theatre like that!" she mused, again and again.

Lost in reverie, Syama did not notice that the milk had boiled over, and the smell of burnt milk spread in the air. And, suddenly, she remembered her mother-in-law, the old lady, who often said to her: "Be mindful of the milk, my child, it will boil over, if you are careless!"

"Poor, old woman," thought Syama, "she must be so lonely! So very lonely! How I wish I could be with her!"

But, her picture was nearing completion—the one in which her dance figured so prominently. Who knows! The premiere of her picture may be in that theatre. Would the Governor come? Would he notice her Dance?

AND, at last, the great day arrived. Her picture was going to be released and the premiere was to be in the Ajanta Theatre! Her own theatre! The Palace that she had dreamed of!

But, how sad that Sekhar would not be there! Urgent business, as he said, took him out of town a day previous to the premiere. "Do not worry," he had said, "it will be a great show; and they will all admire you. You have indeed done well!"

Still, she had her misgivings. True, her dance sequences were particularly good. She had done her best. The photography was excellent and, the Director was good enough to have her appear almost throughout the picture—although, of course, the lady with the main role received most attention. But, would the people like Syama? They say the crowd wants glamour and she knew she was incapable of appearing merely attractive.

Syama was all excitement as, clutching her invitation card tightly in her hand, she approached the entrance to the Theatre. What crowds! Ten thousand faces gaped open-mouthed at the huge pictures of the leading lady propped up against the walls, and hanging from

the trees. The crowd was holding up the traffic and police had to intervene, to keep order. Groups of urchins, however, were able to elude the police and rush up to the slow moving cars of the more glamorous film stars—identifying each one by their names, as if they had recognised the face of a long-lost friend!

With great difficulty Syama reached the main entrance and held the card to the usher. She thought, perhaps, he would recognise her. But, the usher merely said: "White card! side-entrance, please!" And turned away to receive some other invitee who was holding out the right card.

Syama was perplexed. Why should she have to go by the side-entrance? Who were all these important people? If she had known this earlier, she would have stayed away. Oh! if only Sekhar were with her! Should he have to leave town just when she needed him most!

The tears welled in her eyes as she stood helplessly, unable to reach the side-entrance where they were jostling fiercely to get in. Should she go away, not seeing the premiere of her first great picture!

Eyes brimful with tears now, she turned to go, but at that instant, a tender hand held her by the arm, and the voice of her Guruji coaxed her: "Come! My child! You will see how well you have done!" and, nodding pleasantly to the Manager of the theatre and other assembled dignitaries, Guruji took her into the auditorium.

Thereafter, it was all like a dream.

AS in some dimly lit fairy-land, she saw the names on the scintillating silver screen, the various credits, appear and disappear over a background of her perpetually changing dance poses. And the Music was so thrilling! Cymbal and drum kept perfect timing to her dexterous footwork.

The several sequences of the story

then flashed before her—quicker, far quicker, than she had expected. Again and again, she figured on the screen; and she could catch the glitter in Guruji's eyes as he approved of some particularly good movement of hers. And, all too soon, it seemed, came the climax of the story!

It seemed as if all the gongs in the world sounded at once; there was an almost deafening crescendo of music, utter darkness for an instant and then the houselights went up. There was perfect silence for a split second; but, in the next instant, wild applause rent the air and the audience rose as one man cheering and gesticulating, to show their appreciation.

Now, they were all talking excitedly; Guruji was congratulating the Director; and everyone was shaking hands with everyone else.

Then followed a general stampede towards the stage which was brightly lit; and the leading actors were being assembled, to be presented to the Governor.

Someone from the stage came running towards Syama and shouted to her across the din that she was wanted there. Syama did not want to go. The messenger insisted; and she looked helplessly at Guruji, hoping he would save her from her plight.

But, Guruji held her arm firmly and said simply: "Come my child! I will take you there!"

Syama thought she would faint from fright as she was being introduced to the Governor. But, the Governor was very kind, and as venerable as Guruji himself. Handing her a huge bouquet, he turned to Guruji and said: "Your pupil has done well, Sir! You should be proud of her! She has set a new standard in Art!"

And, it was all over in a minute. The National Anthem was played; the Governor and his party left; and the hall began to empty.

It was strange how the overcrowded hall was now almost empty. And, they were only the two of them on the stage—Guruji and herself.

"Let us rest awhile, my child!" he said, and started to lead her towards a divan in the wings.

It was then that she saw: right in the middle of the now empty hall, they were there, still in their seats—her husband and his mother. Sekhar and his mother!

Syama almost slipped and fell as she rushed headlong down the steps and across the hall to reach them.

"Mother! You here! Mother!" she gasped as she held the old woman in a close embrace, "You will never leave us now! Never! Never!"

And, then, she broke down completely.

Only, later, did she realise what Sekhar had meant when he said, "in good time, all in good time!"

THE LOST CHILD

A FATHER and a mother with their son,
not five summers old, go for a walk;
along the street there is a milling crowd
to see the festal procession of the Lord;
the learned brahmins chant the holy hymns
and all the world before Him bows and prays,
but amidst all these the boy runs away
behind the man selling some toys and dolls—
a simple child lost in a mammoth crowd,
it saw the toys but not the mighty Lord.

V. S. RAVI

ANOMALIES IN HINDU SUCCESSION BILL

By K. S. R.

THE Hindu Succession Bill of 1954 sponsored by the Central Government is a very bold move in the right direction. The position of Hindu women as independent citizens of India and possessing an absolute right to property besides their natural and equal status in the Hindu family as wives and daughters, has at last been recognised in this Bill.

The exclusion of joint family property from the purview of the Bill will render inconsequential the effect of the measure on the status of the majority of Hindu women. For, the separate and exclusive property of a Hindu is an absolute property, which he could bequeath absolutely to his wife or to any other relations, and if he die intestate, the wife or any other female relation could inherit the property. The present Bill would certainly convert what was hitherto a limited right into an absolute one. But cases of separate property are relatively few in number and if the Bill does not comprehend joint family property, it would be creating two classes of women—one enjoying in full the absolute privileges of property, and another consisting of a great many women, continuing as before in a subordinate status.

The conferment of property rights on women on a par with men is no doubt a comprehensive social legislation in the context of a Welfare State. It strikes at the root of certain social and economic evils. The evil of the dowry system in marriage among Hindus, that is, the price offered for a boy in consideration of marriage to a girl, will in the event of women getting a share of their father's

property as per the provisions of the Bill, sink down to extinction in course of time since a girl at marriage brings not only herself but also some property to her husband and her family. Money or wealth is the very pulse of modern social life and no other thing in the world commands greater respect and attention than the man or the woman who has property to own and spend. Thus, the Bill would raise the economic status and social dignity of the women of India.

It would help spread the education of women in particular, since the more talented and promising a woman is, the easier will be her opportunities to continue her education since she can do so with the help of the resources of the property that would belong to her, thanks to the new Act.

Prostitution is one, if not the main result of poverty of woman, who till the advent of the Bill, had and could have no right to property either of her husband or of her father. Illustratively, a widowed daughter with no issue, can have no property either of her husband or of her father while what property is left, would ultimately revert to the husband's brothers or to her own brother as the son of her father according to the Mitakshara law of survivorship. If the two heirs are quite indifferent to her existence, her chances of a living are precarious. She, as a woman, could not possess independent means of support to maintain herself. The Bill would mitigate this aspect of woman's afflictions to a large extent.

Again, economists of India are

never tired of harping on the theme that gold and silver are used as ornaments by women in India and that it is uneconomical to hoard up national wealth in the shape of jewels and ornaments. The women of India had very little right over property, and jewels and ornaments were the only property they could call their own. There was thus a grab for jewels among the womenfolk. Now that the Bill seeks to confer on women the full ownership rights over property, the tendency to convert money into gold and silver jewels will diminish and disappear gradually.

The Hindu Intestate Succession Bill is just like any other social measure, not without its ardent adherents and stout opponents. A prominent Madras daily paper has raised a conservative opposition to the measure. Its criticism is directed not so much on the merits and defects of the Bill as on the hasty method of rushing the Bill through Parliament. Two points are urged against the measure. It is argued that giving of shares to daughters in the father's property will result in uneconomic disintegration of landed properties in the country. If the daughter's share would bring about this disintegration, it is equally so in the case of a son's or multiple sons' shares in the property. The Hindu law itself provided for such disintegration by the male members of society. The second objection raised against the measure is that the Bill is apt to disintegrate the solidarity of the joint family system. The social virtues of the system have their roots deep down in the noble emotions of love, affection and uniform concern for the welfare of the nearest and dearest among the members of a joint family. If, in a joint family, those human values are set at naught by the members and only an empty phrase remains, it is as good as extinct and the law of the land need scarcely rush to help maintain a dry-as-dust formula.

The Mitakshara school of Hindu law had two distinct features. It gave the sons right by birth jointly with the father in ancestral properties. Secondly, the rights of the widow or a daughter to inherit her husband's or father's share were denied to her and the other male coparceners were made the inheritors of that share. It is well worth quoting the observations of an eminent judge of the Madras High Court Sri Sadasiva Iyer on this point: "The older and purer Hindu law was altered by the Mitakshara so as to prevent widows from inheriting their husband's shares. The older and purer sources of Hindu law are more in consonance with the needs of a progressing and progressive society than the glosses and the later commentaries on them. The consequent degradation of the Hindu law which led to the doctrine of rights by birth in sons (instead of merely moral claim by birth) and to the exclusion from inheritance of most female heirs is being got rid of gradually through Privy Council decisions."

These doctrines of rights by birth to sons only to the exclusion of daughters, and of survivorship of the estate of a sonless Hindu to the other male members of a family are definitely out of tune with the spirit of New India. In the independent New India of today based on a modern Constitution, guaranteeing fundamental rights to each and every citizen of the country, rights of equality, freedom and liberty, equal rights to men and women alike, irrespective of creed and religion, old concepts of Hindu law have become an anachronism and are apt to clog the wheels of progress. Any defence of these outmoded doctrines of Hindu law based upon the theory of birth, (the sex of which is purely accidental and not designed) or upon ancient tenets of religion, or upon the comparative tradition-bound inferior place assigned to women in the old Hindu system is only of a sentimental value. The

old order must necessarily change yielding place to the new. The denial of property rights to women on the ground that they are ineligible, as distinguished from men, to perform religious rites according to Hindu law or, figuratively speaking, that women are tender vines which cannot subsist without masculine support, is willfully blinding one's eyes to modern trends.

Lastly, a suggestion regarding the date of coming into force of the Act if passed into law. The present clause in the Bill would make it apply only to the estate of a deceased Hindu dying intestate after the Act is passed. In the course of his speech while introducing the Bill in Parliament, the Minister for Law stated that giving a retrospective effect to the Bill would entail costly litigation and trouble to the public. The Bill, which is introduced with the best of intentions to do good to the womenfolk of India and to make amends for the suppressed position to which Hindu women were thrown in the past, should afford opportunities to all surviving women to reap the benefits of the Act. The Bill is in its nature a curative social measure pledged to redeem the pristine glory and honour of the womanhood of India. It is by no means a preventive measure, the object of which is punitive in character. There is there-

fore little need to cry halt in making the measure apply retrospectively to all the surviving women heirs. Further, the avowed aim of the Bill being positive benefit to the womenfolk, it would do ill if the centre of gravity is shifted arbitrarily on to the date of death of a benefactor rather than to the surviving women beneficiaries. It might perhaps be argued against the proposal that it would be violating the ordinary accepted canons of a legislative enactment. Yet, every rule has an exception and if the measure spreads the benefit to all Hindu women, be it a joint family or the properties of a Hindu dying or dead after, or before the Act, it becomes a social measure based upon the principles of democratic justice. Otherwise, there will be two classes of women living in the present generation, one who enjoy a share in the properties of a Hindu dying intestate after the passing of the Act and another who cannot and could not enjoy the benefits of the Act. The Act, even limited to Hindus as such, would thus be creating an invidious distinction of fortunate and unfortunate women.

The Government have sponsored a good measure and the popularity of the measure depends upon the benefits it affords to as large a number of women beneficiaries as the Select Committee on the Bill could possibly and sympathetically envisage.

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“... OVER A. I. R.”

By M. KRISHNAN

ON the night of September 17 I prepared myself for several hours of musical mannerisms, for I had just returned to civilisation and the radio and wanted to listen to Manakkal Rangarajan (from Madras) and then, almost immediately, to Madurai Mani Aiyar in the National Programme. No doubt the 9 o'clock news intervened, but for sixteen blessed days I had been without news of the world and was in no hurry to catch up with it. However, from 9.15 till when the National Programme began, there was a talk on 'Development Plans in Madras State,' and what can be a more effective interval between strong music than such a talk?

True the very styles of the two singers offered sufficient contrast, the one so preoccupied with quick, superficial finish, the other with basic, notational integrity. But both have the habit of slurring over Tamil words (and may be other words as well) and I am apt to put all those that do so in one class, however fundamentally they might differ in other things.

So, for a non-musical, non-vernacular break, I switched on to this talk, and when I learned that the talk was about cattle and the talker a Director of Animal Husbandry, I felt assured of my break. How unpredictable life can be! The talk was almost a musical interlude between Manakkal Rangarajan and Madurai Mani Aiyar, so pronounced was it in its cadences and modulations.

My habit of referring to concerts and other happenings, say, twenty or twenty-five years ago may give readers the impression of venerable age,

and I hope it does. Anyway, I distinctly remember hearing Madurai Mani Aiyar, several times, some twenty years ago. His selfconscious delight in his music was almost infectious, then, and he went in for strong tonal contrasts a good deal, if one might use a photographic simile. Hearing him quite recently, I was happy to note that his exuberant verve had not aged—he had developed some mannerisms, some of them rather irritating, such as his so-cautious, painfully stalked capture of the high note. But on September 17 he was not at his best. Even when singing such a contrasty raga as Abhogi he seemed restrained and lacked his customary *jote de vivre*. His main piece, in Begada, seemed to me under exposed and overdeveloped. Some other day, perhaps, we shall have the pleasure of listening to Madurai Mani Aiyar revelling in his own music, in a National Programme.

There are only two things in life that I fear, public examinations and death. Not that I fear my own end, which, like Caesar's, "will come when it will come," but for years now, during which time God knows I have had precious little to be thankful for, I have often felt deeply grateful (to my destiny) that I have been delivered, at last, from public examinations. This, I realise, is a futile and spiritless manner of celebrating the deliverance. Others, more gifted than I, have celebrated it in proper style, by making light of the ordeal, by poking fun at the enemy. Some of the most inspired parodies in English feature public exams—"The Heathen Passee," the terrible story of Andrew MacCrie, and "The Vulture and the Husbandman" all feature the evil, and each is in its way, an unique

masterpiece. And then there is Ernest Bramah's story about the Chinese candidate.

Had my reading of 'examination literature' been less distinguished, were my vicarious delight in fun poked at examinations less acute, I am sure I would have enjoyed the radio-play, 'September Examination' (Madras, September 27). It had a definite plot, but I thought the way it was worked out was rather weak. Perhaps other listeners, with less biased minds, liked it better.

I realise that a good many people may not be able to see eye to eye with me in what I am about to say, but the consideration should not affect me in saying it. All that I need mention, in prefatory justification, is that those who know Tamil literature and who have a sense of style will agree with me. Music is not literature and in composing verse, intended primarily for a musical setting, I suppose a certain latitude may be allowed, though some of the finest poetry in the language, the *Thevaram* songs for example, was sung—however, we do not know how musical it was as music; we can only go by its strong, innate rhythm today, and know that its *layam* must have been faultless.

I have never been able to like the Tamil of such musical verse-writers as Gopalakrishna Bharathi and Arunachala-k-Kavirayar. But listening to the Mela Raga Kirtanas of Kotiswara Aiyar on September 29, I had a new experience—it was a long time before I could believe that the language of the compositions being sung was Tamil, and I had to be assured on this point by an expert on Karnataka music. Perhaps these compositions are considerable technical achievements and represent a musical triumph over difficulties—I can only say, with Dr. Johnson when told that true soprano singing was

exceedingly difficult, "Would that it were impossible!"

I liked Mr. Tirukootasundaram Pillai's scholarly talk on the mode of life of the ancient Tamilians. It is usual, when talking of the mode of life of the Tamilians of those times, to stress the physical aspects of life, for the most circumstantial accounts of their customs have survived in the literature. Mr. Tirukootasundaram Pillai stressed their cultural values, their broad tolerance and their zest for the simple joys of life. When, if ever, will we go back to those values?

Kalaprapurna Venkateswara Sastrulu

WELL DESERVED HONOUR

THE decision of the Andhra University to confer the degree of Kalaprapurna on Sri Vavilla Venkateswara Sastrulu is a commendable step which has caused general satisfaction in Andhra. The recognition of the services of Sri Vavilla Venkateswara Sastrulu to Telugu literature and culture has long been over due. As the head of the most enterprising Andhra publishing firm, he has been rendering during the past half a century and more invaluable services to the Andhra public by the publication of the Sanskrit and Telugu classics and stimulating thereby interest and enthusiasm for their study. As a scholar-journalist and politician he has been exercising considerable influence over Andhra public life, especially in the city of Madras. His contributions to literature are informative and original; his journals the *Trilinga* in Telugu and *Federated India* in English are well known. Sri Venkateswara Sastrulu is a nationalist in politics; he has been an ardent Congressman, an enthusiastic follower of Lokamanya Tilak and Mahatma Gandhi.

—N. Venkataramanayya

FILMS

By V. P. SATHE

THE celebration of the silver jubilee year of the talkie is scheduled to be held in December 1955; the function of State awards for the year 1954 is also to be held in December. It would be a fitting thing if both these functions were held simultaneously at Delhi and the film industry took advantage of the occasion and tried to impress upon its critics in Parliament the great progress it has made during the last twenty-five years. Indeed, all the stars from veteran Prithviraj to Raj Kapoor could participate in a special programme tracing the development of the film during the last twenty-five years representing the diverse styles of acting, singing, music, stories, technique. Such a demonstration, more than anything else, would succeed in giving the politicians a vivid idea of the contribution that the film has made to the cultural growth of our country.

If only the film industry could unite and decide to stage a grand celebration to mark the silver jubilee of the talkie all this is possible. But unfortunately, so far the Film Federation has not chalked out any programme whatsoever for such a celebration. Perhaps the Federation has not decided the venue of the celebration, though it is high time that the entire plan was evolved and preparations were afoot for the proper celebration of the occasion.

One suggests Delhi as a venue only because Delhi happens to be the capital of India, and the function of presentation of State awards for the best films will be also held in Delhi and can be included as part of the

silver jubilee celebrations. On this occasion at least the film industry can forget its differences with the Government of India; and in fact it can utilize this occasion to put forth its point of view in a more convincing manner.

That apart, it is also the industry's duty to see that the presentation of State awards every year is accorded a place of utmost importance and it is a pity that upto now the industry has not suggested its nominees for the panel which would select the best films. The presentation of State awards should not be delayed so long every year. It would be better if these awards, like the Academy awards in America, are presented in March or April every year; for that purpose, there should be a permanent panel to choose pictures every year. The organisation for this must be compact and efficient so that at least in future the presentation is not delayed so long. The Government, it is hoped, will set in motion proper machinery to make early presentation of State awards possible.

Incidentally, in view of the comments of Pandit Nehru on the ban of a Hollywood picture depicting African life in Delhi, it is high time that the Censor Board revised its attitude not only to foreign films dealing with African life but Indian pictures as well. For even in some of the Indian pictures the Africans have been portrayed in the same manner as in Hollywood pictures. In fact, our producers have been blindly copying Hollywood in the presentation of African 'native' life. The ban on *Tanganyika* is most opportune and it should help the Censor Board to be more strict in dealing with all foreign films dealing with African life and prohibit all films which degrade the Africans as sub-humans.

Picture of the week

Though we have been seeing a number of technicolor foreign films,

even now we seldom come across a picture in which colour plays a vital part. Such pictures are very few like Disney's *Fantasia* or the Japanese film *Hell's Gate*. In India so far about a dozen films have been made in colour and not until *Jhanak Jhanak Payal Baahe* graced the screen could one point out to a truly Indian colour film.

Technicolor is fascinating; but it has not been utilised so far to lend beauty and poetry to a motion picture as Shantaram has in his latest offering *Jhanak Jhanak Payal Baahe*. In his picture, the colours are not only beautiful and gorgeous, but they are poetic and eloquent. They invest meaning to every shot and every scene. Thanks to the clever blending of colours, the Brindaban Gardens look more fascinating than they could have ever appeared to those who have visited the place. Indeed as you watch the picture, often you feel transported to a dreamworld of symphony of beautiful colours, music and dances.

It is a fascinating combination of music, dance, rhythm, grace and colours that makes *Jhanak Jhanak Payal Baahe* an unforgettable experience. It reveals Shantaram's craftsmanship at its best; those critics of Shantaram who have been saying that the great master had lost his grip would have to revise their opinion after they see this film which bears the stamp of the famous Shantaram touch on every frame of the picture. The whole picture is like a colourful poem, and one wishes it had no dialogue but just music and dance like *Fantasia*. It is only when the characters speak prose and especially when Madan Puri the villain and K. Date, the father and 'Guru' who is against the wedding of art and love indulge in melodramatic speeches, that the dream-world is disturbed.

True artist and showman that

Shantaram is, he has presented dances in eloquent and yet simple form. There is not a single intricate dance, with a meaning which would not be easily understood or with technique which cannot be enjoyed. Essentially classical, they can be enjoyed even by those who know nothing of the technical intricacies of Kathak, the dominant style of dancing in the film. From the moment Gopi Krishna shows a few steps of Kathak to the last Tandav dance and 'Samai' (lamp) dance, every dance is a delight to watch. Both Gopi and Sandhya dance superbly; the musical accompaniment is enchanting; and above all the picturisation and editing are so superb that for the dances alone the picture is worth many a visit. All the dances are good, but the Rati-Madan dance is the highlight of the film. Shantaram with his film craftsmanship and Gopi's artistry has succeeded where even Uday Shanker had failed in *Kalpana*. The dances attractive in themselves are cleverly interwoven in the story as well. Indeed, the romance between Neela and Girdhar is developed through the dances—the Radha-Krishna dance and the Rati-Madan dance. Girdhar's father also stages the Vishwamitra-Menaka dance to rebuke Neela.

The story is simple, revolving round a problem which every artist faces in real life. Would love be a handicap in his devotion to art? Girdhar's father who belongs to the orthodox school is opposed to any emotional entanglement of his son till he wins the coveted title of Natraj. And yet it is the combination of love and art that wins in the end.

The screenplay by Dewan Sharar, while affording full scope for dances, is rather hackneyed in its characterization of the servant comedians and the villain who seems to be more a victim than an arch schemer, and

in its stock situations. But in a picture of this type the plot is hardly important; it is just an excuse to provide a series of beautiful dances.

Sandhya dances exquisitely and acts her part well looking attractive. She keeps pace with Gopi Krishna whose dancing skill is something that words fail to describe. K. Date, Madan Puri, Bhagwan and Manorama lend good support.

A bouquet of praise is due to G. Balkrishna, who has photographed the picture so superbly in technicolor without any previous experience of 'colour' photography; Kanu Desai whose artistic set designs and harmony of colour schemes lend additional charms to the film; A. K. Parmar who has achieved certain brilliant sound effects; and Vasant Desai who has used only chaste ragas for song tunes and background score. The picture is as much a proud achievement for these technicians as for Shantaram who rises again to his pristine glory in this film.

Personality of the week

Devendra Goel has reason to feel proud this week; for his picture *Vachan* is celebrating the silver jubilee week in Bombay. At one time, it appeared that *Vachan* would not win this honour as it had to be removed from Krishna because of the legal commitments. But fortunately, the picture continued its run without break at another theatre Kamal and it completed 25 weeks of its continuous run in central Bombay.

A remarkable and well-merited feat has been achieved by Goel after strenuous struggle against heavy odds.

Goel who is a double graduate began his career as a publicity officer in Fazli Brothers and later became first assistant to Fazli and hoped to be the director himself. After the partition, he decided to take the plunge and become a producer-director on his own. What is more,

he gave a chance to two other newcomers in his very first venture, viz., Shekhar who is now a recognised hero and Madan Mohan who is now a recognised music director. *Ankhen*, his first venture, was a moderate success. *Ada* and *Aas*, his two other pictures, were also not flops; yet making every picture was a struggle for him, a fight against so many odds.

So when I met him just on the eve of the jubilee of *Vachan*, I expressed the hope that now he must be out of all trouble. To some extent only said Goel. That is perhaps a great tragedy for even such enterprising and energetic producers like Goel and the present financial system is responsible for it. In *Vachan* Goel has introduced new blood—given us a new hero in Rajendra Kumar, a new director in Rajrishi and a new music director in Ravi. And all of them have proved that they were worth the trial.

Instead of resting on his laurels, Goel is busy working. He has almost finished the shooting of *Albeli* and is working on preparation for his next two pictures.

Working steadfastly with enterprising spirit and goodwill on the one hand and modest ambitions on the other, Goel who has now come to the forefront with *Vachan* can look forward to a bright future with confidence.

News of the week

Prithviraj is leading the Film Delegation to China which includes B. N. Sarkar, Bimal Roy, Balraj Sahni, Chetan Anand, Suchitra Sen, Kamini Kaushal, Krishen Chander, Krishna Gopal, Naglah and Nalini Jaiwant. The delegates will assemble in Delhi on 8th and leave for China on the 10th October 1955.

K. A. Abbas who has finalized the plan for the co-production of *Afanisi Nikitin* in Moscow is expected to return to Bombay before 7th October 1955 to attend the premiere of *Shri* 420.

SIDELIGHTS ::

THE American people are very skilful in the use of instruments of production. The whole nation is technology-minded. In the application of the inventions of science for the elimination of back-breaking drudgery and the enhancement of the comforts of life and its economic potential, they have achieved incredible and sensational results. It is quite common for a farm of 150 acres to be managed alone without the aid of hired labour by a single owner employing ploughing and harvesting machinery. Human labour has become so expensive that very few are able to afford it. For the privilege of having a domestic servant one has to pay nearly as much as one earns. The servant class has almost completely disappeared from American economy, and with it is quickly disappearing from American society the sort of master-servant relationship that obtains in the rest of the world driving wedges of superiority and inferiority between man and man.

There are no peons, no errand boys, in the Government offices and business houses. Most of the work done by peons elsewhere is in the United States carried on by means of the telephone. Personal and domestic service of every kind has got extricated out of the master-servant relationship and become institutionalised. One result of this is a universal self-dependence that has stamped itself on the whole community in habits of scrupulous politeness. Nobody orders another about. Chester Bowles in one of his books tells an interesting story about his daughter Sally. After a tour of the East they had flown across the Pacific and alighted at an American airport. Sally with a gown in hand went to the girl at the desk in the

hotel and asked her to have the gown ironed. The girl turned round sweetly and said, "Dearie I will get you an electric iron. You do the ironing yourself." Sally commented, recounting the story, "Now I knew I was in America."

The spirit of "Do it yourself" permeates the American way of life and it has been worked into a grand philosophy. The most distinguished people carry their own bags while travelling. The zest for independent living is universal, and men, women and even children vie with each other to engage themselves in gainful occupations. Hard work, to which everyone contributes, has created an economy of plenty that has practically put an end to the meaner vices in the population. American workmen, supported by strong trade unions, drive very hard bargains with their employers and the organised factory workers occasionally earn more wages than junior engineers. But malpractices like pilfering and stalling work are unknown in the American labour world. They need no supervision to give of their best in return for the wages they earn. Payment for work is by the hour and the trend is towards a five hour day. But the two weekend holidays do not mean unearned income added on to the regular weekly wage. The highest wage level in the world prevails in American factories, but the economy of the country is not burdened with privileges unrelated to work, such as holidays. There are only four State holidays common to the whole country. In some States the number is raised to five, and in some others six.

On account of the non-availability of domestic servants, a very heavy burden of work falls on the

American housewife. In common with most others in this country, I used to imagine that the American ladies led lives of easy pleasure-seeking. This was a delusion. Actually they are among the hardest working people on earth. They have not the advantage of Indian middle class women of having plenty of labour at their command to help in such chores as sweeping the floor, cleaning the utensils, minding the baby and going to market. The American housewife even if affluent has to do herself a lot of tiring work which is usually relegated to servants in Indian families. She has to cook, lay the table, clean the dishes, sweep the floor, dust the furniture, go to market, keep accounts and look after husband and children. It is true that an enormous number of gadgets and labour-saving devices contribute to the reduction of the drudgery involved in household work. This advantage is counterbalanced by the extremely complicated character of the internal economy of the American household, filled as it is with elaborate paraphernalia conducive to comfort or pertaining to the conventions of fashion that involve a great load of labour in care-taking, such as an Indian housewife is free from. In addition to all this, most American wives earn their own living by working in an office, restaurant or factory. Quite a large number of them devote themselves to voluntary social work without payment. Their capacity for hard work, their powers of combination for social objectives, their resourcefulness in the collection of funds, the zest, energy and drive they are able to give to causes commanding their interest are terrific and superb, and they have served to fill the country with beauty and bounteous amenities and a stream of continuous benevolence for the relief of the afflicted and the handicapped.

It would appear that these impressions of mine which I expressed freely to American Pressmen who published them generously, ran counter to an attack on American women that had just appeared in one of the great periodicals. The writer, as I learned subsequently, had described the American woman as a pampered, lazy, domineering female who looked upon her husband as 170 pounds of raw material to be shaped and conditioned to her will. The *Minneapolis Tribune* referred to this as a "base and unchivalrous canard" and editorialised as follows:

Just as we were groping for the right editorial thunderbolts of indignation, a visitor from India came to Minneapolis. It remained for him, an editor of Madras, to fire the shot on behalf of American womanhood which will be heard round the world.

We thank you, Sir. We have asked several American women to comment on your statement. Without exception, Sir, they hailed you as a man of great discernment, accumen, perspicacity and intellectual acuteness. And what American male, save a few rough-hewn churls and bounders, can doubt it?

As the *Tribune* had published my picture also, and its story was taken up by the radio, I found myself in town after town visited by me greeted in public places by kind ladies who said, "We welcome you, Sir. Come again."

SAKA

ATOMIC SLEUTHING

Atomic sleuthing has been introduced by the Belgian police. They put capsules of radioactive chloride or rubidium 87 around a spot where a criminal is expected to appear. If he steps on one capsule, the soles of his shoes will remain radioactive for about four months. All the Brussels police then have to do is track him with a Geiger Counter.

New Books

IN TWO CHINAS: MEMOIRS OF A DIPLOMAT. By K. M. PANIKKAR. George Allen & Unwin, London. 12s 6d net.

SARDAR PANIKKAR who was Indian Ambassador in China during the last days of the Kuomintang regime had a close glimpse of the forces that were at work hastening the disintegration of Marshal Chiang-Kai-Shek's Government. He was also witness to the rising forces of the New China. The breathtaking rapidity with which the Communists seized power left all the embassies stunned and most of the ambassadors were recalled and those Governments which recognized the new regime appointed new ambassadors. Mr. Panikkar had the unique experience of being continued as ambassador to Communist China. He was thus enabled to observe as it were the passage of one era into another and watch the forces of history at work. The intrigues of foreign Governments through their embassies, the active American aid to the counter-revolutionary forces were all noticed by him from very close quarters. Being a diplomat imbued with a sense of history Sardar Panikkar has turned all this to account and collected his impressions in his *In Two Chinas*.

Mr. Panikkar is a statesman of immense experience and has played a major role in the accession of the Princely States to the Indian Union. He is a scholar whose practical approach to many important political problems may well be the envy of the mere administrator. Pandit Nehru in choosing him to represent India in China acted very wisely. His foreign policy was interpreted, explained and made acceptable to the leaders of China by the persuasive and charming eloquence of Mr. Panikkar. During the difficult days of the Korean War Mr. Panikkar acted in a most statesmanlike manner and as reported by him in his book effectively

helped in stemming the tide towards a major catastrophe between China and America.

Beginning with the events which led to his appointment as ambassador to Chiang-Kai-Shek's China, Mr. Panikkar proceeds to narrate the conditions prevailing in Nanking under Chiang Kai-shek. Corruption in high circles, black market, nepotism and other symptoms of a decaying order which contributed to the downfall of the Kuomintang were the order of the day. It is with some surprise that the reader will know from these pages that Madame Chiang intervened to save her brother-in-law who was carrying on a shady business from the anti-corruption drive of her stepson. Moving as he did among important political circles Mr. Panikkar was able to gather impressions of leaders of whom he gives very interesting pen-sketches which are as interesting as they are informative.

Since diplomats are in a sense the makers of history the pages of their memoirs will reveal a lot of things that happen behind the scenes. Many of the facts that Mr. Panikkar narrates in this slim volume have not been divulged till now and we have to await the judgement of history on their significance. But Mr. Panikkar is entitled to the satisfaction of one who has seen many of his prophecies come true and most of his actions vindicated in the light of subsequent events.

Being the 'memoirs of a diplomat' there is much that concerns the author himself in the book but they are always set in relation to their surroundings and circumstances. His perspective and sense of humour and capacity to look squarely at things

in their focus have saved his memoirs from being a vainglorious attempt to blow his own trumpet. Mr. Panikkar's appraisal of men and matters is always interesting and this book is one of the most exciting and readable accounts of modern China.—V. V. S.

THE NATURE OF LIVING THINGS. By C. Brooke Worth & Robert K. Enders. A Signet Key Book. 35 cents.

BIOLOGY which should be the most interesting subject in the curriculum has been reduced to a dull laboratory routine. It is viewed now more as an examination subject which has to be cleared somehow. There is thus a need for reorienting our approach to the subject. This has to commence at the kindergarten stage itself. The child should be taught to observe living things, take an interest in their habits, their life cycles and other phenomena which render colour and gaiety to life. And the adult whose curiosity has dulled should be persuaded to recap-

ture the wonder of contemplating life amidst its natural surroundings.

The Nature of Living Things is an introduction to life sciences which while avoiding the rigmarole of the laboratory succeeds in conveying to the general reader in brief outline a little of every aspect of biology. Is life unique to our earth? This question is posed to us now and some have seriously suggested that the planet Mars may contain life of a kind. The two authors discuss this question in their first chapter which is an introductory one. The subsequent chapters concern themselves with the plant and animal kingdoms, their classification, the theory of evolution etc.

Science has been posed as an alternative to religion. The authors while not disputing the place of religion in our lives point out that 'Biology has its place within the spiritual and the cosmic.'

—V. V. S.

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SPORTS

THE NEW ZEALANDERS

By N. S. RAMASWAMI

"NOW is the winter of our discontent" about to end, for cricket, at its most exalted phase, what is emphatically described "first-class", is to return to the country soon. It had been difficult to possess one's soul in patience while one read of the exploits of the South Africans in England, and one passionately longed for the revival of the game in this country. The intimation that the New Zealanders have left their home for their forthcoming visit will set the blood tingling.

The New Zealanders will be welcome visitors as much for themselves as for the historic quality they represent. Their tour will mark the confluence of two streams of cricket which have lain apart these many years. The forthcoming Test matches will be a test of skill as much between two representative teams as between two distinct "cultures". There is little need to describe here the essential qualities of the Indian game. It was, with Prince Ranjitsinhji, magical and of the other world; with Merchant and Amarnath it was classical; with Umrigar and Ramchand it is now utilitarian and efficient. Strangely enough its inward soul is to be surprised in the bowling. It is, I believe, Gupte who is the contemporary representative cricketer. Indian cricket cannot be true to itself if it is merely efficient and successful; it will then be untrue to its great heritage of Prince Ranjitsinhji and Prince Duleepsinhji. It fulfils itself only when it is "different." The spin bowling of Gupte represents this strain to the extent possible.

To this element there will be opposed the culture of New Zealand, plain, unvarnished perhaps, but also undoubtedly pure and unsullied. Of all the Dominions it is New Zealand which most preserves and is proud of the British connection. As cricket has a remarkable faculty to reflect racial characteristics, it may be expected that the visitors will be cast in the English mould, with little modifications here and there. It is astonishing that the proximity of Australia, with its vastly different strain of "the Digger," has had no influence on New Zealand cricket. Why this should be so, why Lord's and the Oval should wield a far greater influence than Sydney and Melbourne, is a nice question to be debated.

If this belief is correct, the batsmanship of the New Zealanders will be essentially accurate and compact. There will be no extravagance, no bizarre exhibitions. This quality may blossom into real grace, a genuine style with the gifted players, probably Reid and Sutcliffe. It is more difficult to venture into predictions about the bowling, for it is the other harmony which more easily lends itself to subtle influences. So far as can be seen now, the New Zealand bowlers are not likely to set the Ganges on fire.

It will no doubt be a common expectation in New Zealand that, when their national team returns home from India and Pakistan, the re-

(Continued on page 48)

PROGRESS WITH POPULAR CONSENT

By ANGUS MAUDE, M.P.

WHY does the British parliamentary system work?

How has it all come about? Why is it that Fascism has never been a menace inside Britain? That Communism, however capable of fomenting industrial disputes, is negligible here as a political force? Above all, why has hatred virtually disappeared from British politics?

Effects of Extended Franchise

The extension of the franchise has influenced both the development and the ideas of political parties. No sooner had the 1832 Act, by beginning the enfranchisement of the middle classes, foreshadowed the end of aristocratic rule in Britain than subsequent measures began steadily to build up the voting strength of the manual workers. The Conservative Party, like the Liberals, came gradually under middle-class control, but the emergence of the Labour movement forced both parties to adopt fairly radical measures of social and economic reform. Yet these were patently no more than limited middle-class concessions. Neither party could hope to compete for the mass working-class vote with a Labour Party pledged specifically to the interests of that class—and in particular to a really drastic redistribution of the national income in its favour. Under the stress of this dilemma the Liberal Party disintegrated: Whigs to the right, Radicals to the left.

At this point we must pause for a moment to consider why the political currents in Britain tend to concentrate themselves in the limited channels of a two-party system. Why

did the rise of the Labour Party necessarily mean the eclipse of the Liberals? First, of course, the electoral system itself makes the position of a small party very difficult. This is not only because of the method of local election, by a simple majority, of a single Member of Parliament in a comparatively small territorial constituency, but because a mass electorate means massive political organisation on a national—and therefore very costly—scale. Since there are no sources of finance for political funds comparable in size to industrial firms and the great trade unions, the two parties which have managed to tap those sources have an overwhelming advantage over a third competitor.

Two broad political attitudes

It is an indisputable fact that political opinion in Britain is broadly divided between two types of attitude. There is the essentially conservative attitude, with its instinct to preserve traditional institutions, adapting and improving them gradually, at need, and its tendency to tackle new problems empirically, with a certain scepticism about both political theories and the feasibility of rapid human progress towards perfection. And there is the radical attitude, confident of the possibility of progress and eager to speed it up.

But the question which, of all those arising from our modern political history, is most baffling to observers outside Britain is how on earth, with the Conservative middle classes apparently in one camp and the organised manual workers in the other, did we avoid the extreme bitterness

of a violent 'class war' and arrive at the monumental political calm of the 1955 General Election?

Four reasons

I think there were four reasons.

First, the class structure of Britain began to change, becoming less rigid and its barriers more permeable.

Second, the political line-up was never anything like exactly along class frontiers: there were, and are, millions of Conservative voters among manual workers, while the break-up of the Liberals resulted in the leadership of the Labour Party being largely taken over by middle-class intellectual Radicals.

Third, Socialism became Fabian and gradualist, while two streams of radicalism—one stemming from the so-called Tory democracy of Disraeli and Lord Randolph Churchill and the other from Joseph Chamberlain and his sons—entered the Conservative Party and made it mildly reformist.

Fourth, the upheaval of the second world war provided the conditions in which immense social and economic changes could be made without violent changes in the Constitution.

The changes in the class structure were accelerated by the first world war. High and progressive taxation of incomes and estates began the process of redistributing wealth. The war and the development of new industries which followed it provided opportunities for men to rise sharply in the economic scale, the accompanying rise in the social scale being normally completed and secured in the second generation. At the same time there began the process of expansion of the lower middle class which has been so marked a feature of the past thirty years.

It must never be forgotten that the 1930s, despite the existence of mass unemployment, were a period of rising living standards for wide sections of the working class. Unem-

ployment was largely concentrated in certain areas and in certain industries whose export markets were declining. Over the whole field of light engineering, aircraft and vehicle-building, and electrical manufacturing, jobs were multiplying and real wages rising. Standards of housing and social services rose as well.

Coalescing of the 'Classes'

Meanwhile, there was a great revolution going on in the field of consumer-goods and services. The cinema and the popular press, together with the shop-window displays of large department stores, had made visible and conspicuous to the people the material living standards of the well-to-do. Mass-production techniques made it possible to emulate some of them at quite a low cost. The expanding employment of women in industry, together with the social stigma which traditionally bad working conditions had cast upon domestic service, led to the gradual elimination of this feature of middle-class life.

Finally, the war itself fused all these processes together and crowned them with the crucial achievements of full employment and high wages. Political bitterness was quenched in the party coalition in Parliament and the shared dangers and devotion of the war effort.

Mature Political Acumen

After the war the process continued. There was plenty of political controversy, but revolution was unimaginable. Taxation and social services had, at least temporarily, reduced some middle-class living standards, but the converse of working class prosperity was plain to all. Almost immediately, the electorate adjusted its political ideas to the new circumstances. Indeed, looking back over the past ten years, I am amazed at the mature political acumen of the British people. They

have acquired the ability to come quietly and calmly to a decision at election times—the last three General Elections here have been quiet to the point of dullness—and to secure exactly the Parliament they want and need. In 1945 the Conservative Party was tired and barren of ideas; it was decisively dismissed and sent into the wilderness, whence it emerged with new men, new ideas, and a new organisation. In 1950 the electorate, disappointed with Socialism, issued a sharp warning to the Labour Party to do better or go. In 1951 it issued a cautious invitation to the Conservatives to show their mettle. In 1955 it endorsed their record and

instructed the Labour Party to go away and sort itself out.

And there it is: a democracy which, under the stress of war, could borrow the more efficient methods of its totalitarian enemies yet enforce their abandonment when peace was won; which has produced two parties both wedded to democratic processes, yet ensuring progress as well as continuity, one to make changes, one to consolidate the changes while defending traditional values; political groupings transcending class and religious divisions, and so avoiding revolutionary or sectarian strife. It is quite an achievement. It means freedom, and it has exorcised hate.

(Continued from page 45)

proach or frailty, of not having won even a single Test match will have been removed. It will be difficult not to sympathise with these hopes, nor will it be possible to doubt that such an event will come to pass, in India at least, if not in Pakistan. There is always the distinct possibility that the Indian selectors will present them with a match or two. But it will be difficult to believe that India will lose "the rubber."

This may be considered a statement of some temerity, for Indian cricket is nothing if not unpredictable, more subject to vagaries than the nature of the game, with its "glorious uncertainty" can possibly warrant. Further, as the season is about to commence, it is difficult to know who the players are who are likely to be available. There will be much lively interest concerning the question who is to be endowed with the honour of being appointed captain. It is necessary to register a protest here against the unedifying spectacle that was witnessed two seasons ago of nominating a captain for each of the five unofficial Test matches against the Silver Jubilee Overseas Cricket team.

It is to be hoped that the authorities, after mature deliberation, will choose one single individual to be appointed for the entire series. No one who witnessed the "Test" played that season in Madras can be brought to believe that Ghulam Ahmed can be neglected without harm to the game.

Apart from this, much uncertainty exists about a few other players. Much depends on the availability of Mankad. If he should take the field and if Gupte should bowl from the other end, it will be difficult to resist the conviction that the New Zealanders will be hard pressed. For, batsmanship which is moulded in the English tradition and which is not of the first flight is much susceptible to spin bowling of great excellence. I suggest this possibility having in mind the ascendancy which Mankad established over the batsmen of the late M.C.C. team under Howard. I believe that the forthcoming tourists approximate in skill and strength to that team. A similar result is not unlikely to follow unless Sutcliffe and Reid, realising the gravity of the problem, succeed in subjugating Mankad and Gupte early enough. But this contingency, it may be hoped and believed, is remote.

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October 15

SWATANTRA

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REORGANISATION OF STATES

ARGUMENTS for and against linguistic States are set forth with brilliant clarity in the Report of the States Reorganisation Commission. One of these arguments is worth noting. As the very first in the list of weighty considerations urged before them against accepting language as the determining principle in the creation of States, the Commission observe that "the idea of a federating unit, organised as the political expression of a single language group, would inevitably encourage exclusivism." It may "even tend to blur, if not to obliterate, the feeling of national unity, by the emphasis it places on local culture, language and history." We are further told that "experience everywhere has shown that States based on languages are intolerant, aggressive and expansionist in character" and that "already a sense of irredentism is noticeable in the existing unilingual States of India, which claim neighbouring territories on the basis of language statistics." After "a full consideration of the problem in all its aspects," the Commission make the declaration that they have "come to the conclusion that it is neither possible nor desirable to reorganise States on the basis of the single test of either language or culture, but that a balancing approach to the whole problem is necessary in the interests of our national unity."

This excellent conclusion, so unequivocally enunciated, is unfortunately not acted upon in the rest of the Report. No evidence of a balanced approach to the problem is visible in the proposals of the Commission for the reorganisation of

South India. These bear the stamp of a complete surrender on the part of the Commission to the sole consideration of providing every major language in the area with a State. If the linguistic principle is excluded, it is difficult to trace any sign of the balanced approach which the Commission have theoretically blessed, in any of the proposals for reorganising the country which they have arrived at, or in the totality of them, taken together. The Commission have simply accepted the principle of linguistic division and applied it to the whole country with the exception of Bombay. When it came to Bombay their courage in the further application of the principle seems to have failed. This might have been due to a contemplation of the forces arrayed for battle over the disposal of Bombay city in any manner conceivable under a set-up of unilingual States in the area. The Commission therefore proposed a composite State for Bombay after diluting the compositeness by taking the Karnatak districts out of it. The creation of two Andhra States can scarcely be accepted as a balanced approach against unilingualism. In the whole of India, if there is a case for splitting up a unilingual State into two or more, it is in Uttara Pradesh, and Sardar Panikkar in his separate minute set forth a formidable array of powerful arguments for the immediate division of the State. There was no need for two unilingual Telugu States while an overwhelming set of considerations was presented by the most balanced member of the Commission advocat-



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RELEASE

ing two States in place of the present Uttara Pradesh. But the Commission had neither the wisdom to avoid the one nor the perspicacity to reconcile themselves to the other.

The pressure of the unilingual States suggested by the Commission in the name of reorganisation might not permit Bombay to enjoy for long its unique composite character. No Government can get away unhurt applying contradictory principles to people under its sway entitled to be treated alike. The promise of a balanced approach to the problem entrusted to it in the interests of our national unity which the Commission hinted at in the early pages of the Report has thus not found fulfilment in the practical administrative measures recommended by

them for the reorganisation of the country. Nor have the Commission kept faith with themselves in their pious wish of not reorganising States on the basis of the single test of either language or culture. This is precisely what they have done and they have redistributed the country linguistically except where anticipated untoward consequences made them abandon the principle as in Bombay, or they deliberately went out of the way to create an exception to blur the reality as in the case of Andhra. These curtailments of unilingualism do not certainly amount to a balanced approach, and to that extent, the interests of our national unity are not advanced by the Commission's reorganisation scheme.

Sotto Voce

MR. NEHRU REDISCOVERS INDIA



MR. NEHRU is now slowly and painfully rediscovering India. But he is still far from discovering his own self. It is a long-standing gibe against the extravert hot-headedness of a particular community that when a member of that community receives a letter he forthwith starts reading it aloud regardless of who might overhear him, but begins to take in the contents only at a second silent reading. Likewise Mr. Nehru has long been going up and down the country violently denouncing Casteism. But some idea, however muddled, of the significance of Caste seems only just now to be dawning on him.

Tamil Nad may claim the dubious

distinction of having given a new turn to Mr. Nehru's thoughts on the subject. Avadi, while it spectacularly spawned the Socialistic pattern of society, seems to have made a much more profound impression on the Prime Minister's mind by its revelation of the New Congress, especially as it is burgeoning in Tamil Nad. It is a Congress which is far more acceptable to the new Self-Respecters than to the old Congressmen. But politicians—and the Prime Minister is a politician first and foremost—have an uncanny instinct for coming to terms with new foci of power. Mr. Nehru's marked respect for the present High Command in the South is a measure of his realism.

If at the next elections Congress candidates are found to have been recruited mostly from the whilom stalwarts or the spiritual affiliates of the Dravida Kazhagam, it will never do for the Prime Minister to be caught in a mood of surprise or ideological confusion. The process of intellectual adjustment has therefore already commenced. Mr. Nehru, however high his head may be in the clouds, could not help being struck by the hate-campaign that has been going on unchecked against the Tamil Brahman. With his theoretical aversion to Caste politics, he could hardly approve of it. But, apparently, feeling in his bones that he could do very little about it without imperilling the Congress hegemony in the South, he has fallen to finding fault with the lamb for provoking the wolf's sanguinary instincts.

At a recent party pow-wow, the Secretary of the T.N.C.C. said that the anti-Brahman agitation was engineered by anti-Congress elements. But Mr. Nehru has no use for this decorous camouflage. He roundly declares that the "Away with the Brahmans" cry in the South "is certainly a reaction against the attitude of Brahmans in the past." That is the kind of poppycock which only omniscient authors of universal history can talk. The Tamil Brahmans' attitude in the past was no more bedevilled by the superiority complex than that of Mr. Nehru's own Kashmiri Brahmans. And as for their clinging to their separate identity, I am not aware that the Kashmiri Pandits as a class have committed social hara-kiri in spite of the "na-Bhatto" persecutions of centuries.

It may be that some Kashmiris who have traditionally flourished by reason of their nimbleness have come to persuade themselves that the fact that they have mostly discarded Brahman *acharas* must be accounted to them for merit. But even Mr. Nehru seems dimly to sus-

pect that this is not Enlightenment but rootlessness. He is impressed by the vitality of Caste. He thinks it won't do merely to seek to pull it up by the roots. He feels that something must take its place as social cement. But, like the bright school-boy conning his horn-book in search of wisdom, he thinks we may find salvation by going to school with the West and adopting one of its assorted ideologies.

Caste is four thousand years old, the current Isms under forty. Caste is founded on one of the deepest intuitions of man the social animal. Human differences of temperament and aptitude are fundamental and must not be ignored. But they can be creatively marshalled in functional hierarchies on which any lasting, that is, organic society must be based. And though the infant eugenics of the West with the purblind eyes of newly littered pups may not perceive it for another century or two, caste by birth is a stubborn reality, even as forfeiture of caste by lack of breeding is.

Caste is not an instrument for the grabbing of power but a medium for self-transcendence through service. Those who expatiate on its present degeneration conveniently overlook the fact that linguism, regionalism, communalism, all of which are often more powerful than caste solidarity as the Report of the States Reorganisation Commission shows, are evils precisely because they have been perverted into political ideologies with domination as their end. So it is not by bartering caste for an ideology, as Mr. Nehru naively suggests, that we shall prosper. Interdining and intermarrying have not made the Russian and the Yankee love each other, any more than has their tacit agreement to abolish God. The truly casteless are the Paramahansas who have walked the razor edge to freedom.

VIGNESWARA

SIDELIGHTS ::

THOUGH Socialism is not much in favour in the United States, the objectives of Socialism have been realised there more perhaps than in many a Socialist country. Americans swear by free enterprise. Freedom of enterprise is by them regarded as a right of the individual and they are very suspicious of encroachments by the State in the sphere of industrial undertakings. The Post Office is the only State monopoly. Electricity is under State control in remote areas where it cannot be economically produced and distributed. But the moment it is demonstrated capable of being profitably run the pressure of the popular demand for freedom of enterprise will operate to take it out of State administration. Telephones and railways are run by private companies. The telegraph services are not run by the Government. They belong to the private sector. The idea underlying American economy is that competition is essential to efficiency. Industries run by the State can afford to be inefficient and defy the consequences of uneconomic management because they have the taxpayers' money to draw upon to make up for the losses incidental to uneconomic management. Such industries do not serve the citizen so well as those that are not sheltered by State finance and that have to establish themselves competitively against all rivals under conditions of free enterprise. All work is therefore geared to free enterprise as the most reliable of systems for ensuring the welfare and happiness of all.

In India the great obstacle to industrial development is the labour situation. Competent industrialists are nervous about undertaking great projects for fear of being defeated by labour. Human labour is more

expensive in America than anywhere else in the world, but its burden does not crush American industry because it has not strayed into parasitical ways. It is parasitism when one seeks to help oneself to benefits that one has not earned. The excessive exactions of American labour fall within the saving rationale of not exceeding the worth of its productivity. They leave therefore an ample latitude for expansion and development. The leaders of labour are very shrewd in the United States. They know that no wage-earner can hope for an enduring livelihood by extracting more out of industry than what he puts into it and they discourage uneconomic habits like going slow and having too many holidays with pay. Wages are related to hours of work and the whole mechanism of payment for labour functions on a piece-work basis. Security against sickness, adversity, old age and the like is provided by the enterprise of the insurance companies who seem with ingenious devices to have drawn the whole of the wage-earning population into the sphere of their operations.

American capitalism is quite unlike the capitalism that Marx envisaged as containing within itself the contradictions leading inevitably to its doom. It has turned its workers into joint partners with it in the industry it owns, reserving to itself only managerial control and the freedom of initiative that goes with it. Millions of workers employed in American industry are also stockholders and have a stake in the preservation of the economic value of the undertakings they work in. They will therefore never carry their demands for increased wages to the

(Continued on page 13)

—THE S. R. C. REPORT —CASTEISM AND UNTOUCHABILITY —VIGILANCE OF COMMITTEES —WORKING JOURNALISTS' CHARTER

THE long awaited States Reorganisation Commission Report has at last arrived this week—with the floods, with which the Prime Minister prefaced his broadcast to the nation on Sunday night. One must hope that the tides of controversy will not be as damaging to the rest of the country as the floods have proved to be in the Punjab and Delhi. The immediate reactions to the Report have not been, as far as one can see, highly favourable. Even the Prime Minister has expressed "surprise" over some portions of the Report and each person tends to identify these with what he dislikes most among the recommendations. The authors, of course, could not have hoped to satisfy all sections of the nation but whether they were also ready to incur the displeasure of the most affected sections of the country will not be known. Those who favour the Report have not ceased stressing the magic by which the Commission has reduced 27 States to 16, plus 3 centrally administered areas. The disappearance of the nine Part C States by merger, which has all along been known to be inevitable, has reduced the number to 18; and the merger of Saurashtra in Bombay and Madhya Bharat in Madhya Pradesh reduces the number to 16—the merger of PEPSU being offset by the creation of Vidarbha. But the number is hardly the thing that matters at present.

The Commission set out its task to be one "of redrawing the political

map of India"—and this it has attempted in its Report without even the aid of a map, which the newspapers had to manufacture, for themselves. The present alignment of the boundaries of the States has been largely determined by "the vicissitudes of British rule" in India and the integration of the former Indian States; so the Commission wanted to create "enduring political units." What has been the result? Ajmer will merge into Rajasthan and Tripura in Assam completing the final round of integration of the States; otherwise, Rajasthan, U. P., Bihar, West Bengal, Assam, Orissa, Jammu, and Kashmir and Andhra remain substantially untouched by the Commission map-drawing—showing that, by and large, historical antecedents have decreed certain alignments which act as limits to too much meddling with the map. Delhi, Manipur and the Andamans require a special type of control—again a justification of the old system, or at least an acceptance that the States will not work too badly as they are. Andhra is also for the moment left out. The adjustments between Madras and Kerala do not call for the exercise of great ingenuity. In the rest of the Indian territory, where the Commission's map-making talents have been exercised freely, will the result of the reorganisation as proposed be to improve the existing situation?

The creation of Karnataka will be the second major act of homage to the linguistic principle after Andhra

—even when we take account of the fact that the linguistic minorities within this State will be larger than in most others. But it will not be so simple as in Andhra—South Kanara and Kollegal taluk from Madras, North Kanara, Dharwar, Bijapur and Belgaum from Bombay, Coorg, Raichur and Gulbarga from Hyderabad and the Bellary taluks—the list of additions to Mysore sound formidable. The next act is to deprive Hyderabad of its Maratha districts, making it unilingual, but an example of the principle that two States can have the same language—unless they decide to merge by a special majority. At this point the unilingual principle which largely applied to Kerala, Madras and Karnataka gives way to a new one, and finally culminates in the composite principle found good for Bombay.

The process is somewhat intriguing but Bombay has proved the *pons asinorum* of all linguistic boundary inquiries. Since the problem is insoluble, the composite character of the State has to be maintained anyhow. The proposal to add the Marathwada districts is a small concession to the Maharashtrians' sentiment for consolidation to make them feel stronger; and, in any case, the Gujerathis are also made more numerous by the addition of Saurashtra and Kutch thereby attaining near-balance. This balance can be maintained only by creating Vidarbha as a separate State. It creates something like a "homeland" for Maharashtrians but its value as such is doubtful since Vidarbha is being fed on the hope that it can plough back its income within its borders without having to share it with the poorer brethren to the West or to the South. This indeed is a strange doctrine coming as it does from the Commission. Can any group of prosperous districts combine together and say that since any alliance with weaker sections around will be detrimental to their prosperity, they should be allowed to share it them-

selves? Here of course it must be remembered that such doctrines arise because of the Gordian knot of Bombay; and cutting it this way is not the same as unravelling it.

All this must be said not so much against the Commission as about the historical vicissitudes which have settled more things than what any Commission can now undo. If the Commission had merged all 'C' States and equalised the status of 'A' and 'B' States, the result could not have been much worse and some virtue could have been still found for the maintenance of the *status quo* in most cases. As it is, the Commission has enunciated principles about reconciling administrative convenience with language, and about not interfering below the district level and in some cases, below the taluk level. The principles fail to survive the test in actual situations; why in one case the district level should prove the limit, as in Vidarbha, or the taluk level, as in the Tamil areas of T-C there can be no adequate justification and we have only the *ipse dixit* of the Commission to give validity to the recommendations.

This was not a sound method of building up confidence in the impartiality of the recommendations and confidence in fairness more than soundness is necessary to ensure even grudging acceptance of the anomalies which are inevitable in reorganisation, however ingeniously it is done. This does not mean, however, that the Commission's ideas should be challenged again. This business of agitating for State boundaries has been proved to be an unending one and three men, whose fitness and eminence are unquestioned, have been unable to find neat solutions to these vital questions. Public opinion must express itself freely on the value of the suggestions and must be free to accept or reject them; but all this must be done in a calm way because there are really no cut-and-

dried solutions which will satisfy all sections on every issue.

The question of Maharashtra is a major problem in this connection but equally vital are the attitudes in the Punjab on the question of amalgamation. The Akali Sikhs will be disappointed but no one can fail to be convinced of the soundness of the reasoning in the Report on the futility of attempting to create a Punjabi State. Opinion among the Akali Sikhs is largely a psychological problem—due to a craving for recognition and for being given some importance—but their approach has been such as to invite outright rejection of their demand as a communal cry. But some conciliatory steps at high levels may help the acceptance of the Commission's award.

Indeed, what the Commission has given is an award, containing conclusions. There are no elaborate arguments, not even demographic and financial statistics in testing the viability of States and no attempt to persuade. Persuasion is left to the Government of India and the Congress party whip may help to enforce some order and restraint in these protests. But the opposition groups will have no such obligation for restraint and if they try to make capital, they may have a good opportunity at least in a few areas. The attitude of the people will depend much on these non-Congress groups. With only a year before the general elections, there are limits to the enforcement of policies which are manifestly unpopular or unpalatable.

Recent incidents in Bihar have again reminded us of the still important part which casteism plays in Indian public life and a melancholy thought which haunts the reformer is that adult suffrage which was expected to abolish privileged

groups has in some areas strengthened sectional influences. The sincere reformer is likely to feel impatient and frustrated—as the Prime Minister often shows himself to be—because he cannot work miracles in his own time. There is, however, no reason why sociologists, who are expected to show understanding of the force of tradition as well as pace of adjustment to modern conditions, should fail to give a more objective picture. Under the auspices of the Indian Conference of Social Work, a seminar has concluded in Delhi which had for its subject Casteism and Untouchability. It was claimed that the seminar was almost unanimous that these two things were evil—a case of preaching to the converted since there is no one in Indian public life who would dare dispute it. The real trouble has always been in the gap between professions and practices among those who are convinced of the evil and of the difficulty of convincing those who because of lack of education, or due to their sheltered lives, are difficult to be convinced.

There are several wrong approaches to this, as well as other social evils of this country. One of them is to declare forcefully that there is no religious basis for caste or untouchability or for certain undesirable marriage customs. This assumes that considerations of religion are generally responsible for preventing rational thinking, whereas any observer with some insight would say that the forces of custom are often stronger than religion—witness the perpetuation of caste scruples among Hindu converts to Christianity or Islam. The solution here is not to feel helpless and accept the *status quo*; but sociologists may lay stress on the fact that ultimately time alone can bring about fundamental changes and that in the realm of practical social policy certain strategic methods of interference can keep such changes in the

right direction. The seminar contained men who realised this but the tendency was to harp more on what State action can do than on what trends there are in our society today which are hopeful signs for the future. When a politician finds that he cannot enact a law insisting on inter-marriage and interdining among castes he is apt to be disheartened. There is no reason for a sociologist not to say that economic independence and the elimination of sectional thinking through education would go a long way. The mere fact that there is no one in public life who today will dispute the need for the Untouchability Act or for other social reform measures aimed against segregation is proof that we have a powerful ally in education in fighting the evil. It is too much to hope that until we have done all for the spread of universal education, the prejudices will disappear merely because the leaders are now convinced. To have said that the country has gone far and is moving on the right track would not have been a counsel of complacency; it would have shown India in a truer light.

During the last two or three weeks, two Committees of Parliament—the Public Accounts Committee and the Estimates Committee—have been providing headline stories to the hungry press. The Public Accounts Committee has raked up old skeletons—like the purchase of jeeps in the U.K. or the legality of the transfer of pension liabilities of British personnel to the U.K. Government—but the Estimates Committee has been going about with some thoroughness into the affairs of Government undertakings, which holds out the promise of reform in time of many evils. The Ministry of Production has been shown in a poor light as a result of these searching inquiries. The disclosures of vacillation and delay in the execution of schemes in the pub-

lic sector are not very encouraging, when its expansion on a wide scale under the Second Five Year Plan is under contemplation; but there is room for hope that steps will be taken to reduce the irregularities and worse. The Estimates Committee has asked some very pertinent questions about the Jalahalli Machine Tool Factory—especially about the hopeless confusion regarding its production schedule in relation to the demand and supply by other manufacturers, of machine tools. The Committee asks—independently of Mr. J. D. Scaife who criticised the project in a different context—the same questions which this expert asked but have paused for more information, while presenting a preliminary report. The Government cannot dismiss this report of a Parliamentary Committee in the summary way in which they condemned Mr. Scaife's report as biased and perfunctory.

Along with the Committee's report on the Hindustan Shipyard, the impression that is produced is that the Government of India is often getting a raw deal from the foreign firms chosen to provide technical help in its major projects. The Committee considers that there have been avoidable lapses, that technical advice has not been satisfactory and that the terms of agreement are often strongly weighted in favour of the foreign collaborators. But the Committee has not stopped here; it has proceeded further to investigate the management of nationalised undertakings and found that the boards of directors of State enterprises are not actually exercising their judgement but are guided by departmental directions. All this, in the opinion of the Committee, has to change in order to combine the virtues of private business on commercial lines, with the social purposes of nationalised enterprise. This ambition may be far fetched but the constant probe into the efficiency of the Govern-

ment undertakings is certainly heartening.

Dr. Keskar has been as good as his word in introducing the Bill to determine the conditions of service of working journalists before Parliament adjourned. Perhaps journalists who have not been very happy over this Minister's recent speeches, have been preparing themselves for a disappointment but they have not lost hope because it is now the established tradition of our legislative process to introduce far-reaching refinements and changes at the Select Committee stage. The Government can thereby escape direct blame for radical measures, whether it is company law or Hindu succession or any other legislation.

The Bill as it stands compensates those who were retrenched after the Press Commission Report was published. It provides for the payment in future of gratuity at half a month's pay for each year of service for those who have served three years on an establishment and then die or resign or are retrenched or removed except as a punishment. The rates of gratuity for service before the Act comes into force are lower in establishments employing less than ten journalists. While this would save the smaller papers with slender means, many prosperous ones also would escape liability. There is no reason why those which are in a position to show profits should be placed in a special position. On the vexed question of minimum wages, no decision has been taken now and a Minimum Wages Board will be set up with power to give an award. Working journalists will, like other workers, be brought under the Employees' Provident Funds Act 1952 and as for workers, the benefits to which they are entitled can be collected by the Collector as if they are arrears of revenue.



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THE STERLING AREA

By SHANTI SHRINIVAS

THE Sterling Area, like the flying saucer, seems to answer to a variety of descriptions. So misconceptions about it are apt to flourish. This may probably be due to the deceptive simplicity of its nature. It is easier to catalogue what it is not than to define exactly what it is. In short, it has no well-established definition.

It is incorrect to say that the Sterling Area is "merely the monetary aspect of the Commonwealth." It is not strictly an exclusive club or esoteric coterie of nations, for any country can elect to become a member of the Area which believes it can profit by conforming to its conventions and currency habits. In fact, non-Commonwealth countries like Burma, Iraq and Iceland are members, while Canada, a Commonwealth country is not. Neither is it true to say that it is a group of nations whose currencies are on a par with the pound sterling. The Sterling Area can best be described as a voluntary association of those countries who have agreed to use the British currency as their common international currency, to maintain in general stable exchange rates in respect of the British pound, and to pool together their gold and dollar reserves for their collective benefit. Within the Area, this agreement implies a certain amount of freedom of monetary transfers from one country to another, but the freedom is confined by mutual consent only to transfers on the current account as distinguished from the capital account. The proximate ideal at which the Sterling Area aims is the formulation of a unified monetary policy that will be acceptable to, and pursued by, everyone of its member countries.

The Sterling Area is an extraordinary union. Comprising all the Commonwealth countries, save Canada, the Mandated Territories and British Protectorates and a few foreign nations, it was never ceremoniously convened nor consciously built. It has been said that "like Topsy it 'just grew' ". To this day, it has been functioning without any binding statutes, rules and regulations, indeed without even a permanent secretariat. And yet it is the widest currency area the world has ever known. Apart altogether from the political and sentimental attachments that link the member nations with one another in general and with the U. K. especially, the symbol and source of the unity of the Area is the pound sterling. This currency has always been acceptable and available, and is used for financing world trade even now to a very large extent. It was only after the second World War, from which the dollar emerged gloriously as the first currency of the world, that the British pound became soft and not so important. But until then it had been the undoubted prima donna of national currencies, so that association with it for many weaker ones could provide some safeguard against the mischief of world price fluctuations.

The predominant characteristic of a bird's-eye-view of the Sterling Area is complementarity. England is the most industrialised and the least agricultural member, while the case with India and Pakistan is nearly the reverse. Therefore, the Overseas Sterling Area supplies most of the raw materials and the U.K. supplies the machines and technical assistance and contrives to

keep the drain on the Sterling Area reserves to a minimum.

The Sterling Area has an interesting history. The Ottawa Conference of 1932 is usually regarded as its origin. This is only partially true because, before that, there did in fact exist a more wide and less tight company called the "Sterling Bloc." Indeed, the term "Sterling Bloc," was more commonly used than the term "Sterling Area" till the outbreak of the second World war. Thus, the 1932 conference only bestowed a sort of official recognition on an already existing system. London's position as the financial centre and banker of the old British Empire had much to do with the growth of the Area. Furthermore, the Wall Street collapse and the consequent depreciations of the early 'thirties extended an excellent invitation to many countries to seek safety under the aegis of the British pound. The 'Imperial Preference' of the Ottawa Conference was an added attraction. And the Sterling Area, at long last, came to assume some meaning and shape. But these were altered considerably after 1945. The change in the nature and significance of the Commonwealth, consequent on the attainment of independence by India and the gradual dissolution of the Empire, had its repercussions on the policy of the Sterling Area. Preference became co-operation, and the U.K. silently accepted equality of status and mutual understanding as the primary canons of policy.

The present merit and purpose of the Sterling Area are to keep up a reasonable volume of international trade in an era of cold war and dollar scarcity. The Dollar Pool, established in the financial year 1939-40, is an arrangement whereby the members of the Sterling Area pay the dollars earned by them severally into a common reservoir and draw from this from time to time to meet their requirements.

On a globe of greedy and selfish nations, an association like the Sterling Area certainly does more good than harm. But in a peaceful world, untrammelled by insular economic lust, desire for political supremacy and territorial ambition, the 'regionalism' characteristic of systems such as the Sterling Area, will be an anachronistic *de trop*. The Sterling Area is only an expedient of a period.

(Continued from page 6)

point of wrecking the bread-yielding institution itself, which in part they regard as their own property. The joint concern of employer and employee alike for industrial efficiency as the prime source of common prosperity has been the greatest preservative of the power and strength of American economy and its achievements so far have been truly sensational.

Thus in the United States poverty has been completely eliminated. There is no unemployment. There is plenty of work for every man and woman. The wages are attractive and suffice for a very comfortable standard of life. There is scarcely a family that is not excellently housed, with sumptuous amenities and appointments that contribute to joy in living. Individual anxiety from fear of hunger or houselessness is practically unknown throughout the country. Socialism aspires for nothing more than these, but the aspirations of Socialism are demonstrated to have made greater headway in so-called capitalist America than even in countries where Socialism is the reigning doctrine and Socialist slogans are most loudly mouthed. If welfare is more desirable to people than propaganda, there should be a rethinking by the intelligent of many pet notions that hold the field particularly in India.

SARA

TELEVISION IS CHANGING AMERICAN LIFE

THE following is the introduction to an extensive survey made recently on the influence of the modern marvel television and its impact on the people of the U. S. A.

The biggest of the new forces in American life today is television. There has been nothing like it in the postwar decade, or in many decades before that—perhaps not since the invention of the printing press. Even radio, by contrast, was a placid experience.

The impact of TV on the U. S. has been so massive that Americans are still wondering what hit them.

Has the effect been good or bad? What permanent effects on the American way of life may be expected? These and other questions are considered in this survey.

Probably there are some people in the U. S. who have never seen a television programme, but you would have to go into the hills to find them.

Two out of three U. S. families now own their own sets, or are paying for them. In 32 million homes, TV dials are flicked on and off, from channel to channel, at least 100 million times between 8 a.m. and midnight.

Everywhere, children sit with eyes glued to screens—for three to four hours a day on the average. Their parents use up even more time mesmerized by this new marvel—or monster. They have spent 15 billion dollars to look since 1946.

Now, after nearly 10 years of TV, people are asking: "What hath TV wrought? What is this thing doing to us?"

Solid answers to this question are very hard to get. Pollsters, sociologists, doctors, teachers, the TV

people themselves come up with more contradictions than conclusions whenever they start asking.

But almost everybody has an opinion and wants to air it.

What do these opinions add up to? People have strong views. Here are some widely held convictions, both against and for television:

That TV has kept people from going places and doing things, from reading, from thinking for themselves. Yet it is said also that TV has taken viewers vicariously into strange and fascinating spots and situations, brought distinguished and enchanting people into their living rooms, given them a new perspective.

That TV has interfered with schooling, kept children from learning to read and write, weakened their eyesight and softened their muscles. But there are those who hold that TV has made America's youngsters more "knowing" about life, more curious, given them a bigger vocabulary. Teaching by TV, educators say, is going to be a big thing in the future.

That TV arouses morbid emotions in children, glorifies violence, causes juvenile crime—that it starts domestic quarrels, tends to loosen morals and make people lazy and sodden. However, it keeps families together at home, provides a realm of cheap entertainment never before available, stimulates new lines of conversation.

That TV is giving the U. S. an almost primitive language, made up of grunts, whistles, standardized wisecracks and clichés—that it is turning the average American into a stereotype. Yet it is breaking down regional barriers and prejudices, ironing out accents, giving people in one part of the country a better

understanding of people in other parts.

That TV is making politics "a rich man's game," turning statesmanship into a circus, handing demagogues a new weapon. But it is giving Americans their first good look at the inside of their Government, letting them judge the people they elect by sight as well as by sound and fury.

That TV has distorted and debased salesmanship, haunting people with singing "commercials" and slogans. However, because of or in spite of TV, people are buying more and more things they never before thought they needed or wanted.

One thing you can be sure about. TV, a giant at 10, continues to grow like nobody's business. Here are some figures and comparisons. The 15 billion dollars that the U. S. people have invested in TV sets and repairs since the war is 15 per cent more than the country spent for new school and college buildings. About a billion more has gone into TV stations and equipment.

TV-viewing time is going up, not down, latest surveys show. This explodes the theory that people would taper off on television "once they got used to it."

The number of families holding out against TV is declining to a small fraction. There still are 16 million families without sets, but most of these families either can't pay for sets or else live out of range of TV signals.

On an average evening, twice as many set owners will be watching TV as are engaged in any other form of entertainment or leisure activity, such as movie-going, card playing, or reading. Seven out of 10 American children watch TV between 6 and 8 o'clock most evenings.

Analysts are intrigued by the evidence that adults, not children, are the real television fans. The newest trend in viewing habits is a rise in

the number of housewives who watch TV in the morning. One out of five with a set now watches a morning show with regularity.

What is it? Why do people want TV? A \$67.50-per-week shoe repairman in San Francisco puts it about as plainly as anyone can. "TV", he says, "is the only amusement I can afford." That was the reason he gave for paying four weeks' wages for his set.

The cobbler's comment explains TV's basic lure. It is free entertainment except for the cost of set and repairs and electricity. It becomes so absorbing that a broken set is a family catastrophe. People will pay to have the set fixed before they will pay the milk bill, if necessary.

What does TV do to people? What do people do with TV? The researchers are digging into these questions all the time. In general, they come to theories, rather than conclusions. There are three main theories:

THEORY "A": This is widely held by people whose professions bring them into close contact with juveniles—judges, district attorneys, police officers, ministers. It assumes that TV is bound to be affecting the American mind and character because it soaks up one to five hours a day or more that used to be spent in outdoor play, in games requiring reasoning and imagination, or in reading, talking, radio listening or movie-going.

Even the more passive of these pursuits, the theory runs, required more exercise of brain power than does TV watching. Then, too, many TV programmes the theorists say, are violent or in questionable taste.

Net effect, according to these people, is a wasting away or steady decline in certain basic skills among American youngsters. Children lose the ability to read, forfeit their physical dexterity, strength and initiative.

Some see a definite connection between TV and juvenile delinquency. The Kefauver subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee has just explored this aspect. It stated:

"Members of the sub-committee share the concern of a large segment of the thinking public for the implications of the impact of this medium (television) . . . upon the ethical and cultural standards of the youth of America. It has been unable to gather proof of a direct usual relationship between the viewing of acts of crime and violence and the actual performance of criminal deeds. It has not, however, found irrefutable evidence that young people may not be negatively influenced in their present-day behaviour by the saturated exposure they now receive to pictures and drama based on an underlying theme of lawlessness and crime which depict human violence."

THEORY "B": Mainly held by sociologists, communications economists, pollsters. This is that television is changing the American mind and character, although nobody knows for sure just how. The evidence is too fragmentary.

The analysts are disturbed by some aspects of TV's effect on viewers. Some think TV is conditioning Americans to be "other directed," that is, getting their ideas from someone else. The early American, by contrast, is supposed to have been "inner directed," a man who thought things out for himself on the basis of his own reasoning.

However, the same researchers confess that TV can have a broadening influence, bringing to the masses a taste of the arts and science, a peep into government that they couldn't get any other way.

THEORY "C": This is what the TV people themselves like to think. It is that television is rapidly becoming "one more service" to the U.S. public, another medium such as news-

papers, magazines, radio. Some people watch TV a lot, others very little. Most people want a set around, but some don't lean on it.

The TV people minimize the idea that TV is dominating American life. It is almost as if they were afraid their own baby is getting too big. What they usually say is that the people who allow their lives to be controlled by television were similarly dominated by radio and the movies—and that they are only a small minority.

The A. C. Nielson Company, a market-research organization that attaches mechanical recorders to sets in private homes, finds this: During the 12 months ended in April, 1955, average use per day of TV sets was 4 hours and 50 minutes. That was up 4 per cent over the year before.

Other studies indicate that women watch TV more than men do. Children, contrary to general impression, watch TV less than adults in the average home. Persons low in income, education or job status as a rule spend more time in front of TV sets than those with more money and education.

Three out of every four TV programmes are entertainment shows. If anything, the trend is toward a higher content of entertainment and a lower slice of information.

In a typical week of the peak TV season, in January of last year, crime, comedy, variety and Western shows accounted for 42.7 per cent of all TV programme time on New York City screens. News accounted for 6.1 per cent of TV time—about the same share of time as was taken by quiz, stunt and contest shows. Other informational types of TV shows such as interviews, weather reports, travelogues, children's instructional programmes and cooking classes, got 16.2 per cent of the time.

—P. G. Krishnappa's Service

LIBRARY MOVEMENT IN INDIA

By SUBHASH J. RELE

PUBLIC libraries have been called the fruits and roots of great civilizations. Libraries are essentially 'universities of people.'

According to modern concept a free public library is the cornerstone of democracy. It is the universal school-house where all are free to attend through life, where each finds knowledge that makes learning a pleasure. Library is a practical demonstration of the concept of freedom of information. It is also a vital social, educational and cultural institution which affords facilities for complete freedom of access to information of all varieties of thought and of inquiry.

The public library has a chequered history. Prior to the beginning of this century and even up to the beginning of the first world war the library was looked upon as a storehouse for the preservation of knowledge and information rather than the dissemination of it to the people. The two world wars, and the rapid scientific and technological development through which the world has emerged, have brought home to educationists and leaders of influence how vital a proper and full functioning of the concept of freedom of information is to permanent peace. It was argued that wars took place because of misunderstandings between one another and misinterpretation of one nation to another. The cause of wars was however traced to the existence of artificial barriers to the free flow of information between nations.

The library movement is essentially a Western movement. The U. S. A.

is its natural original home. From there it began to spread rapidly to the countries on the continent of Europe. In the second quarter of the 19th century, France, Germany, Norway, Sweden and Denmark caught the spirit and established many popular libraries for the use of the public. It is rather curious that Great Britain was the last among the important European countries to be affected by this new movement. A select committee appointed by the British Parliament in 1849 to inquire into the conditions of libraries reported that, in matters pertaining to libraries, Great Britain was far behind the U.S.A. and several other countries. But what Britain lost in time she gained in speed. Today no part of Britain is without proper library facilities for the people. Over 87% of the population lives within library areas and practically every citizen is within easy reach of a library. The progress of the library movement in Russia is also not unspectacular. Russia succeeded in her special programme of adult education through libraries. In France, Germany, Scandinavia, Czechoslovakia and many other European countries, public libraries are the most prominent centres for carrying on the programme of adult education.

The library movement in India is a thing only of a few years. The Baroda State has the privilege of having inaugurated this movement of mass education on a most extensive scale and His Highness the Maharaja Shri Sayajirao Gaekwar has won the reputation of being the 'pioneer' of the free library movement. Start-

ing with free and compulsory primary education in his State, His Highness followed it up by that of the free public libraries as a national corollary of the same. Before the beginning of the second world war, every village having a primary school could boast of a village library within the school premises. Another notable step is the Bombay Government's scheme for spread of public libraries. They have already established a central library and three regional libraries. Also about 27 district and 199 taluk libraries are each given an annual Government grant of Rs. 4,000 and Rs. 450 respectively. Besides, there were some sporadic examples of local initiative in some areas but compared to the needs of the local people these efforts are utterly insignificant.

As India is a nation of villages any scheme of education will have to take into account the needs of the rural people. A national policy of developing the rural mind is necessary before any tangible results can be achieved by way of rural uplift. Public libraries are extremely useful as a medium of enlightenment among the ignorant masses of India. Moreover, they are indispensable for self-education, because otherwise most of the literates are likely to lapse into illiteracy again.

The proper organization of libraries in Indian villages is a matter of the utmost importance to the real progress of the country. It is regrettable that today the problem of rural uplift is being considered by the Government without taking the role that the public libraries may play in the scheme of things. It is however essential that the object of village libraries should be directly related to present and potential needs of the rural population.

Experts have advocated the system of travelling libraries by means of which the people living in remote villages could be brought into touch with

the currents of thought and civilization in the world. Travelling libraries are the cheapest and most economical means of mass information knowledge. A widespread system of well-equipped travelling libraries will go a long way in the over-all work of village uplift.

Public libraries have a significant part in the schemes framed in civilized countries for promoting the mental health and improvement of the people and for advancing the technical and commercial education of the community. In a country where only a few can afford to spend much on private collections of books, the need of public libraries becomes all the greater. To the vast masses of people of limited or no means, they are the only means of continuing their education which ceases when they leave school. It is rather odd that in India the value of public libraries as an instrument of popular education has not received adequate attention. The percentage of illiteracy in the country is not only appalling but a blot on the fair name of our culture. Our educationists and legislators consistently clamour for the spread of literacy. It is rather incongruous that they do not understand the close relation that exists between the educational movement and the library movement. Every school, whether kindergarten, elementary or secondary in progressive countries has a library attached to it. Recently library service to children has assumed such importance that there are children's libraries in almost every city of a progressive country. Moreover, every public library in the West, whether it be in the cities or rural districts has a well-equipped juvenile section. We have a number of schools but what is the library provision for them?

That the library is a feature of increasing importance in any system of education is generally admitted but its place in that system has not yet been understood. The library is

not only supplementary to the school but also complementary. No scheme of popular education can be complete without the movement of free libraries going hand in hand with it.

It is conceded that if our infant democracy is to make any progress towards the concept of a Welfare State, it is essential to create and mould an enlightened public opinion. In England and in other Western countries, the library associations undertake this task. These have been recognized by Royal Charter and given every facility in their efforts to foster the reading habit among the people. It is worthy of note that in spite of innumerable handicaps some of the library associations in India have been doing extremely good work. It is rather surprising that the Central and Provincial Governments do not assist the library associations in any substantial way. It is essential for the progress of the library movement in India that the library associations that exist should be treated by the Government on a par with other similar bodies. The Government should also help in establishing more and more such associations.

On the whole, the condition in which library service in India exists is very backward. We are several decades behind most Western countries. Library services have been provided too inadequately and that only at university centres. The large majority of our educated masses is without any library facilities.

The library movement demands more and well-equipped libraries all over the country, not only to meet the existing demands of people who can read but also to increase that demand and foster the reading habit. We urgently need a regular nationwide programme for extending library facilities for the masses.

The lack of sufficient finance and the right kind of literature are two outstanding obstacles that hamper the progress of the library move-

ment in India. It is true that production of the right type of literature for adults and children is an uphill task which cannot be achieved except through long-range planning. The vast population of India which is centred in villages can only be enlightened by means of suitable books in Indian languages. Without any further loss of time, steps should be taken to produce sound and healthy literature of comparatively elementary character in all subjects in the vernaculars, so that men and women, who are able to read their own ver-

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THE SIGNIFICANCE OF GREEK ART

By BARNETT D. CONLAN

WHEN Ingres after admitting that he had an exclusive cult for Raphael and the Greeks, added, "Is there anything new?, everything has been done, everything has been discovered" he showed that academical spirit of finality which eventually brought the classical tradition into disrepute. "The men who cultivate letters and the arts are all sons of Homer" he tells us. The 'Apotheosis of Homer' which, at that time was thought to be his masterpiece is the result of this fanatical, one sided, limited outlook, and largely responsible for the revolt against this sort of art.

It is the fate of all traditions, in the long run, to go dry. The tendency to repeat a style or a formula when the conditions that spontaneously produced it are no longer there is one reason; another is the creative nature of the artist, who desires change, if he is not to repeat himself. In theocratic societies such as those of Egypt and Tibet an art style often held good for five hundred years. In order to keep pace with the changing fashions of the big cities of to-day, almost every art influence of the past has been put to use. That is one reason for expecting that sooner or later, there will be a return to the Greek spirit, not in the old way of approach, but from a new angle of vision. It would seem only natural that the Greek achievement, which was once at the foundation of almost all the Western arts, should again make itself felt in perhaps a more subtle and less intellectual way. For this it will have to be renewed in the light of greater knowledge and a finer understanding.

At the beginning of the century distinguished art writers such as Roger Fry led on the reaction to everything Greek: "Chinese objects have an air of belonging to people who were polite, traditional and sophisticated and that brings them near to our own ways of living and feeling, more so, I think, than is the case with those odd athletic beings who drink out of the black and red Greek vases."

And very shortly after this there were certain American art historians who continued this drive away from Ancient Greece towards the East and the Far East, which had just begun to be understood. Writers such as Sheldon Cheney observed: "Since the 20th century opened there has been an inevitable challenge to Greek classicists. Strange forces have been borne in from a rediscovered Orient. . . . Greek art is above all explainable, reasoned, sight bound. Rome and the Renaissance perpetuated both the rationalism and this confining thought-bound approach. There can be no doubt that to-day the West is disillusioned over the sterile art of its post-Renaissance period and is at last aware that the Greek achievement, for all its perfection of forms was limited to a very narrow field for the artist; that the larger body of profound and masterly art is of China and Persia and in only a lesser way of India and Japan."

Some such assessment of this pseudo-Greek spirit, which the academies had nurtured, had become desirable. The Victorians, who really knew little about Greek art, or indeed any sort of art, were responsible for the Western ignorance and indifference in regard to Indian art, and it took the united efforts of pioneers

like E. B. Havell and Abanindranath Tagore to overthrow their pseudo-Greek prejudices.

If the academic Greek outlook has been largely eliminated nevertheless the authentic Greek spirit with its cult of beauty and humanity is needed more than ever in the Western art-world of to-day. But with all the violent changes that have recently overtaken Europe it is no easy thing to drink once again from the Castalian fountain. And yet despite all the indifference of this century there have been those who have maintained this Greek cult pure and undefiled. First and foremost of these there is Mario Meunier the well known French hellenist who has devoted his life to giving a modern interpretation of the Greek genius. His recent book *In the footsteps of Gods and heroes* casts fresh light on the significance of Greek art for the world of to-day. Not only has he translated the great poetry of Hellas into attic French, but by constantly residing in Greece itself he has come to understand how near is the nature of this country to the spirit of its former art.

"The land of Greece is inseparable from its gods, from the gods who moulded it to such perfection that it came to educate and civilize the whole of the Western world. Greece has taught us what is most probably the rarest of all the arts, that of perceiving the beauty of the world and of finding oneself everywhere in the presence of the gods. In the Greek climate every dawn is holy, every day is sacred, every night reveals the mystery of the infinite." The series of color plates that accompany the text convey, better than anything else, the silvery serene atmosphere of Greece, which was at the origin of its translucid spirit, its luminous art. "The appearance of the gods" he tells us "in the etherial vault of the Greek sky showed the way to the temple of serenity. Born from the luminous air of Greece such serenity took on

the azure aspect of sea and sky "This silver white light bathing the marble columns on a background of turquoise green recalls the Hindu conception of 'Ruci' where the inner 'glow of beauty' corresponds to the outer glow. With the Greeks, as Mario Meunier says "Man and god interpenetrate and live one by the other; man becoming greater in proportion as he feels himself to be divine, while the god took on visibility in becoming human."

Those precious elements that went to make the Greek spirit what it was, which built its architecture and shaped its art, the quality of harmony, humanity, beauty, measure and perfection together with a living sense of the divinity. We cannot go back now and reconstruct all this, as it once was, since history never repeats itself, not even that of the Esquimaux.

But we can still get stimulation from the clear Hellenic atmosphere, from the marble temples and the great poetic texts that have come down to us and where we shall find those very things needed to counteract much of the discord and chaos of the moment.

(Continued from page 19)
naculars, might not be cut off from the contact of modern ideas.

India has been known for centuries as the land of charities and philanthropy. But so far philanthropic benefactions have been mainly confined to religious institutions. In foreign countries, especially the U.S.A., the libraries have been established on the funds and gifts given by philanthropists. We have several wealthy philanthropists in the country who should take the cue from their foreign counterparts. The Government, public bodies like the municipalities and district boards, should also spend freely on establishing public libraries if they desire the country to advance speedily and take its place by the side of the more progressive countries of the West.

TOURIST OF TOMORROW: EXCITING PROSPECT

By T. W. BENNET

WHAT is it that has made the world so travel-hungry since the war? A generally improved standard of living? The great technical advances in the field of passenger transport? The war itself, which, although it closed the world's frontiers, stimulated a global outlook and which, of course, sent millions of serving men and women across the seas and gave them an appetite for travel which they are now satisfying in happier times?

The answer is to be found, perhaps, in a combination of all these things, but, no matter what the reason, there is no doubt that the people of the world are travelling the world as never before in history.

Most of the established tourist countries have reported a progressive increase in the number of oversea visitors for every post-war year. And a growing number of countries that previously paid scant regard to the value of tourism now see this great travel urge as a source of foreign currency which is as vital to the national economy as traditional exports.

Foremost among the "new" tourist countries is Britain. It is true that Britain has always attracted a quite considerable number of visitors from overseas, but it is only since the war that there has been "conscious" effort on a substantial scale to "project" the country as a tourist centre. Now it can be said that the world-wide "Come to Britain" campaign is setting the pace in European tourist promotion.

The organisation responsible for the campaign, with the financial backing of the Government and of

the various sections of the travel industry itself, is the British Travel and Holidays Association.

The British Travel and Holidays Association is a founder member of the International Union of Official Travel Organisations, and plays a leading part in the Union's activities. This fact in itself is evidence of the serious attention that Britain is now paying to the tourist trade. Tourism has become one of the country's most important "export" industries, ranking seventh in the list of primary physical exports to the world as a whole.

Vast market for travel

Even more striking is the fact that the tourist industry is now Britain's number one American dollar earner. From visitors from the United States, Britain earns more dollars net (if fare payments to British carriers are included) than she does from the sale to America of any one of her traditional exports—Scotch whisky, motor cars, china, textiles, and so on.

This year, Britain hopes to attract approximately a million visitors from overseas and to earn from them substantially more than £140,000,000. These figures compare with 400,000 visitors and earnings of £33,000,000 in 1947, and illustrate the remarkable rate of progress since the war. Nor has the limit of expansion yet been reached. Improved economic circumstances have brought travel within the reach of the many rather than the few, and there is a vast market for travel as yet virtually untouched among the modest income groups. This is particularly true of America. A recent analysis of 452,000 applications for passports to the American

Passport Office shows that 70,000 were for housewives, 35,000 for clerks and secretaries, 31,000 for skilled labourers, and no less than 23,000 for unskilled labourers.

Not unnaturally, in view of the vital need for dollars, most European countries have concentrated their tourist promotion effort on the United States since the war, and American tourist dollars have been a significant factor in Europe's economic recovery. Britain, however, has not neglected other markets, and the "Come to Britain" invitation, through the medium of advertisements, literature, posters, films, Press and radio publicity, is translated into all the major languages. As a result, there has been a substantial increase in the number of visitors of all nationalities.

The most outstanding development has been the big increase in traffic from Germany, and now that Austria is free from occupation, Britain hopes to welcome more visitors from that country also.

With the great improvement in international relations, there is now the exciting possibility that the Iron Curtain might be torn aside to allow a two-way flow of tourist traffic between Eastern Europe and the West. The world may yet see come true the fond hope expressed by the late Ernest Bevin when he was Britain's Foreign Secretary: he looked to the day, he said, when he could stroll into London's Victoria Station and take a ticket for any part of the world without formality or fuss. The translation of this dream into reality is the International Union's fundamental aim.

Asian Possibilities

The choice of Delhi as a meeting place for this year's Assembly of the International Union of Official Travel Organisations is a pointer to the fact that Asia also is alive to the potential value of the tourist industry. As the travel habit gains in momentum,

and as transport facilities become cheaper and quicker with the technical developments that are surely to come, the more enterprising tourists will travel further and further afield. For the Asian countries, so rich in the "raw materials" of tourism, there are immense possibilities in this connection.

There is great scope, in particular, for the development of travel between the countries of the Commonwealth. Britain already attracts rather more than 200,000 visitors annually from Commonwealth countries—including approximately 9,500 from India, 4,000 from Pakistan and more than 1,000 from Ceylon.

There is no doubt that, in spite of the great distances involved, these figures can be considerably increased with a continuing development of the means of travel. Nor will the traffic be all one-way. The "ordinary" people of Britain are already showing signs of a more "adventurous" approach to holiday travel which might well find its expression in a growing interest in sister countries of the Commonwealth about which, it has to be admitted, many of them are at present woefully ignorant.

Social and Cultural Significance

The tourist of tomorrow, indeed, will have the whole world at his doorstep—and only the cynical will doubt that a closer and more sympathetic understanding between the peoples of the world will result.

Too much emphasis, perhaps, has been placed on tourism's economic value and too little on the social and cultural significance of the great interchange of peoples that is now taking place. It is the tourist industry's particular virtue that it earns for a country not only hard cash, but, if adequate provision is made for the visitors' welfare, a priceless fund of goodwill. Tourism is, in fact, the perfect vehicle for the modern "science" of public relations, in the best sense, on a world-wide scale.

DECLINE IN TEACHING STANDARDS

By "SEARCHLIGHT"

IT is admitted that there has been a gradual deterioration in the standard of present-day education. Our educational experts propose to meet this deterioration by extending the present period of secondary education by one year for entrance to higher courses of study.

According to educated parents who have been closely following the course of instruction now being imparted in schools and colleges, the primary cause of deterioration is the replacement of the old rigid Matriculation, F.A., and B.A. degree examinations by the present S.S.L.C., Intermediate and B.Sc. degree examinations with a lower percentage of marks for securing pass, followed by the system of further marks' moderation with a view to enabling the less intellectual and backward classes to rank equally with the more intellectual and forward ones. That the deterioration cannot be due to any shortage of period of elementary or secondary education will be evident from the fact that the products of the former system of education for a lesser period of only nine years proved equal to the standard. The remedy suggested by educational experts does not therefore appear to be a proper one. The proper remedy will be to make the entrance examination for Arts and other higher courses more rigid by fixing the minimum percentage of marks required for a pass at 50% in all subjects, thus shutting out mediocres from pursuing studies which they cannot profit by or from entering professions the duties of which they cannot efficiently discharge.

The other contributory causes of deterioration are due to defects in the present system of education,

which are specified below with suggestions to remedy them:—

(a) *Overloaded Curriculum:* Subjects prescribed for study, particularly in the elementary stage, are too many and difficult for infant boys and girls to follow, as will be seen from the load of books and notebooks they carry. They further involve daily school attendance for 5 hours, to the detriment of health and growth. As the object of primary education is only to provide a working knowledge of the 3 R's, 3 hours' schooling under the shift system for 5 years must quite suffice in the elementary stage, particularly in rural areas, as recommended by Rajaji, so that young boys and girls may stay at home during the remaining hours to have the necessary rest and be of help to their parents, which they badly need in various ways, and thus keep themselves in touch with home life and a hereditary profession which they may be obliged to follow later on in the event of their failing to get anything better.

Similarly, subjects for study for secondary education must be lightened by limiting them to absolutely necessary and useful things which will enable one to eke out a livelihood on completion of secondary education.

(b) *Text books:* The language of text books is generally far above the standard. This is generally due to the books being published by enterprising and profiteering book publishers who get them prepared by hired educational experts not in touch with the standard and who manage to get them approved by the Text Book Committee and introduced in schools. These text books

generally happen to be compilations of extracts of poems and prose of different authors ranging from Goldsmith to Byron, Tennyson, Rabindranath Tagore, etc., which are too difficult even for teachers to understand. This defect may be rectified by the universities themselves undertaking the publication of textbooks by getting them prepared by a panel of experts in each subject, the books being so graded as to be progressive from class to class. The text books, which should be cheap enough, when once introduced, should not be changed for five years and should be the same for all schools at least in the same State, so that students who are obliged to change schools during a school year may not suffer.

(c) *Teachers:* The teachers themselves are generally not upto the mark. This is due to their being mostly the products of the present deteriorated standard of education, the better classes among them entering more attractive services. They no doubt have the necessary training for teaching but since they have to see that the students get through examinations successfully, which they manage to do by making them mug up all possible questions and answers in each subject, they cannot put the methods they learnt in actual practice. Instances are not wanting of boys and girls passing examinations without studying or being taught the lessons. This defect must be rectified by banning the publication of questions and answers, thus compelling teachers to prepare lessons according to accredited teaching methods and teach the students.

(d) *The medium:* The present day teachers having had their education through the English medium, they are unable to find suitable vernacular terms for words occurring in text books in English, much less for technical terms occurring in them, with the result that lessons are not learnt in the manner they should. There

are no doubt some text books brought out in the vernacular but, prepared as they are by experts, the language used is generally too difficult and uncommon even for teachers to understand. The proper course to be adopted under the present circumstances is to continue the English medium until suitable and easily understandable vernacular equivalents are found for all English terms and a dictionary compiled, and to teach all English lessons in English with explanations in colloquial vernacular as teachers of old did.

(e) *Want of love for the profession:* Teachers, as a class, are generally sullen and discontented, not because of disparity in pay and prospects which have now been considerably improved, but because of their feeling that some of their brethren in other walks of life are in better and more influential positions and in receipt of more incomes. But there can be no reason for this, if only they should compare their care-free, sedentary and fixed hours of work, the spare hours, holidays and other advantages they enjoy, the scope for supplementing their income, etc., with the cares, worries, anxieties, etc., of their brethren in other walks of life with no fixed hours of work, with liability to frequent transfers from place to place, the risks and dangers and other inconveniences they have to face as executive officers, etc. Our teachers and others who agitate for equal pay and equal work will do well to note that pay does not depend merely upon the authorised hours of work, but upon various other factors such as those specified above.

It is hoped that these suggestions will receive due attention of the authorities in charge of education and immediate steps will be taken to arrest the deterioration of the standard of education, on which depends the efficiency of services and the prosperity of the country.

Short Story

By V. K. Subramanian.

INDIRA

Did Indira feel glad that her sister
had come?

"INDU! Indu!", the call came from the kitchen. It was her mother's call. Indira waved her head, pouted her lips and continued talking to the doll. She was just telling the doll how she should get dressed up and behave, when she should be going to school three weeks later.

"You know that?" she asked, shaking it until some of the cotton inside its padded hand came out. "You mustn't dirty the place with this and that. Now go to sleep."

Indira put the doll away in a corner, covered it with the violet balsam flowers and crooned a lullaby.

"Indu! Indu!" mother was calling again.

"What is it, mother?" she replied, sitting beside the doll.

"Come here, naughty girl! Don't you know that your sister is coming tomorrow."

Indira ran impatiently to the kitchen. "Have I an elder sister, mother? What is her name?"

"Arre! silly girl, you have forgotten your Leela?"

"Leela! I have a sister called Leela! That is grand, Mother! Only yesterday, I was envying our next door Chandu for having so many sisters to talk to, play with and go out. Now I too have a sister, to talk to, play with and go out!" Her little face grew pink with excitement and her legs began to move rhythmically on the floor. She ran off to her doll crying "My sister Leela is coming! My sister Leela is coming!"

She went with her father to the railway station. She had insisted on putting her green silk frock on, to

catch her sister's eye. Wouldn't she go mad over her, if she saw her at her best, especially with her hair tied into a knot, hermit like? This sister of hers would fuss over her and what a nice time she would have! she would go with her sister to the temple and the neighbouring park, while her friends Chandu and Gopi would watch her with envious eyes and whisper to each other "Indira is going with her sister!"

Oh! God! why was the train not coming earlier? The waiting seemed interminably long to Indira, until at last she noticed all the people on the platform rushing to its edge and the train slowly steamed in.

Her father led her hastily towards one side, shouting "There she is!"

A tall fair lady in a blue silk saree got down from a carriage, holding in her arms a small boy dressed in a flowing red shirt.

"This is your sister Leela and that is your nephew Raju," father told her.

Back at home, Indira found father and mother fussing about Leela and Raju.

"This train journey must have been highly tiring. See how thin the poor girl has become!" Mother said, as she brought a cup of coffee to Leela. Father picked up Raju in his arms and told mother "See how nice your grandson looks. He is exactly like you," while mother retorted "Don't lie to me. He is his grandfather's grandson!"

Her sister Leela was running here and there shouting "Where is my towel? Where is my soapbox? Oh!

I forgot to bring my hair oil! Or has it been misplaced? . . ." and so on.

Indira expected her sister to come near her and utter sweet words of love and praise and admiration. But Leela only smiled at her from a distance. Indira felt strangely uneasy.

Everybody sat down on the floor to take food. Usually Indira had her food served in her plate. But that day she expected a nice new plantain leaf in honour of her sister's arrival. There was, however, only the same old plate before her. She sent a stealing glance at Leela and little Raju. Both were having nice new plantain leaves before them. Indira could not understand this partiality on her mother's part. When her mother came to serve the food, she said in a whisper "Mother! I want a plantain leaf." But mother flew into a temper and cried "You want a leaf, do you? What is wrong with your plate? That is enough."

Indira's face flushed with anger, shame and remorse. She put down her head, about to cry.

Whenever mother chided her, her father would take her side, but now he too kept silent.

Slowly a wave of resentment rose in Indira's mind against the newcomers—Leela and Raju.

They were to go to the temple.

When mother said "Indu! go with your sister to the temple," Indira grew happy. She danced and said "I shall wear my green silk frock and go to the temple!"

But mother objected "why do you want to spoil that dress today? It is enough if you wear that printed cotton dress."

Again mother was overriding her wishes. Indira too had her temper. "If I don't wear the green silk frock, I don't go to the temple," she said firmly. She expected mother to placate her with sweet words of reasona-

bleness. But mother said gruffly "You need not go! Girls should not become obstinate like that. It is all due to your father's pampering."

Her sister had dressed herself up in a nice saree with a golden border, and little Raju was wearing a silk dhotie with a rubber belt over it. Why couldn't she also dress well, she asked herself.

Even at the last moment, she hoped that mother would agree to her demand. But she hoped in vain. Mother herself accompanied Leela to the temple, leaving her lonely at home, where father alone did his *puja*, chanting hymns sonorously.

Indira forgot all her distress, when mother told her "Indu! Look after Raju for sometime. Make him play and keep company with him." After all, she was superior in age to Raju and mother had recognised the position.

She led Raju in due decorum to her study room and placed him on her chair. She went out, plucked some balsam flowers and green Tulsi leaves and placed them on the table. She knelt on the floor and caressed Raju's cheeks saying "My dear Raju is a good boy. He is a very good boy." The little fellow smiled at this and Indira's joy knew no bounds.

She wanted to take him on her hip and walk about, as her mother did. Slowly she tried to lift Raju from the chair. But due to her hurried effort, the chair toppled down and Raju fell to the floor. Instantaneously he started crying in his shrill voice. Everybody ran up to his side. Soon he was comforted with chocolates and biscuits.

Mother cast a burning glance at Indira, pulled her to the kitchen and pinched her cheeks, saying "Is that how you look after the child?"

Indira did not try to explain. She raised the tip of her frock to her eyes and sobbed.

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Indira used to sleep near her mother. Only if mother came and told her the story of Prince Dhruva would she doze off to sleep.

But now that Leela and Raju had come, mother had no time to tell stories, and to make things worse, mother sat beside Raju until he slept and then only would she come and lie down beside her. By then Indira would have slept.

On the sixth night after her sister's arrival, mother said "Let Raju sleep beside me today. The poor child would be going away in a day or two."

Indira did not like the idea. She did not want other children to steal mother's affection from her. However she kept mum. But when mother put Raju on her bed near her, caressed him and sang a sweet lullaby while she lay on the other side neglected, Indira could contain herself no longer. She bit the pillow and cried.

Though mother noticed that she was crying, she did not console her. She only said "What is wrong with you? Are you mad?"

How could mother know Indira's heartache!

The day of Leela's departure came. Everybody went to the railway station to send her off. Mother could not suppress her tears. Even father's eyes were full of unexpressed sorrow.

Sister Leela said, "I shall come again!" while little Raju raised his hand and waved a "Ta-Ta." The train steamed away.

Back at home, which was somewhat lonely, Indira sat before the doll. Did she feel glad that her sister had come? Was she sorry that she had gone away? She did not know. But that night she felt a strange thrill, when mother sang to her in sweet tones, the story of Prince Dhruva.

New Books

THE GENIUS AND THE GODDESS. BY ALDOUS HUXLEY. Chatto and Windus, London. 7s 6d.

THE Education of John Rivers would be a duller, but perhaps a more accurate title to what is between the covers of Mr. Huxley's latest. For when John Rivers knocks at the door of Dr. Henry Maartens, he is still 'the unmitigated product of a deplorable upbringing,' he is badly in need of education. His father, a Lutheran minister, had died when the boy was twelve years old, and he had been since then a widowed mother's only consolation.

Yes, her only consolation, in spite of the fact that she regarded herself as a devout Christian. Little Johnny took first, second and third place; God was just an Also Ran. And of course the only consolation had no choice but to become the model son, the star pupil, the indefatigable scholarship winner, sweating his way through college . . . with no spare time for anything more subtle than football . . . more enlightening than the Reverend Wigman's weekly sermon.

His mother had told him that the most wonderful wedding present a man could bring his bride was his virginity, and though he was as handsome as a Greek god, John Rivers had kept the girls at bay throughout most of his youth, so that, as his mother wanted and prayed for, he had at twenty-eight still that wedding present for his hypothetical bride. His mother had it all cut out for him:

An instructorship in my old university, then an assistant professorship, then a professorship. There would never be any need for me to leave home. And when I was around forty, she'd arrange a marriage for me with some wonderful Lutheran girl who would love her like her own mother. But for the

grace of God, there went John Rivers—down the drain.

But, thank God, the grace of God was forthcoming. It came, after he had taken his Ph.D., from Henry Maartens, the physics genius. Mrs. Rivers prayed in agony, there would be no wonderful Lutheran girl in the workshops of mad geniuses, but to her eternal credit, God told her to let little Johnny go. And there he was, knocking at the door of one particular mad genius.

The entry of Rivers into the Maartenses' household is one of the most glittering things in the book. There is a boy playing with clockwork trains on the floor, a girl of 14 writing lousy verses, a white-haired man (the Doctor) apparently in the last agonies of death, and Mrs. Maartens—later Katy, the goddess—holding William James's *Pluralistic Universe* in one hand and calmly reading, while, with the other hand, she soothed the forehead of her dying husband.

Katy was the second wife of the genius. His first wife had divorced him after finding that she just was not strong enough to play the parts her husband assigned to her, (a) mistress to an indefatigable lover who kept an illustrated copy of the pornographic *Miss Floggy's Finishing School* in his safe; (b) business manager to an absentee half-wit; (c) secretary to a man of genius who never remembered an appointment; and not the least easy of all, (d) womb, placenta and circulatory system to the psychological equivalent of a fetus. Katy was strong enough to play all these roles and still have something left over, she was not a bad mother, and was personal physi-

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cian to her husband. She was also the most beautiful woman Rivers had ever seen. Her husband was the genius, she was the goddess. Rivers respected, worked with and learnt from the genius; he fell in love with the goddess.

Being uneducated—that is, not having had the experience of Experience breaking up the crusts formed by convention and the veils of words—Rivers had kept his ideas of sex into two mutually inimical compartments. Sex was sublime and loathsome—it was either white or black. If you were a good boy, you loved as Dante loved Beatrice or Petrarch, Laura. But there were others in the world who lived in Chinatown or Montmartre and the French Quarter. There was no possible connection between the two: one was heaven-high, the other hell-deep. Rivers, indeed, had no idea of what went on between husbands and wives; he had thought that decent people didn't make love except to have children; he had thought that only adultery was disgusting and horrible; but finds out from Dr. Maartens himself that 'the horrors' are as much part of marriage as of adultery.

The Genius and the Goddess has to be called a novel with some hesitation; no character develops or changes except Rivers himself; those about him are static, already as fully evolved as their natures permit, notwithstanding Ruth's progress from Edgar Allen Poe to Swinburne! The story, told by Rivers in a 'little orgy of reminiscence', is uni-faceted, is gathered round a single experience, in spite of the many tasty diversionary morsels that Huxley attaches to it. Everywhere is, as we expect, Huxley's brilliance; in the new words very likely added to our vocabulary like *debellishment*, *otherer*, *mucospiritual*, *mastonoetic*! in the observations with which the narrative is studded:

The chimes (of a clock) were a man-made insult added to a cosmic injury.

M. P. BHASKARAN

The criterion of reality is its intrinsic irrelevance.

I'd rather entrust my daughters to Casanova than my secrets to a novelist.

While there is death, there is hope.

This is a Christian country and it's the Saviour's birthday. Practically everybody you see will be drunk.

There can never be a science of history—because you can never test the truth of any of your hypotheses.

That's our ironic fate—to have Shakespearean feelings and . . . to talk about them like automobile salesmen, or teen-agers or college professors.

So, as usual, Mr. Huxley is appallingly up-to-date. All over the place. Yet, perhaps, not in the central crisis of his book. Our problem, after the 'Flapper Decade' was discredited, is to have the honesty and the courage for selective sexual experience, for, though it is no more true that sex is sin than that the Ganges is a gutter, yet the experience of sex has wide and deep repercussions, and what is more, holds within it infinite promises. Charles Morgan faces the post-flapper situation in *The Flashing Stream*, and therefore *The Genius and the Goddess*, though a more recent book, is dated as the study of a man whose kind must be rapidly disappearing in enlightened families in which mothers have dismissed prudery as either hypocrisy or ignorance.

Mr. Huxley examines extraordinarily interesting specimens, and the examination is so incisive, so luminous, that we do not put down the book till the clinical lecture is over. But the characters are specimens; they are not very warm, and breathe, if at all, under anaesthesia; even the ecstatic responses of the goddess to the Greek god are described, not communicated; we are told of their transports, but do not feel them. But this, against Mr. Huxley, is an old complaint.

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SHAKESPEARE: (Writers & Their Work: No. 58) By C. J. Sisson. *Longmans, Green and Co.*, 2 s. Net.

THIS enlightening pamphlet is a review of Shakespearean criticism through the ages. Mr. Sisson examines the outstanding tendency in each century's reaction to the dramatist, and shows how perpetually changing attitudes have resulted in the lack of a proper perspective. Every man's criticism of Shakespeare is conditioned to such an extent by his own prejudices, inhibitions and general background, that the very best we can hope for is an occasional glimpse of some particular facet of the poet's personality.

Apart from this, the author notes another tendency to be found among Shakespearean critics. Although many of them have dealt with Shakespeare in relation to his surroundings, not one has tried to put himself in those surroundings and to see the dramatist as an Elizabethan would have seen him.

Considering that Mr. Sisson is an eminent scholar himself, it is to be regretted that he offers no original criticism on the subject. Except for

a few brilliant comments on the opinions of other critics, he confines himself to a brief analysis of other people's ideas.

Mr. Sisson's book is more a guide to the scholar or to the student, than a source of information to the layman. There are occasional references to critical theories, etc., about which the man in the street is not likely to know much. The author takes so much for granted, that a stranger to Shakespearean criticism might well feel lost in this strange territory.

For a work of this nature, Mr. Sisson's tone is remarkably light. In spite of the sustained clearness and force, there is no trace of any scholarly gravity about it. The author's style is correspondingly simple. The sentences are invariably short and to the point; when they are not, the sequence of subordinate clauses appears rather laboured and confusing.

Yet, in its totality, this little book (which also includes a select Shakespeare bibliography) is useful in content and not unappealing in manner.

E. R. JAYPAL

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FILMS

By V. P. SATHE

NOW that the report of the States Reorganisation Committee has been published, and is being discussed, it would not be out of place to suggest that it is high time the territorial division of the country for the exploitation of motion pictures was also revised. The present territorial demarcation in the film trade is not only out of date but rather strange and surprising. True, there is no linguistic consideration involved in the formation of territorial units for the film trade. But the considerations of transport facilities and economic units demand a thorough revision of the old conception of territories.

In film parlance the Bombay circuit includes Aden but not Bhusawal, Jalgaon and parts of Khandesh districts which form an integral part of Bombay State. Similarly the Bengal circuit includes Assam, Bihar and even Burma and East Pakistan. Equally wrong is the odd combination of Madhya Pradesh, Madhya Bharat and Rajasthan into one territory often operated from Bhusawal as the head office. Then, it is difficult to comprehend the inclusion of Ceylon in the territory known as South India. With the impending change in the administrative and economic design of the newly formed States would it not be proper for the film trade to revise the map of film-India and define the territories afresh so as to ensure better and wider exploitation of films?

Apart from the home market, the overseas territory also needs to be specifically defined. There was a time when a picture was sold for overseas which meant all the coun-

tries outside India including Pakistan—but excluding Burma and Ceylon which continued to be included in the Indian market. Of late, the overseas rights are confined to Africa, Malaya, Indonesia and the Far East, with the Middle East being still the disputed territory. There is a lot of confusion and dispute about the ever expanding overseas market.

Hence, in the interest of the film trade this whole problem of territorial allocation of rights ought to be re-examined by a proper committee who would study the problem of correct exploitation and recommend a correct division of territories to the film trade. This is an opportune time for such a move. It is hoped that the Film Federation, the Guild and other associations would take the initiative.

In the meanwhile, the film industry is fervently hoping that there will be no violent demonstration against the recommendations of the State Enquiry Commission and it is pinning its faith on the appeals issued by all political leaders for restraint and peace. For, in case there is any disturbance, the film industry would be the first to suffer the loss. As it is, the floods in various parts of the country and untimely rains have had a disastrous effect on the box office. In East Punjab, for instance, at several centres the theatres had to abandon shows during the floods. That is the reason for the fervent hope of continued peace and stability in the country as that ensures prosperity.

Picture of the week

In these days when some people have become so touchy about crime and sex in films, would it be right to portray the convicts as angels? This question has been raised by the Hollywood film *We Are No Angels* now on exhibition in India.

Shri Baburao Patel of *Filmindia* has rebuked the Censors for giving 'U' Certificate for this film which in

his opinion is a picture which whitewashes crime with wit; portrays murder with humour, glamorizes evil with comicality and makes violation of the law, look a pleasant thing.

Having seen the picture myself, I think that Shri Baburao has exaggerated the effect of the film.

To me, the film appeared to convey a different meaning. The story is of three convicts who escape from prison and are planning to leave Devil's Island and are in need of money. And they visit a general store with the express purpose of robbing it by killing its owner if necessary. But the genial and innocent owner, his wife and daughter bring the essential good human Christian spirit out of them and instead of killing or robbing the family, the convicts help it to celebrate a merry Christmas and later try to save them from the financier-cousin and his son who arrive late at night to check up the accounts. The forger uses his talent at forgery to correct the accounts, so does the safe-breaker. While the murderer who carries a snake with him as a pet also helps by conveniently forgetting the snake-box in the cousin's room. The snake kills the cousin and his son very very conveniently.

But for this 'killing' and the manner in which the murders are discussed, I could find nothing objectionable in the film which tells how convicts are also human and can act for the good of others. So much so that in the end instead of trying to escape they return to the jail to serve their sentence. The picture, far from trying to glorify criminals, shows that under certain circumstances even criminals can behave like good human beings. And that is quite a rational attitude; otherwise no criminal has a chance to reform. So, far from blaming the Censors for not banning the film, I would commend their sane decision and express the hope that in future such pictures are not tabooed.

Personality of the week

Among the exponents of the Kathak style of dance, the two persons who deserve special mention are Sitara and her nephew Gopi Krishna. Sitara has only recently been abroad and given a very fine demonstration of Kathak dancing. Gopi Krishna has also been in the limelight on the amateur stage for a number of years.

I still recall the applause he received at Central Studios at a function arranged by Anil Biswas in honour of foreign film delegates a few years ago. The foreign artistes were amazed at his footwork and expression.

Gopi belongs to a family of the best exponents of Kathak dances and which includes such authorities as Lacche Maharaj and Shambhu Maharaj. His aunts and mother have been also expert Kathak dancers; and since childhood, he has been imbibing the art and he has today no equal in grace, technique and rhythm.

Jhanak Jhanak is not his first film appearance. He has given dances for a number of films including *Parineeta* and *Chingari*; but *Jhanak Jhanak* is the first picture in which he plays a major role and in which he gets his first great opportunity to reveal his art not only as a dancer, but as a composer and as a tutor of Sandhya whom he rehearsed for over two years to raise her from a novice to the exalted position of an accomplished dancer.

Under the inspired direction of Shantaram, Gopi's art blooms in all its glorious colours. Gopi Krishna has at last found the outlet for his talent. The hard work all these years has borne fruit. And today he richly deserves all the accolades showered on him. Even Sitara has not been that lucky nor Uday Shankar. Superb exponents, their art was never manifested on the screen in such a glorious manner as Gopi's art has been in *Jhanak Jhanak*, thanks to Shantaram.

PROFILE OF PADMINI

By C. H. V. PATHY

"YOU cannot meet her; she is out shooting."

This was the continuous reply by her press agent, Mr. Vallabhan, as I repeatedly called at her posh resi-



dence in Edward Elliott's Road to meet Srimati Padmini. The constant ringing of the telephone bell in the manager's room testified to the fact that the inmates of the house who included Padmini's two sisters, Lalitha and Ragini and their mother Srimati Saraswati Amma, were greatly in demand.

At long last, on a sun-kissed Sunday morning, I ran to earth the Venus of the South Indian screen who, within the short space of a decade—she is only 22 now—has created not only a record in film acting but has built up a legendary reputation as a top-ranking dancer. No wonder she has been voted as

the best actress in Tamil films for the current year.

Padmini is today the biggest box office attraction, not only because of her bewitching superlative beauty but because of the vivacity and realism with which she portrays any role assigned to her. Her adaptability is amazing. She could vamp like Marilyn Monroe, scintillate like Hedy Lamarr and sparkle like Dolores Del Rio. If fate had cast her lot in the more expansive atmosphere of Hollywood, she would have been rated high and be rubbing shoulders with Ingrid Bergman, Rita Rayworth and Ava Gardner. Even as it is, her technicolour image stares seductively from magazine cover pages and bill boards all along the State. Advertisers too have taken advantage of her glamour and we see them exploiting her face and form to popularize a particular brand of mouth organ or push up the sale of a selected soap.

The prime instrument which has served this alluring star from Travancore in attaining what may be called universal hegemony is of course the camera, which in the hands of experts, has made her accessible to everyone with the price of a magazine in his pocket.

Padmini hails from a middle class family in T. C. State and had her schooling up to fourth form. Even as a kid she took to dancing, being one of the earliest disciples of the talented maestro Gopinath. In 1942, when along with her mother and sisters Padmini strayed into Madras city, her advent went almost unnoticed. Her prime asset was the fact that she was blessed with beauty. She has a remarkably photogenic face. It was Mr. Maniam Natesan's early encouragement which made

both Lalitha and Padmini to forge ahead. Later, a chance meeting with Uday Shankar at Bombay was destined to be a turning point in Padmini's life. While she was staying with her maternal uncle who is an officer in the Royal Indian Navy, she did a dance piece which evoked the admiration of Uday Shankar who gave her the first break in the film *Kalpana*. Since then, she has travelled to stardom at a dizzy pace. For the last twelve years, from hundreds of halls, thousands of people have watched with admiration, the undulating movements of her swaying hips, her fluttering hands, her cheery face, with its dark eyes, registering the whole gamut of emotions. They have seen her on the screen too, her lovely limbs encased in everything from gorgeous sarees to flowing sherwanis.

She is as fresh and attractive today as when she danced before the Editors in the Gemini Studio in 1946. Her lithe lean frame can turn and twist to the rhythm of salacious tango with the same ease and felicity as her flying feet can attune to the exotic steps of Bharat Natyam. She takes her art seriously and has the reputation of being one of the hardest workers in the industry. She sometime works as many as 18 hours a day on the sets.

In her spare moments which are few and far between, she plays on veena, tends her garden, collects film magazines, goes to pictures, signs autographs and reacts blushing to the most vociferous manifestations of her fans' devotion. Not many actresses down south have the authority which can command the stage and the celluloid kingdom as Padmini. She is equally at home in both the worlds, amid the majestic artifice which is the theatre and before the cine camera's inquisitive stare.

In private life, Padmini is the pet of the family. She is deeply attached to her mother and her two sisters.

She wears the easy manners of people with distinguished aesthetic tastes and the ability to gratify them. Her only luxury is sleep, and she sleeps like a child after a heavy spell of shooting.

What makes Padmini different from other stars is the fact that with all the enormous absorption in her art, either on the stage or the screen, she is free from tyrannous subjection to the medium she works in. In other words, she is essentially human, and her dancing and acting have not conquered her other instincts. I have not the slightest doubt that if she had taken to the piano or to painting, she would have achieved equal renown.

On the dance floor, Padmini is the charmer who has caused a million heart beats. Her variety is amazing. She is equally at home in the role of forlorn fisherman as in that of Sri Krishna. At moments when the fierce glare of the arc lights plays upon her face, she looks like an Ajanta fresco come to life.

When asked about her favourite star, she replied "Ingrid Bergman." Padmini has no intention of quitting the cinema world. Her ambition is to act in a film produced in Hollywood.

What has been the most exciting moment in your life, I asked. She narrated with gusto the stampede at the S.I.A.A. grounds when she along with her sisters was giving a dance performance.

Padmini in her fervent absorption in art has not shed her awareness of world problems. She reads newspapers regularly.

Her proudest moment she told me was when Pandit Nehru patted her on the back and wished her the best of luck, at the end of a performance for the troops in Madras. When I left her drawing room, I cast a longing lingering look at a picture which adorns its walls where Padmini is in the delightful company of the Prime Minister.

SOME SOLECISMS AND CLICHES

By HOSAIN ALIKHAN

THE Fourth Estate—to begin with a cliché—is responsible for a great deal of the slipshod writing that we come across these days. Some bright young journalist initiates the use of a word or phrase and sets the fashion, and the undiscerning public, who are mentally indolent and haven't the inclination or capacity to think one out for themselves, follow like sheep in imitating him. The blind use of such words or phrases without ascertaining their meaning is in some cases due to inadequate education. It is also to some extent due to a pathetic faith in the printed word.

The journalist has some excuse perhaps for hasty writing, because he is so rushed for time, with the office boy breathing down his neck for his "copy", that he hasn't the leisure to ascertain the correct meaning of every word that he uses, or the significance or correctness of each phrase that flows so glibly from his facile pen. *Currente calamo* is unfortunately his motto. He has neither the time nor perhaps the inclination to follow Ruskin's counsel of perfection: "You must get into the habit of looking intensely at words, and assuring yourself of their meaning, syllable by syllable—nay, letter by letter."

The journalist's enviable facility leads him sometimes into ludicrous errors, and his innate cocksureness prevents him from avoiding these pit-falls. He can dash off an article on parthenogenesis or contraception as easily and readily as one on the theory of relativity, but they are as ephemeral as a drop of morning dew. As Ruskin pungently puts it, "The newspaper may be entirely

proper at breakfast time, but assuredly it is not reading for all day."

In journalese, at a garden party or at-home, the band is always said to be "discoursing sweet music;" the chief guest at these formal and rather dismal functions is always "moving freely among the other guests." Why on earth he shouldn't do so passes all understanding. Then always "avenues are explored" and "wiser counsels prevail."

The Round Table Conferences in London (in 1930-32) gave us two clichés, one from art jargon and the other from business; the skeleton of a proposed plan required details "to fill in the picture;" and alternately Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah were said to be the only persons who could "deliver the goods." The former phrase has fortunately died an unlamented death, the latter, sad to say, still persists.

Cricket gives us a few clichés: a catch missed is said to be "not accepted"; the batsman hitting a sixer is said to "hit the ball for the maximum." A bowler's skill is described as his "prowess with the leather."

"Alma Mater" died with Ruskin in England, but in India this and "the Bard of Avon" are still fashionable, especially with undergraduates and half-baked graduates who still are adherents of what is called "fine writing."

Some colloquialisms and Americanisms have come into current fashion via the press; for instance, the loose use of "devastating" (as colloquial as "terribly nice") in the following sentence taken from an Indian weekly of wide circulation:—"Somerset Maugham in the picture of Kipling's India, which he

sketches in his new book, *A Choice of Kipling's Prose* is devastating."

A good many Americanisms—both colloquialisms and slang—have invaded journalism in this country. Describing a recent football match between the universities of Osmania and Bombay, a reporter of a news service, quite unnecessarily and with no idea of how ridiculous it sounds in the context, uses American slang in the sentence, "Osmania, who never won this tournament, were slightly the better outfit."

The word "alibi" in English has a purely legal sense, but it is an American colloquialism for "excuse", but there is no "alibi" for its use in the following sentence, which is taken from the editorial of a leading Indian daily: "Congress leaders still invoke Gandhiji's name and are not reluctant to use it as an alibi for their own incompetence and indifference."

Another Americanism that has come into general use since the last war and has been sadly overworked is "overall." It is as indiscriminately and incongruously employed as that omnipresent male maternity garment—the ugly bush shirt!

"Nostalgia" and its adjective have had their meaning inexcusably extended in modern English because of American "verbal aid." Talking of an author's urge to write, Elinor Mordaunt says, "He was driven by a nostalgia to create." English writers, too, have taken this word on loan from their trans-Atlantic cousins. Evelyn Waugh has the following: "It was a kind of nostalgia for the style of living which we rejected in practical affairs." Daphne du Maurier talks of "memory of what has been, nostalgia of the past." Even such a brilliant and careful writer as Philip Guedalla speaks of the nostalgic beauty of the Empress Eugénie.

Let us now look at some phrases that are wrongly used. There is the much misused "comity of nations."

An Indian leader of international fame, who is considered an adept at fashioning political formulas that are universally accepted, says, "We occupy a place of some importance. We are called upon now and then to play our part in the general comity of nations." Even Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, who has such great mastery over English, referring to the massacre of the Muslims in some districts of Hyderabad after the Police Action, in retaliation for the atrocities of the Razakars, said in a speech (at Osmania on 27 September 1952), "if we do injustice to our brethren, how can we raise our heads in the comity of nations?" Well-known English writers, too, are not innocent of this solecism. Somerset Maugham in his charming *Strictly Personal* speaks of patriotic Frenchmen who would "restore France once more to her rightful place in the comity of nations."

Now, "comity" means courtesy, good manners; and the phrase "comity of nations" means the recognition by nations of each other's laws and usages, but quite wrongly it is used in the sense of body, league, federation, association, etc.

The following two phrases that are misused by nine out of ten people who use them have a literary derivation. Speaking of Ho Chi Minh and the cavalier manner in which the French treated him in his youth and so made him inimical to them, a well-known editor of a widely circulated daily, says, "In a sense, the French created the Frankenstein who was ultimately to devour them." More recently General Douglas MacArthur, speaking at Los Angeles, declared that "modern war was a Frankenstein that would destroy both the sides." No one who has ever read Mary Shelley's macabre story or even glanced at its sub-title—*The Modern Prometheus*—could make the mistake of confounding Frankenstein, the

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scientist in the tale, with the monster he creates which ultimately destroys him.

The wrong use of the following phrase must surely make Shakespeare turn in his grave. "The lessons which Gandhiji preached and practised are more honoured in the breach than in (sic) the observance." The quotation is from the editorial of one of the leading dailies of India, and the misuse of the phrase makes the meaning of the writer very different from what he intends. It would be impossible for anyone who has read *Hamlet* with any intelligence to make this mistake. In the play, Hamlet and his friend Horatio, while talking together, hear a loud flourish of trumpets and the roar of cannon as the King

"drains his draughts of Rhenish," and Horatio asks his companion whether it is a custom in Elsinore to celebrate thus the carousals of a tippler, and Hamlet, deploring the prevailing drunkenness in the country, replies,

... it is a custom
More honoured in the breach than the observance.

meaning obviously that it is more honourable to break than observe such a custom, that it is better disregarded than maintained.

This and the Frankenstein monstrosity have become such boring clichés that it is high time they were given their quietus—another cliché, I am afraid!

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SPORTS

"A. B. C."

By N. S. RAMASWAMI

IT is a common error in sport to insist on efficiency. The basis of enjoyment is to be sought in many other qualities also. While it may be satisfying to the player to be highly regarded as a skilled exponent, it may be doubted whether he is much happier than his colleague who is thoroughly incompetent, but who brings all the enthusiasm of a mission to the task. In the ultimate analysis it is willingness and passionate interest that make or mar the happiness of the sportsman.

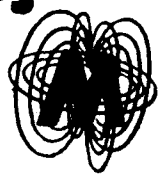
These reflections have often occurred to me as I watched the tall frame of "A.B.C." (for, to reveal his complete name, which is sonorous, would be a gross betrayal) take his place at the crease in some of our matches. The melancholy fact is that he is singularly, even astoundingly, lacking in gifts for any form of cricket. His batsmanship is an outrage, his bowling an infamy, and his fielding a dire infliction. In moments of austerity he is barely tolerated by his more gifted colleagues, who sometimes wonder in their hearts (for, they are nothing if not polite) why the hapless man should persist in attempting to play cricket in defiance of all laws of nature and civilisation.

"A.B.C." whom I have watched with admiration these many seasons, possesses only one stroke at the crease, but much physical labour is involved in its complicated execution. Such is the irony of life that it more often than not ends in his dismissal, a moment when all the woes of the world descend on him and when it

will be impossible in all the wide world to conceive of an unhappier man. I must be at some pains to describe the involutions of this performance. "A.B.C." is not one of those humble creatures who are unable to muster up enough courage to ask the umpire for the "block." Correctly enough, he insists on his prerogatives.

"A.B.C." arrives at the crease in majestic silence, the entire creation holding its breath. He receives the directions of the umpire in indescribable dignity; I have often thought that if Louis XIV had ever unbent so far as to play cricket he would not have been unlike "A.B.C." in many respects. He then resumes his gloves and looks around the field with meticulous accuracy. Stationing himself in the posture of a lion about to perform a truly regal jump on its victim, he awaits the arrival of the ridiculous ball. If he had been a Test batsman he could not have been more assured or disdainful.

A more startling transformation than that which occurs when the ball reaches him has not been observed on any cricket field. Instead of majesty and insouciance, "A.B.C." goes down on his knees like any common labourer and attempts to "heave" the ball towards mid-wicket. There is something touching and ennobling in the consistent faithfulness with which he offers this stroke to any kind of ball he meets. But, brutal truth to tell, the malicious ball either avoids his bat and strikes the wicket with a cruel noise or most unseasonably descends high into the air with catastrophic results. I have

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great hesitation in betraying this fact, but candour compels me to state that he has not scored ten runs in his life.

Little that is not heart-rending can be said about his bowling. There is a legend that he commenced his career as a fast bowler, but of this demoniac quality little survives now. When and if the ball reaches the batsman it is so melancholy and dispirited that it appears cruelty to offer a hard stroke to it.

It will be a kindness to draw a veil over his fielding, for the like of it was never seen on land, sea or air. The ball appears to take a delight in evading his hands and as he pursues it towards the boundary he has demonstrated that he is no Jesse Owens even at the age of forty-two. The climax, however, approaches when a catch is hit towards him as he seeks to hide himself modestly in an obscure corner of the ground. His preparations are fearful. While the ball is still aloft, he adjusts his spectacles, rolls up his sleeves and positions himself much as a gladiator would. The ball descends with violence into his capacious hands and then, horror to relate, it rolls out. It is then that the soul of the man is completely bowed down with woe. He droops and languishes till he appears to be sunk to the very ground. At such terrifying moments

it is difficult not to sympathise with him.

My purpose in recalling these details of his inefficiency is very far from to hold him up to ridicule, but to emphasise the marvellous fact that, despite his pains and tribulations, he still clings to cricket as passionate as before. The rude urchins may laugh at him; he may have become a byword among them. Nevertheless, he returns to every match with unbounded hope and a radiant confidence. I must confess that it is a very touching trait. There are moments when I believe him to be a greater player than the strutting batsman who scores centuries at will.

It is players such as "A.B.C." who form the fundamental basis of any game. Cricket cannot thrive on Huttons and Millers; it demands the patient and weary seeker, the enthusiastic incompetent. It may well be that it is they who obtain the utmost enjoyment from the game. When they score ten runs, it is as memorable to them as scoring a century. When they actually hold a catch, it seems to them that the laws of nature have been overturned for their especial benefit. In cricket more than in other aspects of life it is better to hope than to achieve.

WORLD BANK WISDOM

By GEOFFREY TYSON

MOST people, I imagine, regard themselves as only remotely concerned with the affairs of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, which I shall hereinafter call by its popular title—the World Bank. And a world bank it is, in the most literal meaning of those words. I have just been re-reading the verbatim text of Mr. Eugene Black's presidential speech at the tenth meeting of the Bank which was held in Istanbul in mid-September. In so doing my mind went back to the time when the various governments of South Asia were being invited to join the World Bank and I recalled the doubts and hesitations which were then expressed about the potential usefulness of such a bank. By and large we all thought that the International Monetary Fund was destined to be the great achievement of the Bretton Woods discussions, and that the sister institution—the World Bank—would tag along behind as a useful, but not very purposeful, adjunct. How different it has since turned out to be; not the Monetary Fund but the World Bank, acting in support of such organisations as the Colombo Plan, has given the underdeveloped countries access to a whole range of new resources in men and money.

Decade of Expansion

The last ten post-war years have in all probability, been a period of greater expansion than any ten years in this century. Though primarily a lending institution the World Bank is also looked to, by its 37 members and territories, as a source of advice on the problems of economic development. Since the start of operations in 1946 total loan commitments

amount to \$2,300 millions, approximately \$275 millions going to Asian countries in the first nine years of operations. Though substantial, it is obviously not possible to put a cash value on advisory assistance, of which the recent missions to Ceylon and Malaya, or the joint negotiations with India and Pakistan over the use of the disputed Indus irrigation waters, are but three examples. As Mr. Eugene Black said in his address 'to achieve a rising standard of living requires a rising standard of government,' and in practice the Bank is regularly available to help the less developed countries to improve the management of their economic affairs by affording top administrators an opportunity to broaden their knowledge of development problems. Indeed, it has now established a staff college to put senior officials of all governments into touch with policies and programmes which are likely to assist in the solution of their own countries' problems. The remarkable thing about World Bank advice is that it is usually accepted by the recipient governments, which must be counted for merit in this age of doubt and suspicion.

Like all bank chairmen, Mr. Eugene Black used the occasion of his annual address to offer some advice to the clients and constituents of the World Bank. The times, he said, exert considerable pressures on the governments of the less developed countries, whose peoples are looking for better ways of life; for what was tolerable in the past can no longer serve the needs of the present. *The very urgency of their task sometimes drives such governments into errors, such as the failure to recognise the conflict between the demand for a*

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rising standard of living and the need to maintain reasonable economic stability. Inflation is the common enemy, and it lurks in all development programmes which plan beyond a country's real resources. There are, said Mr. Black, many useful alternatives between a government doing too much and a government doing too little, and he went on to criticise governments that try to carry out activities that might more usefully be performed by private hands.

Overplanned Economy

When Mr. Black spoke of the dangers and disadvantages of governments venturing into industry he clearly had some of the South Asian administrations in mind. If a government goes into business on its own account the chances are that it will divert resources and attention from fundamental tasks which, in the under-developed countries, are either going to be carried out by Government or are not going to be carried out at all. 'Government investment in industry,' said Mr. Black, 'means correspondingly less investment in the basic services—roads, schools, power, transportation, hospitals and the rest . . . which are fundamental not only to industrial development but to all development for they can open the opportunities that will eventually call into play more effort, more investment and a greater amount and variety of production than any government could possibly finance.'

Certain South Asian Governments have undertaken heavy industrial commitments, or are strongly predisposed in favour of state enterprise, and I am not so naive as to imagine they are willing to accept Mr. Eugene Black's thesis at its face value. But, even where the administration is irrevocably embarked upon ambitious schemes of industrialisation on its own account, his words might profitably be heeded for the warning they

give of dangers which lie not very far below the surface of an over-planned economy.

Unsteady on its Legs

The other side of the picture is well illustrated in the recent Budget statement of the Burma Government, which claims that annual expenditure on social welfare has increased elevenfold between 1948 and 1953. I am not quite sure how social welfare expenditure is defined, but even at the present figure of Rs. 21 crores (or roughly £15½ millions) one would not regard it as excessive for a country of 17 million people. But the Burma Government is not satisfied; it wants to diversify its economy, which it regards as insecure ('still unsteady on its legs' was the Finance Minister's phrase) as long as it is based on the export of a single commodity, rice. By the establishment of manufacturing units it is hoped to decrease dependence upon imports, increase urban employment and save foreign exchange. Plant for the manufacture of jute goods, structural steel and sugar is being installed. The Burma Government has a hand in all of these ventures and I am bound to say that if it had not taken the initiative it seems to me very doubtful if any private party would have done so.

In terms of text-book economics it may well be folly for Burma to go in for structural steel manufacture, when she can get everything she wants in that line from the Indian steel industry. Mr. Eugene Black says 'industrialisation in under-developed areas is handicapped by a weakness of entrepreneurial tradition, by lack of operating experience and by shortage of private capital willing to invest in industry.' I confess some sympathy with a Burmese politician who might reply 'if that is so, how the devil do we start to get some simple manufacturing skills other than by Government intervention?'

PROPHET OF THE NEW AGE

By A. A. GAUTAM

A BIG new fact emerged from Mr. Nehru's recent tour of Tamil Nad. Mr. Nehru's position with the masses has suddenly changed.

From the political leader of pre-Independence days and the politician-statesman of the first eight years of Swaraj, Mr. Nehru has now become the spiritual leader for tens of millions of his countrymen.

However embarrassed Mr. Nehru may feel about it, the adoration which the masses formerly showered on Mahatma Gandhi is now his!

Indeed, the cascading of flowers and flower-petals at Mr. Nehru's moving car by crowds lining the routes in several towns and villages during the tour was something symbolic.

Pleased with the order and discipline maintained by the mammoth crowds at the public meetings he addressed in Tamil Nad, Mr. Nehru remarked that there was a change for the better since his last big visit to the area. Possibly there was, but it is also not unlikely that the orderliness of the crowds arose from another cause.

Everywhere, Mr. Nehru proclaimed himself as coming, not in the role of Prime Minister or as one of the top Congress leaders, but as friend and comrade of the humble folk who in the old days had striven for the country's freedom.

But it was a different person altogether that actually spoke to the people.

Every time, after ascending the rostrum and glancing at the vast gathering of his fellow-countrymen, Mr. Nehru suddenly ceases to be his individual self and finds himself speaking as the man of history—as the man of destiny.

He looks back and sees the pageant of Indian history, with its numerous traps and pitfalls and misfortunes, and he warns his people against falling into the self-same traps again and asks them to unite and march forward to the goal he himself sees clearly before him.

The sense of history grips him at ancient Kanchi. He recalls that this was the capital of the Pallavas—great sea-faring power of olden days in the South—who made live contacts with the outside world and who sent out messengers of culture to distant corners of the earth. It is this daring (Mr. Nehru affirms) which is now essential to carry us forward as a nation—this daring which breaks asunder the barriers of caste and the inhibitions developed by a wrong notion of religion.

Mr. Nehru at Vellore called certain well-known elements in the south to order when he uttered a sharp reproof to those who would show disrespect to the National Flag and asserted that such disrespect would not be tolerated for a moment from whichever quarter it might come.

Mr. Nehru was very much in the present when at Karaikal he paid a tribute to the French who, with India, had set an example for the world to follow, in the matter of the *de facto* merger of the French Indian establishment with the Indian Union. To the people of these establishments, he promised a new dispensation, which meant, not a soft life, but hard work and effort of high purpose to help raise the people.

Looking forward, onto the future, Mr. Nehru speaks as the Prophet of the New Age whose foundation he is himself laying. And he calls upon: all—men and women and children—

to cast aside all barriers and inhibitions and, with a free and cheerful mind, join in the great work of building the new and mighty structure of the India of his dreams.

There is a strangely familiar ring about Mr. Nehru's appeals. One calls to mind the great Charlotte's call to Arjuna, in the moment of his weakness and confusion, to get a grip over himself, to free himself of inhibitions and to fight. ('*Tasmad Yuddhyasva Bhaarata*').

And why not? Mr. Nehru not only figuratively but by his own affirmation appears before the masses as the Apostle of a new Divinity—the divinity of work.

He declared at Kanchi: "You have beautiful temples here, and pilgrims have been coming here from ancient times. But my pilgrimage is to the precincts of a somewhat different type of divinity. Where our people build up the new India—in the big factories and in the small factories, in the cottage and in the community centre and in the National Extension Service centre—there are my shrines."

That may help explain what I said at the outset.

WOMEN'S DESIRE FOR BETTER LIFE

FAULKNER'S IMPRESSIONS

"THE most hopeful sign I have seen during my trip around the world is the striving of women everywhere to achieve full emancipation and a better life."

In these words, William Faulkner, U. S. novelist and winner of the Nobel Prize for Literature, summed up his round the world tour.

In an interview in Paris's Faulkner said: "Women everywhere are trying to lead a more meaningful life. They seek more household appliances and mechanical help in order to have more leisure time for more constructive pursuits."

The American novelist, now on the last leg of his journey through Asia, the Middle East and Western Europe, has been talking to representative people of all the countries he visited. He said he made a point of seeing as many young men and women as possible in order to learn about their problems and hopes.

Faulkner's trip took him from Los Angeles to Manila, Tokyo, Karachi, Cairo, Naples, Rome, Milan, Munich and Paris. He will go to London and Iceland before returning to the United States.

In the Philippines, Faulkner said, he found an expression of the national consciousness in the young people's interest in their local tongues and dialects. Although many asked whether they should abandon their local dialect for the increasingly popular use of the English language, he felt that customs and traditions were being preserved in the Philippines.

He told the young people there that they should be proud of their national heritage and keep it alive, even if they studied and practised other languages.

Faulkner told French reporters about some of the motivations of his literary work.

"I am a farmer, not a writer," he reported as he spoke of the various jobs he held earlier in his life.

From his experience as a house painter, stunt pilot, and the other jobs he held before his father's death gave him the responsibility of running the family farm, Faulkner has drawn vivid portraits in his books.

"I do not believe in inspiration," he commented. "One writes according to one's own experiences in life."

Faulkner said he was not sure his books contained many particular thesis. "If there is one," he said, "it is my faith in man, and in his ability to conquer circumstances and triumph over his own destiny."

KUMARI NIRMALA

LIKE Karnatic music, our dance art is steeped in hoary traditions. And there are very few exponents today barring Balasaraswathi, Kamala and Kausalya who could expound this great art with pertinent grace, verve and brilliance. Of the rising artistes now in this field who have been traditionally trained, Kumari Nirmala, E. V. Saroja and C. V. S. Vasantha of New Delhi are outstanding. All of them have already distinguished themselves and reveal a wealth of dance potential.

Kumari Nirmala who is 18 is a native of Needamangalam in Tanjore district, noted for its music and dance traditions, the home town of the once famous exponent of Bharata Natyam, Madabusi Saraswathi Tiruvengkatachari. She inherited something of the family tradition from her grandfather who was a connoisseur of music. She had her initial training under Pandanallur Chokkalingam Pillai, a veteran who is still happily alive. Later she came under the civilising influence of Balasaraswathi and Gowri of Mylapore from whom she learnt the secrets of *abhinaya* for several classical pieces. She is one of the few who combines harmoniously the *layakattu* of the Pandanallur school with the grace and charm, so characteristic of the school of Kandappa, tutor of Balasaraswathi.

Nirmala is now being trained by another veteran of the Pandanallur school, Sri Swaminatha Pillai of Tiruvalapputhur, who has taught her several rare pieces including the coveted *Swarajathi* in Useni.

Nirmala took part in the Sarbhoji Kuravanji (dance drama) organised by Balasaraswathi and her troupe along with Hema Malini, under the auspices of the Tamil Isai Sangam and was warmly praised for her recital. Her performance last year during the Music Academy Conference was a magnificent effort. It was a great



revelation to several *rasikas* who witnessed a classical and satisfying recital.

Nirmala who is extremely affable and social, has other accomplishments to her credit. She is a student of the B.A. class in Q.M.C. and is a member of the N.C.C. She is now taking lessons in Karnatic music from Palghat K. V. Narayanaswami, a gifted pupil of Ariyakudi. Petite and charming, Nirmala who is an earnest student of the art, is bound to get the best benefit by the scholarship awarded to her by the Government of India for Bharata Natya.

—*Rasikapriya*

LONDON'S FIRST STORE DETECTIVE

BEA PARRY thinks that in her teens she was the first store detective in London. Later on she became the first one in Durban, in South Africa, and in a BBC talk she described some odd incidents and experiences in her career.

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She was trained by an ex-Detective Inspector of Scotland Yard and then sent out to work in a large store in the West End of London. Very soon she saw a woman who was wearing an expensive fur coat pick up several pairs of silk stockings and put them in her pocket. Mrs. Parry felt very sick at the sight of her first shoplifter and wondered how she should handle the case. To make matters worse the culprit wandered round the shop for two hours before she went out and as no store detective stops an alleged shoplifter inside the store, because then the accused person would be in a position to say that she was about to pay for the goods that she had been seen to take, poor Bea Parry had to wander round in her wake. At last she left the store, quickly followed by Mrs. Parry, who

then accused her of taking the stockings and asked her to produce them from her pocket. The woman protested that a mistake had been made and showed that her pockets were quite empty. Mrs. Parry was frantic but was certain that the stockings were on the woman somewhere because she had watched them being taken from the counter. The new detective picked up the hem of the customer's coat, felt a bulge in the lining and "Through a slit in her pocket—properly made for the purpose—I pulled out eighteen pairs of pure silk stockings," she said.

Many people had asked her what made people go into shops and steal but there was no real answer to such a question. She was very sorry for some shoplifters but not for others.



Photo taken when Mr. Sherman Cooper, (centre) U. S. Ambassador in India, visited the Firestone Factory recently.

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"I would never be lenient with pick-pockets or women who work in gangs," she said. Some people had no intention of stealing but when the opportunity was suddenly there they took it and she remembered particularly a woman she arrested in Durban. "She had stolen seventeen articles, and she was much more concerned because the seventeen people who were to have received these things as Christmas presents would now have to go without them than she was about what could possibly happen to her," Mrs. Parry said. The store detective, of course, was not concerned only with customers, for some of the staff were light-fingered too. "I think the most peculiar staff case I ever had was a woman kitchen-hand," she said. "When I

searched her, I found several pounds of filleted wet fish tied round her body and held in place by her undergarments, while her handbag contained several cream cakes and some eggs—all squashed in together." People often said how romantic and thrilling her job must be but in reality it was neither, although it was intensely interesting to any student of human nature. "Quite definitely you must have a flair for the work, and many girls whom I've tried to teach have been hopeless," she said. "But if you can walk about for hours pretending to be shopping, if you are a good judge of human nature, if you are quick and have a keen eye and a good memory, and can be human enough to be neither too kind nor too harsh, you may do a good job."



Mahatma Gandhi's portrait being presented to the MRA world Assembly by Mr. Jainendra Kumar.

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.

Agrarian Dispute At Mathoor

Sir,—The peaceful Satyagraha launched by the agricultural labourers of Mathoor, a small village near Sriperumbudur in Chingleput district, has ended in success. The Satyagraha was not aimed at securing any fresh concessions from the landowners but only to compel them to implement the terms of the agreement with regard to wages and working hours already concluded between them in the presence of the Revenue official of the State Government. The landowners went back on the agreement by refusing to abide by its terms. The poor labourers whose belief in the principle of non-recourse to force has been so amply demonstrated, could only offer silent protest and appeal to the good sense of the defaulters and to the sense of justice of the Government which was fully aware of the circumstances of the whole dispute. The aggrieved had perforce to think of some method of ventilating their grievances and they chose Satyagraha. The potentiality of this weapon has been borne out by the success which has attended the efforts of the agricultural workers. The significant fact in this struggle is that the Government were unable to direct the landowners to adhere to the terms of the agreement until upwards of 200 Satyagrahis had been put behind the bars and no less a person than the State Revenue Minister had to come down to Mathoor to bring personal pressure on the recalcitrant landowners.

The initial weakness and disinterestedness shown by the Government in tackling the agreement-breakers are deplorable indeed. Even though the common denominator in Government as formally defined is primary reliance on coercion as its mode of control, there is no rea-

son why coercion should be used against one set of persons alone thereby violating all canons of justice and fair play. Justice, wrote Aristotle, is nothing more than giving every man what is his due. The Mathoor Satyagrahis were only asking for their just dues, for the observance of the sanctity of contract, for the just implementation of a solemnly concluded agreement. Furthermore, the distribution of economic rewards is by far the most important determinant of natural justice prevailing in a society. The Government must hold the scales of justice even between the two sets of contenders for the economic reward.

The Mathoor episode was not without its tragicomedy. When the Mathoor Satyagraha was the subject of discussion in the Madras Assembly, Sri C. Subramaniam on behalf of the Government made a few uncomplimentary remarks which were very objectionable and in bad taste, to say the least. He alleged that Sri S. B. Adityan who so ably led the Satyagraha movement had courted arrest and C-class imprisonment purely for political reasons. He went a step further in his indictment by impugning the Satyagrahis as having been recruited from the City rickshaw stand. In other words, he said that they were rickshaw-pullers hired on a daily wage basis to partake in the Satyagraha movement. This is the unkindest cut of all. That he was totally wrong in his estimate of the bona fides of the Satyagrahis has been subsequently proved by his colleague, the Revenue Minister who at least thought it fit and proper to sit with the accredited representatives of the Satyagrahis and evolve a workable agreement. I am sure, the Chief Minister himself will not endorse Sri Subramaniam's views in the matter.

The manning of Sri Adityan, who was till recently the leader of the Opposition in the State Assembly, is at least one illustration of the fact that the Congress administrators who have aped the British parliamentary system of Government in all other respects, are yet to learn to respect the leaders of the opposition and the dissenting opinion they represent.

P. N. SAMPATH

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ON THE COVER:

Mr. J. Sherman Cooper, U. S. Ambassador in India greeted by the Mayor of Madras at the Meenambakkam airport.

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DISINTEGRATION MENACE

SINCE the day of publication of the report of the States Reorganisation Commission, the newspapers have been filled with criticisms of the report, and the Congress Working Committee, before coming to conclusions of its own on the main recommendations of the Commission, seems to be giving priority of consideration to the criticisms first. One searches in vain in the volumes of comment that have appeared in the Press for any sign of a balanced approach to the issues under discussion or any regard for the superiority of national interests over sectional. Everywhere the fashion has been set of linguistic patriots clamouring for this or that bit of territory to be recognised as specially belonging to their own particular State on the basis of the language spoken by the majority of people there. This sort of agitation has already torn to pieces the national unity of India. The States Reorganisation Commission recognised theoretically the danger of dividing the country linguistically but they had not the courage to tone up their practical recommendations to the level of their excellent theoretical postulations. In their report they provided a State for every major language spoken in the country excepting Bombay alone for separate treatment. The clash of interests in Bombay between Maharashtrians and Gujaratis for the capital city of the State persuaded the Commission to pursue the discreet course of not too drastically disturbing the existing set-up. They advocated the continuance of Bombay as a bilingual State whereas in

the rest of the country the principle favoured was unilingualism. The Commission evidently overlooked the fact that linguistic fanaticism is nowhere more rampant than in Maharashtra, and with their grit and determination and ancient warlike traditions, the Maharashtrians are the last people in the sub-continent to be excluded from the linguistic redivision applied to the rest of the country. Naturally, therefore, there has been a prodigious mobilisation of Maharashtrian public opinion in the past two weeks for the sake of securing an annulment of the Commission's recommendations with regard to Bombay. This movement, to judge by Press disclosures, seems to have achieved already a considerable measure of success.

It is now well known that the Prime Minister's is the deciding voice in all major issues affecting the national interests. But in this matter of linguistic division he failed to evince from the very beginning either steadfast convictions or a coherent policy. His earliest pronouncements on the subject were definitely against permitting the emergence of linguistic States in Independent India. He thought that the disintegration of national unity which they threatened was a risk which no wise statesman should incur. In the early stages of the fast of Sri Potti Srimulu he continued to hold this view and refused to be coerced into changing it under pressure, but as the fast developed into the tragedy of martyrdom, he was overcome by sentiment and eventually allowed it to prevail over his better judgment. The

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Andhra State was born out of the wobbling of the Prime Minister. From that moment it became clear that the Government of India had no mind of their own on the subject of linguistic States and they could be made to change their attitude and yield to organised pressure, provided the pressure applied was powerful enough. The Maharashtrians are now taking full advantage of this discovery which first came to light at the time of the Andhra State inauguration.

Instead of being cast adrift on the winds of controversy, it is desirable, even at this last stage that the Prime Minister should arrive at an independent policy based solely on the national interests and stick to it resolutely, however formidable the pull of sectional over national interests might appear to be. National freedom itself will not survive if its real significance is ousted from administrative arrangements made in exercise of the power conferred by it. The danger threatening India

today is the disappearance of the citizen's sense of identity with the whole of his homeland. Our experience after the Andhra State has been that in a common area where all formerly were completely at home, sections of them now feel themselves at a disability, if not reduced partially to the position of disfranchised aliens. The freedom of India cannot be sustained if the country is divided into linguistic compartments with no inspiring national consciousness holding all the people together as citizens of one country free to live anywhere within its borders on terms of perfect equality subject to no linguistic or other discrimination. The thin end of the wedge of linguistic discrimination is inherent in linguistic States, and it will destroy in due course the one-nation mentality that won freedom for India. If the Prime Minister seeks to smash Casteism, he must take care of Linguism which is one of the contributory sources of the sentiment nursing it.

Sotto Voce

DOGBERRY TO THE FORE



Dogberry: You shall comprehend all vagrom men; you are to bid any man stand in the Prince's name.

Second Watch: How if a'will not stand?

Dog: Why, then, take no note of him, but let him go; and presently call the rest of the watch together and thank God you are rid of a knave.

Verges: If he will not stand when he is bidden he is none of the Prince's subjects.

Dog: True; and they are to meddle with none but the Prince's subjects.

And the system worked, as Shakespeare tells you. And Madras, with her age-long admiration for all things British, is going to grow Dogberrys in Malabar.

After the one-teacher school, the one-constable police-station; and for much the same reasons. Prohibition lost the tree-tappers their jobs. That was *Vis major*—or at least the only kind of *Vis major* your secular State

can afford to recognise. And the tappers can take comfort in the thought that in the Second Five-Year Plan twelve million jobs are to be provided. But the sleuths of the abolished Excise Department, who know their rights, must be fed on something more than promises. What is more natural than that they should be drafted into the regular police force?

According to the classic English precedent every Dogberry must have his Verges, not to speak of the watch composed of good men and true. And that perhaps is the reason why the Madras Government have chosen Malabar for the interesting experiment. (Perish the thought that it was a parting gift to the pilgrims of Aikya Kerala!) For Dogberry would have approved of Malabar as ideal recruiting ground for citizen collaborators in the task of keeping law and order: did he not say, "To be a well-favoured man is the gift of fortune; but to write and read comes by nature"?

But, if the British system is so excellent, why didn't our whilom British rulers introduce it in India? Here they planted police-stations for the countryside, few and far between, and mostly in the market-towns. And they planned them like beleaguered fortresses, with a substantial force presided over by that legendary power, "the station-head" or "Head" as he is simply known to the awed villager. In States like U. P. and Bengal the practice still persists of describing particular areas not by the names of revenue divisions as in the South, but by the names of the police-stations that pour over them. And even super-patriotic Bengalees didn't see anything *infra dig* in describing themselves as residents of, say, Baraghat thana!

It may have been due to the insular

prejudice that makes the Britisher imagine that quite a few native growths like the British Constitution do not bear translating, especially anywhere east of Suez. But I believe that the old regime must have been also impressed by certain salient facts of our national character. It would be a foul libel to say that as individuals we lack courage. But, in the police, at any rate, the whole has always been greater than its parts. The uniform, as all organizers of movements from the dim beginnings of history have known, is a great builder of morale. And the uniform loses half its value for any member of the force who finds himself wholly isolated from his fellows.

Two, on the other hand, is company—indeed a whole battalion when it comes to dealing with the country yokel for whom the dual is the plural if it is accoutred in the habiliments of authority. It seems to me that this fact of psychology has been overlooked in the calculations of those who have sponsored this reform. To have a solitary constable sit in his rural 'station' amidst a few hundred souls who perhaps have known him all his life, and to expect him to keep unruly anti-social elements in check by his mere presence in the neighbourhood is to ask Dogberry don the robes of Alexander or the Scarlet Pimpernel. It is more likely that he will quietly roll up his uniform when not under the Inspector's eye so as to escape invidious attention.

But I see that the reform is also being commended on the ground that "it will make police help available to the rural population even in remote places." I say Amen with all my heart, but my unregenerate self mutters, "Tell it to the marines!" It is all too often the

(Continued on page 43)

SIDELIGHTS ::

"THE major criticism directed against the United States is that we do not put sufficient pressure on the European powers that still maintain colonies." This was spoken by Mr. John Sherman Cooper, American Ambassador, at a public meeting in Madras on Monday. Mr. Cooper is a handsome man with a pleasant manner and none of the stereotyped reflexes of the traditional diplomat. It was evident that he took great pains to create a friendly feeling for the United States in Indian minds. He has succeeded to the full extent to which friendship and goodwill can be secured by gracious words.

American interests in India are now well served not only by the Ambassador but by a host of Americans in the Consulate and Information services. These have broken new ground in Indo-American relations. They are not content with technical correctness in the discharge of their formal duties. Madras, in particular, has been specially fortunate. We have, in our midst, Americans in the U. S. Government Service, who have cultivated for the land they live in a sort of home feeling. They have become leading lights in the local community. By their abounding interest in good causes, they have become valuable mentors to local citizens in patriotic social behaviour. We judge a country by its people as we know them in our own experience. The most favourable atmosphere for Indo-American understanding has been created by the character and social qualities of the American contingent in South India, and Mr. Cooper in his visit to Madras just concluded, had as warm and cordial a reception as any Ambassador can wish or hope for.

In what he conceived to be the "the major criticism directed against the

United States," he was quite and accurate. But all that he has far said falls short of a satisfactory answer to the criticism itself. It will be clear if we look back a little. Towards the close of the Second World War, President Roosevelt became actively interested in India's freedom and he never lost an opportunity of pressing on Britain the advisability of quitting India. Churchill resented American intervention in Britain's domestic affairs but the President insisted that freedom of India was necessary for world peace and had to be regarded as an international issue.

Mahatma Gandhi was also of the opinion that the freedom of India was necessary for the peace of the world. Both Gandhi and Roosevelt, without any consultation with each other, arrived at the identical conclusion that without freedom in India there could be no peace in the world, but in their postulations India had a symbolic significance representing every subject country aspiring to be free and entitled to freedom. Thus India and the United States through their respective leaders stood committed ten years ago to the view that the freedom of every country is necessary for the peace of the world.

The successors of Roosevelt and Gandhi, with a common stake in world peace, ought by right to have pursued the objective of world freedom as its indispensable condition. But in these ten years the United States has become tepid in its espousal of liberation movements, and the other day it went to the length of even objecting to a discussion of Algeria's case in the United Nations Assembly. In the United States, wherever one goes, one comes across a regretful senti-

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ment of dissatisfaction at India's neutrality in the conflict between the two power blocs. But it is not realised that deep causes have brought about this neutrality; and that it is due primarily to the fact that the United States has of late years given nothing in its international policies to a freedom-loving democrat like Pandit Nehru to feel any enthusiasm for.

And now, along comes Mr. Cooper with the "frank" explanation that the United States has been required to balance its security considerations with its efforts in the freedom field. In other words, it has resiled from its original position that in freedom lay peace and security and gone about in search of other means to establish its security. Is it surprising if a glaring contradiction developed between the American conception of freedom and the reality of it?

The objectives of the United States have been grand and unique in the economic sphere. It is the only example of a powerful nation in the world eschewing empire-building at the expense of weaker countries, taxing itself heavily in order to provide millions of dollars in aid programmes for the rehabilitation of backward people all over the world. But the political side of American international policy has not come up to the level of their economic programmes. Under the illusion of advancing its security the United States has taken up alliances with effete European imperialisms that bring it no strength and that are doomed anyway and would most probably have expired by now but for its aid and the artificial respiration supplied by it. It is losing the confidence of the resurgent nationalisms of Asia and Africa which are bound to exercise increasing influence in world politics, in future.

There is neither peace nor security

divorced from freedom for all in the conditions of the world today. India's neutrality will disappear the moment the United States develops a policy worth the Prime Minister's attention by shifting over to a positive and constructive concept of world freedom. This will also be the most effective way of isolating Communism from the neutral area they look up to to reinforce their influence in the world. It is for the American Ambassador to convey these truths to his Government; containing, as they do, the essence of a message for a much-needed shift in policy.

SAKA

Decline In Teaching Standards

An educationist writes,

THE article Decline in Teaching Standards by 'Searchlight' ought to be convincing to many. It must be an eye opener to the present generation of teachers who are ill equipped. Many teachers of the present day are not up to the mark. All this is due to the politicians making a muddle of Education. The prescription of structural sentences in the teaching of English and English books must go. There need be no limitation to the vocabulary taught. Language must be learnt by teaching expression and correct speech. The S. S. L. C. standard is low beyond words. The regimentation regarding curriculum and other matters by the Department is also one of many causes of the lowering of the standards in schools. The Department must be satisfied with the maintenance of a high standard in schools and should not interfere in every detail. Children must learn to think and write essays on general subjects. Only then is there hope of redeeming the education system.

REPORT ON STATES REORGANIZATION

By S. RAJAGOPALAN

THERE can be no two opinions on the need to make a final re-adjustment of the boundaries of the States in the Indian Republic. Indeed nearly 40 years ago, the authors of the Montford Report, with disarming frankness, had admitted that the "present map of India was shaped by the military, political or administrative exigencies or conveniences, with small regard to the natural affinities or wishes of the people." At the same time it is difficult to concur in the many proposals made by the States Reorganization Committee, whose report has rightly caused anxiety and concern amongst the most influential if not the most vocal organs and personages. And it is, to say the least, surprising that both the Union Government and the Congress High Command should not merely regard its conclusions as settled facts, but contemplate their early implementation, without examining them with detachment and objectivity.

Since 1935, political events have effected many a division and diversion of population. The carving out of Sind and Orissa, the cutting up of the country itself into two, and finally the integration of the 652 princely States were all parts of the same process. The last mentioned has been remarkable for a few sound principles observed in the creation of new States or their obliteration by merger. The general principle was to keep intact viable and well-governed States like Mysore, Hyderabad, Travancore-Cochin, to patch up smaller units into one viable whole, as Pepsu, Saurashtra and Rajasthan, and finally to integrate the rest with the adjoining States, for example, Baroda, Cooch Behar and Puduko-

tah. The policy however had been deviated from in a few cases. For instance, Baroda, a viable unit (8176 sq. miles) went to Bombay. Cooch Behar (1,318 sq. miles) merged into West Bengal. Madras had to content itself with Pudukottah (1,179 sq. miles) and the still smaller units of Banganapalle and Sandur. Travancore (7,661 sq. miles) and Cochin (1,480 sq. miles) quite unaccountably remained a separate entity, though logically they should have been integrated into the Madras State.

The Commission has not taken kindly to the 1948 integration. All the States with the exception of Rajasthan and Travancore-Cochin are to be merged into the neighbouring States of East Punjab or Bombay, or as in the case of Hyderabad or Mysore, they are to be truncated or dissolved into a larger unit. It is however difficult to understand the rationale behind the scheme. Punjab and Pepsu are inseparables and their union may even afford political stability to the East Punjab Government. But one cannot be too sure that Saurashtra's merger with Bombay will conduce to efficient administration. The Commission has been courageous enough to outwit the lingual fanaticism in Maharashtra and the cry for a Sikh State. But it remains to be seen whether the contending forces thrown together in the same State will make for stability and good Government.

In the Southern peninsula, the Commission has succumbed to the language imperialists. If it has withstood the Maharashtra agitation to cut up Bombay into two, it could

not resist splitting up Hyderabad to satisfy Andhra and Karnataka aspirations. The commingling and the creation of Vidarbha and Madhya Pradesh, are inexplicable as also the virtual merger of Mysore into a bigger entity.

A State has not to be either too big or too small; both hinder progress and the wellbeing of the people. Sardar Panikkar has set out the most cogent arguments in that behalf in regard to Uttar Pradesh which extends from Benaras to Badrinath. The same arguments should have prevailed in regard to Bombay State also. Furthermore, decentralisation of administration must be achieved at no distant date. The Commission should have thought twice before it compelled the ignorant rustic or litigant of Cutch or Rajkot to go to Bombay for redress.

In the case of too small States, like Travancore-Cochin, the citizens cannot rise to their full stature, and viability cannot be the only criterion. When bigger units have merged into the neighbouring States, it is incomprehensible why an exception has been made in this State. No doubt the Tamil Nad high-ups may consider no sacrifice too great to achieve a purely Tamil State; but prudence dictates that Madras should not be chopped off ever and anon, and in the final analysis, occupy a subaltern position compared with Bombay, Bengal and Uttar Pradesh.

In restoring Bellary to Andhra, a genuine grievance has been redressed, and a principle established in favour of contiguity of districts rather than linguistic affinity. By the same token, Mangalore should be either kept in the Madras State or allowed to align itself with Malabar, and not be tacked on to distant Karnataka. Even taluks have not been spared. Kollegal has to opt out of Madras. Distribution of territories should not be on the pattern of partition arrangements. It is a human problem affecting the people at large intimately.

Part B States are none too many and the Commission would have done well in dealing with them consistently. Hyderabad, rightly chosen as the South Indian capital for the President's stay, is a well knit and compact area tolerably well governed and prosperous. It would be in the fitness of things if far from its being truncated, it is extended to the other areas now proposed to be carved out as Vidarbha, on account of historical and cultural affinities. The Saurashtra State, composed for the most part of backward and poverty-stricken tracts, needs special treatment, and can usefully remain a single unit, comprising if need be Baroda and Indore also. Instead of making Madhya Pradesh much too unwieldy, Uttar Pradesh could be cut up into two, Lucknow and Vindhya Pradesh forming a separate unit.

Having divided the States into water tight linguistic units, which means of course the change-over to the regional dialect for administrative and judicial purposes, it is somewhat curious that the Commission should recommend that a third of the higher judiciary should be drafted from the neighbouring States.

Rajpramukhs are a necessary institution if only for the deep and abiding affection they still evoke from their peoples and the argument that they are a misfit in democracy overlooks the almost superstitious reverence to the monarchical institution that even now obtains in the world's perfect democratic set-up.

The Commission rightly pleads for a "moral and mental integration of the peoples" in our country, but it is no disparagement of its labours to say that the recommendations made by it may hinder rather than assist the consummation of such a laudable objective. And it would be a thousand pities if the various problems that have been raised are not re-examined thoroughly leading to the modification if not abrogation of its proposals.

THE PRESS AND THE PUBLIC SERVICES IN INDIA

By V. SUBRAMANIAN

IN countries with the British tradition in politics and administration, there are few points of contact between the press and the services. In India, however, though the British service tradition and parliamentary democracy were translated, local conditions, imperial interests and the accidents of history, made many changes in the original tradition inevitable. These have made the story of the relations between the Government servants and the press, long and interesting.

During the early days of the East India Company, the English community in Calcutta was mainly made up of the servants of the company. The English press was started by a few members of this community, who were either public spirited or frustrated. The natural clash between the Government and the press resulted in deportations, imprisonment and confiscation of property of the editors. Among the victims were the redoubtable Hickey, the first editor in India and Silk Buckingham who fought for the Indian press in Britain as well.

The Sycophants and the Disgruntled

Since the press had proved itself to be a powerful weapon many Government servants were attracted to use it. There were two classes of them, the sycophants and careerists who edited journals or wrote in them in favour of Government policies, and the disgruntled and the frustrated like colonel Robison who ventilated their wrath on their superiors in them. In the early days of the company in India, there was no law nor tradition to prevent either.

The critics if they were British-born could be summarily deported while the sycophants were invaluable to the ruling authorities. Hence it took long for a definite ruling to emerge forbidding the connection between the press and Government servants.

In Bombay, Mr. Francis Warden, a member of the Governor's Council, was also the owner of the *Bombay Gazette* and the *Bombay Courier*. He alleged in his papers that the judges of the Bombay Supreme Court had furnished the *Oriental Herald* of London with the information that Mr. Warden had unfairly used his power as a newspaper proprietor. Chief Justice Sir Edward West rebutting the allegation declared that Warden's position was anomalous. He as editor was answerable civilly and criminally for the contents of his paper, but as member of the Council he was exempted by his charter from all criminal responsibility in the courts of India. Though the Governor, Mountstuart Elphinstone, and Warden denied any connection between the Government and the papers, the Court of Directors were alerted about the possible complications of the situation. In their despatch of 30th December 1825 the Court of Directors in the Public Department wrote:

"We hereby issue our positive prohibition against any person in our service, either civil, naval or military, surgeons and chaplains included, connecting himself with any newspaper or other periodical journal (unless devoted exclusively to literary and scientific objects) whether as editor, sole proprietor or sharer of the property. This order we

shall enforce if necessary by dismissing from our service those who may be immediately warned that if the connections are not dropped within six months after notice so given they shall be held liable to the consequences of a breach of this prohibition, which you will publicly promulgate for the information of our servants. You will also report to us the names of the parties to whom this injunction may apply."

The despatch was actually made known in Calcutta in May 1826 and the Government circularized all newspapers and periodicals to supply the names of the editors, proprietors and other members of the staff. Two of the editors, Dr. Bryce, company chaplain and editor of *John Bull*, and Sergeant Grant, another company official and editor of *India Gazette* were immediately affected. Both of them entered into a protracted correspondence with the Government for exemption. While exemption was granted in the case of the *Quarterly Magazine*, a literary journal, none was granted in other cases. After some months, permission was granted to both Bryce and Grant for holding property in their papers. But by April 1828, the Directors had taken a more stringent attitude and these servants of the company were asked to sever their connection with the respective papers.

Criticisms Against Officials

But this however was not the end of the affair. The Government itself had at several times seriously contemplated the running of an official organ to put forward the official viewpoint. Lord Wellesley seriously contemplated the possibility. Later in the regime of Lord Auckland, the suggestion was considered in 1840, and a conference of leading journalists and officials took place. But since most arguments were against the idea, it was given up. Later in the regime of Lord Ellenborough, criticism of the officials led to another

faut pas by Colonel Sleeman who defended himself against criticism by supporting his case with copies of the relevant Government despatches. Annoyed, Lord Ellenborough passed an order forbidding disclosure of official documents by a public servant. The order, which was dated 30th August 1843, stated:

"Some misconception appears to exist with respect to the power which officers of both services have over the documents and papers which come into their possession officially. The Governor-General in Council deems it expedient to notify that such documents and papers are in no case to be made public or communicated to individuals without the previous consent of the Government to which alone they belong. The officer in possession of such documents and papers can only legitimately use them for the furtherance of the public service in discharge of his official duty; and it is to be understood that the same rule which applies to documents and papers applies to information of which officers may become possessed officially."

It is interesting to note that Lord Ellenborough did not contemplate the passing of an Official Secrets Act. It is equally curious to find that Sir Charles Trevelyan, a high official, regretted this ruling. The freedom of the press being both inevitable and beneficial, the Government, he felt, would be deprived of authoritative defenders in this way, and also that public officers should not be exempted from the control of public opinion, by this sort of hush hush. Sir Charles Trevelyan himself was a frequent contributor to the press. His arguments, coming from a British civil servant, amounted to saying, "Since we cannot gag the press, let us not gag individual public servants also from communicating to the press, provided they defended the Government thereby." This was definitely against the spirit of the despatch of the Court of Directors in 1826.

Post-Mutiny Vengefulness

The rising of 1857, and its aftermath of cruel revenge by the British soldiery and officialdom, created a new atmosphere of race hatred. Till then, there was no community of interests between the British officials and British editors. In fact the latter were on the same side as the Indian editors, in fighting the Government's repressive measures. But after 1857, almost all the papers owned by Englishmen in India were one with English officials in their contempt for the 'natives,' in their bureaucratic haughtiness and reaction. There was thus a bond of sympathy between the British official and the British editor which did not exist in the days prior to 1857.

Thus, the *Civil and Military Gazette* of Lahore declared in February 1873 as follows: "The object of the *Civil and Military Gazette* is to make the *Civil and Military Gazette* a faithful and conscientious advocate of the true interests of the services, civil and military, in India watching all that affects their interests for good or evil." The *Pioneer* of Allahabad established in 1865 was as good as an official paper. Three times, in 1866, in 1864 and in 1869 respectively, the Government considered the proposal for establishing an official organ. In fact Sir John Lawrence during his viceroyalty was actually in favour of the idea due to attacks made on him by some Indian papers. It is quite likely that the *Pioneer* was a product of this concern. The paper had very close connections with the highest officials and was first with the official news always. This was referred to at length by Sir Robert Lethbridge, who was Press Commissioner from 1878 to 1881, in his memoirs thus: "My old friend Sir George Allen had spent enormous sums in building up that great paper (*Pioneer*) and paid most princely fees to a large number of highly placed officials as contributors in every Simla department with the consequence that every impending

official change of every sort and kind was for a long time always announced first in the *Pioneer*. Every official in India was interested in these announcements which I suppose were worth to the *Pioneer* and its highly paid contributors many tens of thousands of pounds annually." There is confirmatory evidence from Rudyard Kipling (who was for sometime on the staff of the *Pioneer*). In one of his *Departmental Ditties* he relates the incident of a secretary's wife breaking a secret during a ball. In short, the feast of love between British officials and these Anglo-Indian editors was the most un-British thing by the standards of the British civil service and the British press in England. The British officials in India as openly disregarded the traditions of the administration in their homeland as the editors did the journalistic traditions of the British press.

There was a storm in 1875 when Sir Robert Knight, Secretary to the Department of Agriculture and editor of the subsidized *Indian Economist* attacked the Government of India's policy on export of grain from Bihar. The question of the Association of officers of Government with the press was reopened. The Government of India in the Home Department Notification of July 8, 1875, declared:

"No officer in the service of Government is permitted without the previous sanction in writing of the Government under which he immediately serves, to become proprietor either in whole or in part, of any newspaper or publication. Such sanction will only be given in the case of newspapers or publications mainly devoted to the discussion of topics not of a political character, such for instance, as art, science or literature. The sanction will be withdrawn at the discretion of the Government."

"Officers in the service of Government are not prohibited from contributing to the public press; but their position makes it incumbent

upon them to confine themselves within the limits of temperate and reasonable discussion, and they are prohibited from making public without the previous sanction of Government, any documents, papers or information of which they may become possessed in their official capacity."

Vernacular Press Act

The next encounter came in connection with the passing of the Vernacular Press Act in 1878. One of the minor reasons adduced in favour of passing the Act was that the individual officer was exposed to libellous criticism by the vernacular press. Against this Sir W. Robinson of Madras declared that fear of the indigenous press in India was not an unalloyed evil, since public morality was low and there was no other platform. Nevertheless the Act when passed included "libels on Government officers" as one of the offences. The Act however was repealed in 1881 by Lord Ripon.

One of the good results of the much hated Vernacular Press Act of 1878 was the creation of the office of the Press Commissioner. Though the Commissioner was there to keep a watch over the native press, in practice Sir Robert Lethbridge who was Commissioner was more a principal information officer than an official watchdog. Information on Government policies was given authoritatively by him. This was keenly appreciated by all the papers, except the *Pioneer* and the *Civil and Military Gazette* who had their own sources of official information. When the Press Commissionership was abolished in 1881 a petition of 124 editors urged the continuance of the office.

The next incident in this series was the publication of a secret Foreign Office document concerning Kashmir during the Viceroyalty of Lord Lansdowne in 1889. The Official Secrets Act was passed the same year. Clause 3 of the Act made the pub-

lisher of secrets liable to punishment, while clause 4 made the official giving information equally punishable for breach of trust. The Act, as amended in 1903, made the editor's position more precarious and was stoutly opposed by Gokhale.

From 1881 to 1915 there was no direct contact between officialdom and the press. The *Pioneer* and the *Civil and Military Gazette* continued to hold a monopoly of official news. But in general high officials were more careful than before in giving information to the press not only because of the Official Secrets Act, but also because of the general Government servants' conduct rules. As per Home Department circular No. 30-1267-76 of the 16th August 1884. "A Government servant may not unless generally or specially empowered by the local Government in this behalf, communicate directly or indirectly to Government servants belonging to other departments or to non-official persons or to the press, any document or information which has come into his possession in the course of his public duties or has been prepared or collected by him in the course of those duties whether from official sources or otherwise."

Another resolution of 8th July 1875 stated: "A Government servant may not without the previous sanction of the local Government become the proprietor in whole or in part or conduct or participate in the editing or management of any newspaper or other periodical publication. Such sanction will be given only in the case of a newspaper or publication mainly devoted to matters not of a political character and may at any time in the discretion of the local Government be withdrawn." There is an additional explanatory ruling however which says that: "Subject to the above provision a Government servant may contribute anonymously to the press but must confine himself within the limits of temperate and reasonable discus-

sion; and if his connection with the press is contrary to the public interest, the local Government may withdraw his liberty to contribute. When there is room for doubt, whether the connection of any Government servant with the press is or is not contrary to the public interest, the matter should be referred to the Governor-General in Council for orders." Rules on the basis of these resolutions were promulgated by various provincial Governments for their servants. It might be mentioned here that Sri Aurobindo Ghosh was contributing anonymously to the press on political problems while he was in the service of the Government of Baroda.

Government's Need For Propaganda

During the first world war the Government felt the need for propaganda keenly. The editor of the *Times of India*, Sir Stanley Reed, offered his services free as Information Officer and organized the Central Publicity Board. But the bureaucracy was not helpful. He insisted that the post should never be filled by an I.C.S. man. Professor Rushbrook Williams, as Sir Stanley's successor, helped much to create the tradition of the office. But right till 1939, the office did little more than publish an annual report. Mr. Joyce reorganised the office on modern lines. But it was the second world war which resulted in increasing the importance of Government publicity. Besides the Government of India, the various provincial Governments, as well as the railways had by that time organized their own information services. These were continued after the cessation of hostilities. Government publications were also started during the war and these were also continued thereafter. The new Government of India after independence established an Information Bureau in every capital city and the State Governments have similar establishments.

The Government servant in the British civil service tradition was politically neutral and was expected to serve changing Governments of whatever political complexion with fidelity and sincerity. This tradition is the very breath of British administration. The Indian public services have been trained in this tradition through the Indo-British connection. The loyalty of the public servant is to the legal Government, and its policies and not to the party which forms the Government. This loyalty is not strained in the case of technical men, routine clerical servants or even professional administrators, with changing Governments. In the case of the publicity or information officer, he is not just called upon to implement his part of a Government policy, but to publicise it, set forth the arguments in favour of it, and if necessary answer the case against it. He is thus apparently a partisan propagandist, and may degenerate into a real party publicist. There is thus the dilemma of a civil servant being compelled to become a political partisan.

This dilemma is acknowledged indirectly by the Government. The top posts in the Information offices are treated as political appointments indirectly, by making them contract appointments for a definite period, or they are openly declared as political appointments outside the purview of the Public Service Commissions in some cases. (The Uttar Pradesh was asked to keep the post of propaganda officer outside the purview of the P.S.C. because of its political character.) The British solution of either leaving it to independent bodies like the B. B. C. or the British Council has not yet been worked in India. So far this problem has not been felt actually in India due to a peculiar post-Independence psychology, where Congress, which claimed to be the whole nation, is in power all over India as the ruling party, with weak opposing parties.

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The problem of the individual public servant exposed to press criticism has recently attracted public attention due to the new Public Servants Defamation Act. The British rulers were concerned with this problem often but no special legislation was contemplated though they cancelled press facilities or launched prosecutions. The Government servants conduct rules do not generally permit a Government servant to vindicate his character against press defamation. Permission in each case might be given, but in practice this facility was rarely used by individual Government officials.

Official Publicity Hunters

The opposite problem of advantageous personal publicity for the Government servant in the press is a more recent one. During the days of British rule, while the top men like Viceroy and Governors had their fill of publicity in the press, the lesser fry like the Collector, stopped short with garlands and local platform publicity. But with Independence and the large scale expansion of the services with schemes attracting publicity like the National Extension schemes and community projects, the position became different. Some officers who were genuinely publicity-loving took advantage of these possibilities for publicity, while others perforce had to come into the limelight because of the nature of their duties. While the conduct rules forbid indulgence in politics, publicity is not taboo as it is in Britain, for the public servant. Rajaji expressed the view during the early days of Independence that hereafter journals should apportion praise and blame for the individual public servant, if they wanted to do anything worthwhile. This suggestion has not been widely accepted though there has been a tendency in some journals to publicise individual officers. This would in the long run demoralize the public servant in India.

TRULY REVOLUTIONARY FIGURE OF THIS CENTURY

WESTERN TRIBUTE TO GANDHI

In the perspective of centuries "Gandhi may be regarded as the truly revolutionary figure of the twentieth century" writes MANAS, the American weekly. It is also of the view that India is practically unique among the new nations of the world. Excerpts from the article are given below:

SOME of the problems of the modern world at least show promise of finding solution in the course of decades. The conflict between peoples of different racial origin, for instance, while close to the boiling point in regions of special tension, as in Africa, will probably die out as existing forces of education and mutual respect and understanding continue to gather strength. There has been real progress in the United States in race relations. While there should be no resting on "laurels", the progress is undoubted and should be recognized. The best evidence of this advance lies in the fact that people of both the Caucasian and Negro races are able to work together and meet together under various circumstances with much less self-consciousness and feeling of "difference" than was possible a few years ago. It is not unreasonable, therefore, to think that a time will come when skin-color, and other physical differentiations of race, will be irrelevant.

The race problem, however, needs only basic respect for human beings and common sense for its solution. Other problems, such as war, the less obvious but devastating consequences of industrialism as practiced in the West, and associated psychological and emotional ills, give no occasion for optimism. More than "good will" is needed to get at the subtler difficulties of the modern world—difficulties which are often regarded as

part of "normal" contemporary life, so that criticism is left to a small minority of perceptive individuals who recognize in various trends of recent years the symptoms of social and moral disintegration. The fact that these trends often appear to be irreversible is enough to introduce a note of desperation to such criticism.

This is one of the reasons why we make an effort to keep track of what is happening in India. Among the new nations of the world—newly remade—India is practically unique. Here are some 380 million people among whom are found virtually every social ingredient of modern populations. India has a tremendous rural population—some 80 per cent of the total. India also has every kind of "leader"—political, religious, nationalist, and cultural. Approaching a great cross-roads of history—the same cross-roads before which other nations of the world stand—India shows a marked degree of self-consciousness in considering the choices which lie ahead. Most Indian leaders, for example, seem persuaded that the present is in some sense, perhaps many senses, a revolutionary epoch. Very few Americans give evidence of this awareness. Leaders in the United States seem convinced that Americans already possess the formula for the "good society." There are articulate exceptions, of course, such as William O. Douglas of the United States Supreme Court, and several others, but for the most part

American spokesmen labour under the delusion that what the world needs is to be converted to the "American Way." So prevalent is this notion that one might conclude that the winning of a twentieth-century war brings great misfortune, since it seems to produce the conceit that the national philosophy of the victor is thereby vindicated.

India has won no wars. She won her freedom without a war, and the chief instrument of her liberation was a man who had no use for war and preached incessantly against violence for any reason.

There are several reasons for regarding modern India with special interest. First, India probably has greater philosophical riches in her literature and religious traditions than any other country. The man who has been nurtured with the memories of India's past greatness as a motherland of civilization, and who has absorbed some of the maturity of Sanskrit thought, comes to the forums of modern discussion the equal of any other in intellectual preparation. Further, many of India's present-day leaders are equipped with thorough education in the scholarly and scientific heritage of Western civilization. Such Indians are in a position to unite the fruits of two great cultures and, perhaps, to find a synthesis of what is of value in each. This, at any rate, is a part of the logical possibility of recent Indian history. Finally, India has lately been favoured by the presence of remarkable men, in one case—that of Gandhi—a veritable genius. This is the sort of event which has no particular explanation, except in the framework of a theory of history more pretentious than anything we have to offer. Whatever the explanation, Gandhi was an epoch-making man; just as, at the close of the eighteenth century, both France and the United States produced epoch-making men who did much to shape

the pattern of the future for generations to come.

In the perspective of centuries, Gandhi may be regarded as the truly revolutionary figure of the twentieth century. Even if we admit that he lived "before his time"—that his great campaign for non-violence was too "radical" for nations bound by the tradition of righteous war—we are obliged to acknowledge at the same time that the world must some day become non-violent, if only to save itself from extinction. Perhaps a change as extraordinary as this in the motives and habits of people requires not one but many men to come "before their time." So, we take the liberty of proposing that Gandhi was such a man, and that his work prefigured a transition to be realized, one way or another, by masses of men in the future. In these terms, Gandhi was much more than an "Indian" leader or patriot. He belongs to the world.

More than seven years have passed since Gandhi's death. Two men, both of them deeply affected by Gandhi, have now the center of the Indian stage—Prime Minister Nehru and Vinoba Bhave. Each has achieved fame of a different sort. Nehru has won the respect of the thinking world as a man determined to guide his nation in a foreign policy which is without partisanship, which rejects all compromising alliances and which is honestly committed to peace. Vinoba has inaugurated the *Bhoodan* or land gift movement, by means of which the land-owners of India are being persuaded to bestow portions of their land upon the landless farmers. A great moral fervor has grown up around the *Bhoodan* movement, which has acquired a strongly religious coloring. Nehru, it might be said, is the inheritor of the Gandhian tradition of principled politics, while Vinoba follows the line of religious influence, and has practically

abandoned any resort to the mechanisms of political institutions.

Vinoba, in recognizing the evils of the modern Power State, seems to be eschewing any form of political organization to implement the social gains of his movement in institutional terms. He depends upon a "change of heart," and is now calling for an almost miraculous advance through the *Bhoodan* movement. At the annual Sarvodaya conference held last March he spoke of transforming India into a "State-free" society by 1957! The dangers of emotionalism in appeals of this sort seem obvious enough. Gandhi was a more patient man.

Yet Vinoba's aggressive attack on the State is symbolic of the tremendous danger with which Statism and the military power of the State now threaten all the world. Even if there is a kind of fanaticism in the proposal of a state-free India by 1957, it must be admitted that Vinoba may help to focus attention on the Frankenstein qualities of modern political and military organization. Oversimplification has at least this value.

Nehru is under certain obligations

to maintain relations with the rest of the world, and this means that he is fated in some measure to think as the rest of the world thinks. He has the unhappy task of trying to synthesize as best he can the requirements of modern diplomacy with the principles of Gandhian thought. Manifestly, it cannot be done, but there is a mood which has been preserved, a quality of integrity which may actually be all that is possible. As for Nehru's "skepticism," and his dislike of the word "God" as Gandhi seemed to use it—here perhaps, is instinctive realization that the Western agnostic, scientific tradition holds a philosophic verity which India has as much need to grasp and reinterpret as she has of renewing the values of her ancestral philosophy.

Doubtless, the work of these two men contains very little of the solution of the problems of the modern world. But possibly the *principles* of solution are present in germ in what they are doing. At least, the problems have been defined in candid terms—a step which many Westerners fear to take.

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BRITISH CONSERVATIVES' COMING SPLIT

By ANDREW ROTH

BOURNEMOUTH: Perhaps the most startling aspect of the Conservative Conference at Bournemouth was the underlying assumption that the Conservatives are in power in Britain for the next decade or so.

Neither Conservative leaders nor speakers from the floor even paid the Labour Party the credit of attacking it seriously. Not even the name of Bevan—in the past enough to send a shiver down the spines of middle-aged ladies or raise a storm of boos from the extrovert—was raised. The Labour Party was ignored much as Labour tends to ignore the dying Liberal Party.

The Conservatives certainly have cause for short-range optimism. As a tired R. A. Butler, Chancellor of the Exchequer, pointed out, the Conservatives had increased their majority in the May 1955 election, the first time this has happened to a Government in office in ninety years. Sir Anthony Eden's role as Prime Minister has continued to earn the widest support. A Gallup Poll on the eve of the conference showed the unprecedented figure of 70% of the British electorate as satisfied with him as Prime Minister. Even four Labour supporters were satisfied with him, for every three that was dissatisfied.

The Conservatives could be content partly for organizational reasons. The Wilson Report on Party organization has shown how antiquated and inefficient Labour's vote-securing machinery is. It enabled Mr. Butler to point out that while Labour tottered along on its 'penny-farthing'—the 19th Century bicycle with a large wheel in front and a

small one behind—the Conservatives were fortunate in their "jet-propelled Viscount." This was a tribute to the cherubic viscount beside him, Lord Woolton, who has so effectively overhauled the Conservative machine and broadened its base.

The social structure of the Conference itself was a more striking tribute to these base-broadening activities. The Conservative Party is traditionally the party of the aristocracy, the landed gentry, the industrialists, the professional classes leading the lower middle classes and that portion of the working class of Britain which models itself on the middle classes. In parliament itself the top of Britain's social pyramid undoubtedly dominates. And in the Cabinet most posts are held by Old Etonians.

But the Annual Conference now is quite different, giving an insight into how the lower middle class has moved into the Conservative Party en masse. The small shopkeeper, the bank clerk, the assistant manager all voted Conservative before the war too. But their ambitions did not run to participating in running the local Conservative machine.

But Lord Woolton opened the door of the Conservative Party to them just as they felt indignant about the restrictions imposed by the Labour Government and the boost it gave to the semi-skilled worker in particular. Labour's 'Welfare State' and the full employment of the postwar have bred a lower middle class frustration which is impossible to over-estimate. Prewar the Assistant Manager of a local bank, living in a semi-detached

house, felt numerous rungs in the social ladder above the skilled fitter, assembling machinery in the local factory, and living in a 'council house' built and subsidized by the local authorities. They lived on entirely different economic, social and cultural levels.

Since the war, however, the 'Welfare State', full employment and the ability of organized workers to push up their wages has completely altered this situation. The skilled fitter, with the aid of overtime, is probably earning more than the Assistant Manager of the Bank. His rent, with subsidies, is smaller than the mortgage repayment of the bank manager. His house sports a television aerial, while the bank manager cannot afford one because he is strained to send his son to the public school—more modest than Eton or Harrow—whose imprint he hopes will guarantee his future.

To a considerable extent the Conservative Party has become the vehicle of protest by the lower middle class against their submergence. The Bournemouth conference rang with well-mannered but fervent demands to end subsidies for the housing of those workers who could afford to pay the full economic rent. Mr. Butler was warned by one delegate that "the middle classes will desert us unless we do more for them."

This embracing of the lower middle class would still leave the bulk of the population for the Labour Party. But Bournemouth demonstrated that the Conservatives are having increasing success in attracting the "working class Tory." Even prewar a large section of the obsequious working class voted Conservative. When Lord Woolton first introduced his working class Conservatives to the annual conference, it was generally considered a stunt. But in the last election he persuaded a safe Conservative constituency to adopt, and elect.

Ray Marley, electrician, the first trade unionist elected as a Conservative.

At this year's conference there were more of the 'stunt trade unionists'. An ex-boxer, Harry Golding, played the genuinely Cockney proletarian, cheerfully confiding: "It's easier for me to say fifty-free than thirty-three." More frightening for the Labour M.P.s observing this Conference as columnists for the *Daily Mirror* was Councillor B. N. Forbes, a pocket-size shop steward from a Birmingham car factory, who used his time on the rostrum to give the conference an insight into how big disputes grow from small irritations. A locomotive drive justified last spring's strike.

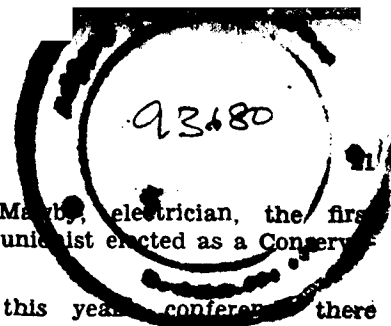
Under-Current of Strife

This broadening of the character of the Conservative Party ensures the end of the old rubber-stamp conference and the emergence of new conflicts within the Conservative Party.

The most important conflict to emerge came on the first day when unsophisticated middle class Tories demanded a complete dismantling of the 'Welfare State.' One well-coiffured lady called for an end to free milk and cheap lunches for school children in order to make it easier to reduce taxes on washing machines. She got scant sympathy from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who is hoping to pare the cost of the social services but knows that if they are cut hard the Conservatives will suffer politically.

Even less patience was displayed by Fuel Minister Geoffrey Lloyd when C. G. A. Woodford made an appeal to dismantle the nationalized coal industry and added in measured words: "I have been asked by the principals of many great firms to make this appeal."

"I ask you to put yourselves in the position of a Conservative Govern-



ment," the Fuel Minister retorted. "We had to carry the 700,000 miners with us—a community of 2,000,000 people. We had to act in a way that showed patent sincerity and not to play any political monkey tricks at all."

Intelligent Aristocrats

The curious question is whether the very broadening of the Conservative Party will not mean the weakening of the Eden-Butler policy which has helped give it such success. It is in the tradition of the British upper class since Disraeli to recognize the inevitability of social and political progress and to come to terms with it. The 'new Conservatives' acceptance of a slightly-thinned 'Welfare State' is typical. But will the less-sophisticated self-made small manufacturer now pushing himself forward in Conservative ranks show the same historical insight?

The demand for a greater voice for the middle class in the top ranks of the Conservative Party was one of the causes of the irritation with the long-promised reshuffle of Sir Anthony Eden's Cabinet. Much of it, of course, was the normal ambition of Back Benchers or Junior Ministers for promotion. But in part it was an urge for more equitable represent-

ation at the leadership level. After Sir Anthony's last pre-Conference reshuffle there was still a majority of upper class Old Etonians in the Cabinet.

Sir Anthony Eden managed to resist the raising demand for an immediate reshuffle of his Cabinet on the grounds that he was planning important diplomatic, economic and military changes and "It is important that the same team of Ministers should handle the essential work in the coming weeks."

The Conservative Conference took this from Sir Anthony with amazing grace. It is largely because he has the knack of appearing to throw himself on the mercy of his audience, confiding his difficulties and inviting them all to join in and help solve them.

This can stem pressure for a few weeks in the case of a demand for a Cabinet reshuffle. He may even put off for a few years the middle class demand for greater representation in the Conservative Parliamentary ranks. But sooner or later the clash between the resurgent and narrow-minded middle class and the historically-minded upper class in the Conservative Party is certain to come.

A RAMBLE

By T. V. KUNHI KRISHNAN

ONE hundred years ago, on November 2, 1855, sitting inside the Daria Daulat Bagh in Seringapatam, Governor-General Lord Dalhousie wrote: "I trust that this building with its memories and associations, may long be preserved, for the contemplation and the reverence of generations to come . . ."

This 175-year-old summer palace which was Tipu Sultan's favourite retreat from business is now in disrepair. Pieces of wood are falling off from the magnificently coloured ceiling and the paintings on the walls have become indistinct in places. The Archaeological Department is at present carrying out repairs.

The other day when I went up the creaking staircase, upon me was the dense weight of centuries and within me the fear that the staircase might collapse. To contemplate that Tipu Sultan and later the Duke of Wellington, Napoleon's conqueror, had used the same staircase was to feel the immediate presence of history.

Daria Daulat Bagh, literally 'garden of the wealth of the sea,' is a strikingly attractive and gracefully proportioned tiny building with many associations and it should be truly preserved "for the contemplation and reverence of generations to come."

During the last 150 years much has been written by Indians, Englishmen and Frenchmen about this building, its originator and the empire over which he presided. There is hardly anything new I can add. But a brief reconstruction of the exciting story of the rise and fall of Seringapatam and of Tipu's defeat will be of interest on this first centenary of the consecration of the ancient buildings of Seringapatam as national preserves.

Situated about ten miles north east of Mysore and at the western end of a 3-square-mile island in Kaveri river, Seringapatam is as old as Gautama rishi who is believed to have worshipped here God Ranganatha-swami. During the Ganga period, in 894 A.D., two temples were built on the island by a person called Thirumalayya. About 1117 A.D., the Vaishnava apostle, Ramanujacharya and his disciples were gifted eight villages on both sides of the Kaveri at Seringapatam by the Hoyasala king Betti-Deva.

The town of Seringapatam was built in 1120 A.D., by Udayaditya, brother of Betti-Deva. In 1454 Timmanna, lord of one of the eight villages, obtained from the Vijayanagaram king permission to govern the district of Seringapatam. Timmanna erected a fort at Seringapatam and enlarged the temple of Ranganatha with materials obtained by pulling down 101 Jain temples at Kalasavadi, a place five miles from Seringapatam.

Seringapatam's importance grew, and in 1495 the Vijayanagaram king assumed direct governance of the place and dismissed the feudatory descendants of Timmanna. Thus we learn from inscriptions of the times that Narasa, the founder of the second Vijayanagaram dynasty "quickly damming up the Kaveri in full flood, crossed over and captured the enemy (unmaned) alive in the battle." Seringapatam began to be administered by a Viceroy of the Vijayanagaram kings. The last Viceroy, Thirula Raja, was weak and powerless and surrendered the place in 1610 to Raja Wodeyar, the rising ruler of Mysore. Seringapatam became the capital of Mysore rajas and continued to be the seat of the Muslim

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kingdom of Hyder Ali and his son Tipu until Tipu was killed and the place was captured by the British in 1799.

An Unequal Battle

Though the fall of Seringapatam on the 4th of May 1799 was a historic event and was considered the most brilliant feat of British arms in India in the 18th century, it was the sad outcome of a terribly silly and unequal battle.

14,000 men were battling against 44,000 well trained soldiers. Tipu surely was more brave than wise. If he wanted he could have easily escaped from the fort and joined his 8000 strong army outside the fort and continued the war against the British.

But he decided to defend the fort to the last. His Prime Minister, Mir Mohamed Sadak, had suddenly turned traitor. Tipu himself appeared on the battlements of the fort and fired at the enemy and killed a few. He received three wounds, and as he was making his way to the palace, fell down from his mare. He was incognito and fleeing fugitives trampled on him. His body was covered up to the waist by others who fell over him.

As Tipu lay faint and exhausted on the evening of that fateful full moon day, a British soldier who was collecting booty from the dead and dying came up to Tipu and tried to snatch the gold buckle of his sword belt. When Tipu cut his knees with a sword,* the angry soldier put his musket to Tipu's right temple and shot him. That was the end of Tipu and the end of the glory of Seringapatam.

The palace and the town were mercilessly plundered in spite of the efforts of the British officers to control their troops. Women were violated and there was terrible slaughter in the streets and the houses. The

* I saw this sword in the Salar Jung Museum at Hyderabad. Tipu's headdress and coat are also kept in the museum.

town was strewn with the dead and the wounded. Colonel Wellesley who took charge of the fort on the morning of May 5 was shocked by the misbehaviour of his troops and even got some of them hanged.

On the 5th afternoon Tipu's body was taken in a 3-mile-long procession from the palace to the mausoleum. The streets were crowded by weeping inhabitants and many of them prostrated as the procession passed them. It is recorded that immediately after the funeral, a very violent storm broke out with loud peals of thunder and heavy rain. Two officers of the British camp were stricken dead by lightning.

History of Horror

In spite of decades of disrepair and the rage of plunderers, Seringapatam has even today some interesting things to offer the visitor. Major Dirom who was a staff officer with the British army under Cornwallis, describes Seringapatam of 1792 and concludes: "... this insulated metropolis must have been the richest, most convenient and beautiful spot possessed in the present age by any native prince in India."

However, Buchanan, another chronicler, says that the streets of the fort were narrower and more confused than those in any place he had seen since leaving Bengal. For several years after the fall, Seringapatam was occupied by British forces. Seringapatam began to decline rapidly and the population of the island which was estimated by Buchanan to have reached at least 150,000 during the reign of Tipu, had sunk to 10,549 by 1871.

Seringapatam is now malarial and is notoriously unhealthy for living. Its streets are the narrowest I have seen anywhere. Some of the houses which have stood there for the last 200 years are among the smallest and darkest human abodes I have come across. About 12,000 people now live inside the fort. Walking along the

main road, now a busy centre of trade, I saw some of the houses where the massacres were said to have taken place. They were so old and fearful that one almost imagined that one heard the agonised cry of women in distress. However, the men who lived and worked there now were unconcerned about the history of horror associated with the place.

In spite of the decay and dirt of centuries, Seringapatam fort is still so formidable that a great military authority who visited it about fifty years ago pronounced it as the second strongest in India. This is a tribute to the French engineers who built the fort. I examined the port holes in the battlements and found that they were so constructed that one soldier could handle three guns at the same time.

Temple, Mosque and Tombs

The Ranganathaswami temple, one of the largest in Mysore State, stands at the end of the island, far away from the scene of strife and stress. Seringapatam has suffered about a dozen invasions, and yet the temple is intact. Both Hyder Ali and Tipu were believed to have made offerings to the temple deity. Some inscriptions on silver vessels discovered recently reveal that the vessels were gifts to the temple from Tipu. The huge gold headdress of the deity was a gift from Hyder.

The mosque on the island, built in 1787, is a huge structure with towering minarets, the top of which can be reached by going up 133 odd steps.

One of the minarets is in a bad way and visitors are not encouraged to go into it. Some people believe that a temple standing on this site had been demolished and converted into this mosque. The temple wall is still traceable, and the walls of the mosque have many features peculiar to temple walls.

The Gumbaz or the mausoleum, built by Tipu for his father and in which he as well as his mother are buried, is situated outside the fort. It is a handsome structure surmounted by a dome, with minarets at angles. A tablet on the tomb of Tipu contains verses which state *inter alia*; "The light of Islam and the faith left the world: Tipu became a martyr for the faith of Muhammad: the sword was lost: the offspring of Haidar was a great martyr."

One of the most melancholy things inside the fort is the Scott bungalow. Colonel Scott, commander of Seringapatam in 1817, had lost his wife and one day when he suddenly found that his two daughters had died of cholera, he fled. No one knows where he went. Expecting Scott to return, his bungalow was preserved intact. Scott never returned and the perishable articles in the house dropped to pieces, smouldering from decay. About 50 years ago the house was cleaned up. All that now remains in it are a few huge bedsteads and a mute harpsichord. To me this disintegrating little bungalow symbolises the smouldering decay that is overtaking Tipu's capital.

AN UNSENT LETTER

MY DEAR POSTMASTER-GENERAL,

I DON'T see why it should be the privilege of Government of India officials, writing D.O. letters, to address strangers civilly when it seems best to do so, and am confident you will understand that I only mean to be tactful and palliative in my salutation. Having made that clear,

may I ask a question: Why this agonising delay?

When you (I mean 'you' legally, to include your heirs, assigns and deputies) sold me National Savings Certificates almost twelve long years ago, you were so nice and accommodating. You were willing to accept my cheque on an outstation bank and to date my investment accordingly, merely postponing issue of the certi-

ificates till my cheque was cashed. And when that happened, you sent a postman along with the personal message that my certificates were ready and could be collected anytime. Subsequently you were even more friendly; you actually sent your couriers to my mango-wood door to advise me to be a patriotic citizen and buy more certificates, and not always did I disappoint your touching faith in me.

In fact, if the buying of these certificates is the index, my patriotism is second to none's—you have my all. When friends suggested more lucrative investments for what capital I have, I have always pointed out that N. S. Cs were cast-iron securities, and that after the first eighteen months I could cash in on my certificates if need was desperate; I have even argued that nothing encouraged thrift more than 12-Year P.O.N.S.Cs., because everytime one felt like cashing them, one was held back by prospects of increased interest, say, some four months later. Do you know, my dear P.M.G., that far from succumbing to the unpatriotic advice of my friends I have converted quite a few of them, and induced them to go in for your certificates? 'Buy Post Office National Savings Certificates and buy yourself a Secure Future' has been my slogan all these years.

Little did I realise that this future would be so secure and hold out even against me! It is now almost three weeks since I applied to you for cash on one of my certificates, duly endorsed and with my signature certified by my bank—and nothing has happened. On second thoughts I realise that is not strictly true. True you wanted the identification slip issued with the certificate and I reminded you that this slip was a recent habit of yours, that in those far days you issued no slip. True that you asked for six specimens of my signature and

a letter from me authorising you to collect on my certificate from the post office of issue—I sent you these, although it seemed utterly pointless to me, for my signature today is not what it was nearly twelve years ago, having acquired a certain high-born flourish since and being signed nowadays with a superfine-pointed fountain pen that has crossed and recrossed the Atlantic twice (for repairs), not the broad-nibbed, common post-office pen I used when I bought my certificates. That was why I asked my bank to certify my signature.

However I concede that these interim demands of yours, pointless as they seem to me, have been useful. Thanks to them, I have been able to assure my creditors that the delay is yours, not mine.

But you know creditors. The Tax-Man was most ununderstanding this morning, and when I displayed the correspondence to him he had the woodenness to remark that N. S. Cs. were Central whereas he was, if anything, Local Self-Government, and I had better pay up quick or he would be forced to Take Steps—and let me tell you, I did not at all care for the look of calculation that he gave my bicycle. So, my dear P.M.G., will you please pay without further delay, or, if you won't, will you please delay things for another three months (not forgetting to send me, meanwhile, the kind of letters that I can show to creditors) so that I may have the full benefit of the 12-year period interest? But who knows, perhaps you will say after three months that interest on my certificate ceased the day I applied for cash).

With kind regards and sincere wishes for good luck in the swift grant of pension papers when you retire,

Yours sincerely,
M. KRISHNAN.

PIERRE FLEURY: A GREAT FRENCH SEA PAINTER

By BARNETT D. CONLAN

STANDING, on a clear day, at the extreme limit of Finisterre and looking out to sea, one can discern, far off, on the horizon, the rocky outline of the Isle of Ushant. Here the Atlantic has cut right through the tall cliffs so that they stand up like towers reminding us of Dante's Inferno. This is one of the most dangerous spots for navigation to be found anywhere, and further away is the Isle of Sein where the sea painter Pierre Fleury resides. Known to the

ancient Celts by the name of Enez-Sizun (the Isle of seven slumbers) it is said to have been at one time a very important Druid sanctuary. It is a precarious place to live in, since it only rises a few feet above the water and has, on several occasions been completely submerged. Moreover it is often cut off from the mainland for weeks at a time. Fishing is the chief occupation of the natives who speak the language of ancient Brittany rather than French. It is a



The Brittany coast Near Cape Raz by Pierre Fleury.

rough life, hazardous and one of constant warfare with the elements. The artist however would seem to prefer it because of the isolation it affords him as well as the contact with Nature in her grandest aspects.

Fleury himself is a seafaring type who has spent much of his time on board a trawler or a tunny boat roughing it like the fisherfolk themselves. In heavy seas and whenever things begin to look dangerous he gives a hand and, at such moments can be considered as one of the crew.

To paint on board a boat amidst these rough western seas is no easy matter and Fleury tells me that it has taken him years to discover a technique which allows him to paint while the boat is under way.

He has watched these coasts under all conditions and no artist has captured the atmospheric changes, the storms, the rain clouds, the gleams of light on the horizon or the different wave formations with such fidelity and with so intimate an understanding of the sea.

It is ten years ago now, that I first visited an exhibition of seascapes by Pierre Fleury. I had the impression that here was an artist who had remained uninfluenced by the current styles of the capital and its changing fashions. Moreover I remarked that those who came to this show were different to the public one generally meets with, being composed of sea captains, seamen, naval officers, scientists and airmen. This is partly explained by his scientific approach to his subject, to his close study of wave structure and the surface of the sea. Attached to the French Meteorological Office and to the *Ministère* of the Marine he has made a careful study of the movements of sea and cloud and his seascapes have a scientific precision that is lacking in the work of most sea painters. His paintings of cloud masses, of atmospheric changes, made while flying at a height of twelve

thousand feet were found to be more reliable than the photographs taken by the Meteorological Office. This is particularly interesting for it shows that the artist can be a more subtle recorder of natural phenomena than any scientific instrument however precise it might be. No doubt the reason for this is that the artist is like nature herself a living being who changes at every instant. By his intuition he foresees the rhythm that underlies appearances. A scientific apparatus, on the other hand, is not a creative living force able to capture that rhythmic vitality which the ancient Chinese tell us is the essence of all art.

Fleury, however, has not confined himself to an art of close observation: his seascapes contain more than that. There is much of the mystery and poetry of the sea in these canvases where moving masses of water mountainous and marked with shifting patterns endlessly follow one on another, away to the horizon.

And there are night scenes rendered in tones of dark violet or indigo where the wide expanse of waters is but partly visible being lit up only by the stars. This is a world not often depicted in art although there are approaches to it in some of the other arts, such as the last quatuors of Beethoven, and of course in literature, in certain passages of Thomas Hardy. Among the most impressive of these seascapes are those that evoke the effects of an approaching storm rising vertically as it were from off the waters! In certain of these dramatic cloudscapes such as 'Storm rising', where tall cliffs of cumulus cloud pile up above the waste of waters we are reminded of certain passages in Conrad:—"No thunder, no wind, no sound; not a flicker of lightning. Then in the tenebrous immensity a livid arch appears; a swell or two like undulations of the very darkness run past, and suddenly, wind and rain strike

together with a peculiar impetuosity as if they had struck through something solid."

Fleury like Conrad has lived most of his life in the midst of the sea and it is this that makes his work more authentic than that of most sea painters. All those whose life is on the sea, fisherfolk, sea captains, and seamen of all sorts are immediately attracted by his work. They recognize the authentic character of this art and in looking at one of these paintings they again feel themselves on board their ships.

The city dweller however is apt to judge according to the latest fashion in art, not to say the latest craze, and because Fleury has not cultivated an up-to-date manner, but, like Courbet, has kept his eye on nature, such people are unable to appreciate his art at its real value and liable to confuse it with the naturalistic style of the last century.

This close study of wave formations can be best followed in 'Vagues

at Houles'—'Waves and Groundswell', a collection of twenty lithographs accompanied with a text and a commentary of Captain J. Rouch—Director of the Oceanographic Museum of Monaco.

This book is particularly interesting as a study of the sea: In his commentary of the engraving that illustrates a dangerous passage between two shoals Captain Rouch remarks:

"Here you must carefully pay attention to your bearings. Keep close to your course, otherwise your boat will be drawn in by the back-wash and driven by the currents out of its direction. This means certain shipwreck for you will be capsized and drowned amidst the whirlpool of foaming breakers."

Pierre Fleury must have often accompanied Captain Rouch or his friends the fishermen amidst these dangerous seas, and it is just this that makes his art so attractive and convincing.

"BIG DAM FOOLISHNESS"

BY K. R. MALKANI

"FLOODS are a blessing, a life-giving thing. There is nothing more noble than floods. It would be silly to build dams and embankments to give protection against every unforeseeable flood. I consider that to build up the morale of the people is more important than to build walls around them."

Who you think said it? Prime Minister Nehru. And he has been the greatest supporter of big dams these ten years! Wisdom has begun to dawn after all the proposed dams have already been launched.

Recently an important book made its appearance on the American bookshelves. The title is "Big Dam

Foolishness" and the author E. T. Peterson. It was published by the Devin-Adair Company, 23, East 26th Street, New York. The book is a challenge to popular thinking on the subject of big dams. Here is a book which every student of public affairs should read. It makes you feel that these big dams are about as useless as the hippopotamus.

The author makes it clear that big dams do not control floods; they only accentuate them. Such is the experience of even size-crazy U.S.A. The author's findings are:

(1) Many small reservoirs can store considerably more water at considerably less cost, than one big dam.

(2) Big dams start a process of backwater sedimentation which often spreads indefinitely upstream and does incalculable damage to farmlands.

(3) Big dams involve huge areas of the best land which are therefore permanently lost to agriculture.

(4) Invariably the final costs are out of all proportion to the initial cost estimates. Any amount of incompetence and corruption plagues all these dam projects.

The Colorado Big Thompson Project, originally estimated to cost \$4,40,00,000 actually cost \$16,00,00,000. The Oahe Project, estimated at \$7,20,00,000, actually cost \$29,30,00,000. In India our experience is the same. Actual costs are invariably more than double the estimates.

(5) Big dams are excellent targets for atom bombing, poisoning and sabotage.

(6) A major purpose of big dams is hydro-electric power. But in many areas steam-generated power can be produced more cheaply. Also atomic power is already only a matter of time. With that, big dams will become even more burdensome and less necessary.

(7) Because of siltation, all dams must be eventually abandoned. It is only a matter of time. Meanwhile this siltation may disturb the course of the river and cause any amount of damage. All big dams are recent. That is why the fact of their short life is not yet properly impressed on the public mind. But that is no reason why engineers, economists and statesmen should not take full account of this matter.

(8) When water flows freely it often overflows, and percolates the earth over a wide area. That helps maintain the level of subsoil water. The dams severely limit the insoak

area. They therefore adversely affect irrigation by subsoil water. It is well known that sub-soil water is much better for crops than surface water by virtue of the former's mineral content. Also the fall in subsoil water level affects flora and fauna in the surrounding area.

(9) Big dam reservoirs promote evaporation of water supplies in contrast with sub-soil storage which eliminates evaporation.

(10) The value of big dams for irrigation is also doubtful because of the rapid siltation of canals and ditches carrying the pent-up muddy water.

The most sensible method of irrigation and flood control is to "stop the water where it falls." This means adoption of soil conservation practices on a large scale. The National Water Policy Panel of the Engineers' Joint Council, U. S. A., the most authoritative body of its kind, is of the definite opinion that underground storage is preferable to surface storage, wherever practicable.

It is estimated that on an average the earth in U.S.A. can store eight times the annual rainfall. About the same would be the position in India and elsewhere. Good forest soils which take water quickly can hold 50% or more of their volume. This means that soil 8 feet deep may store about four feet of water.

This system will have a great many absolute advantages. Before man started "mastering" nature, rivers were deep and narrow. "Civilised" man, by thoughtlessly cutting the natural forest cover, left the precious top soil loose to be eroded away down the river. As a result, most of our rivers now are broad and shallow and muddy, bringing floods and silt in their train. Big dams are a remedy which only accept this and aggravates it.

NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

LEADERSHIP IN ADULT EDUCATION PROGRAMMES

SERVING some one million readers through its 80 branches, the New York Public Library is possibly the largest public library system in the world. Dedicated to making the Library of maximum usefulness to its patrons, the staff (which today numbers more than 2,000 people) has never hesitated to undertake new projects and expand the Library's cultural horizons.

As a first step in implementing its adult education programme, the Library established a Reader Adviser's Office. This office was designed to help the individual reader understand and take full advantage of the facilities of the Library's Reference and Circulation Departments; to provide the reader who has a special interest—such as antiques, ornithology or stamp-collecting—with a booklist tailored to fit his particular needs, and to serve as a center of information about Greater New York's adult education facilities as well as a center for all information about books.

In 1948, the Reader Adviser's Service was merged with the Office of Adult Services. Today this office covers a far broader area than was dreamed of in 1929 and the services it offers—like all other library services—are free to the public.

In the beginning, the New York Public Library attempted only to provide readers with information on adult education courses available in the metropolitan area. Since 1945, however, it has cooperated actively with groups and organizations carrying on such programmes. In collaboration with the School of General Studies of the City College of New

York, the Library has worked out programmes for adult classes, its contribution consisting of planning the courses, preparing reading lists for teachers and students, interesting library users to register for the courses, and, in some instances, making library facilities available for class meetings.

In cooperation with various organizations, the Library has presented programmes of information and discussion on special subjects. For example, collaborating with the Foreign Policy Association in 1954, the Library offered a discussion programme on India, enrolling members for three groups (each limited to 30). Two of these groups met in branch libraries and one at the Association's headquarters. Background reading recommended for those enrolling included "The Bhagavad-Gita" and selected works of Gandhi, Nehru, Chester Bowles, Heinrich Zimmer, W. Norman Brown and others well informed on the country and its problems.

The Library itself has developed several discussion programmes, most popular of which have been the Great Books Discussion programmes, Current Events Discussion groups, Film Discussion groups and programmes called "Exploring the American Idea."

The idea behind the Great Books Discussion programmes is that modern man can benefit from reading and discussing the great books which—over long years and even many centuries—have been found to deepen and enrich the thinking of individuals on the human problems of greatest concern.

The New York Public Library inaugurated its Great Books Discussion programmes in 1947. That year it offered trained leaders for 29 groups (numbering 15 to 25 members each) which met one evening every other week in branch libraries to discuss a great literary work that had been previously selected and read by the group. So successful was this first venture that the Great Books Discussion programme became a permanent feature of the adult education programme and each year the Library trains individuals to lead these and many other discussion groups.

In 1950, the Library instituted a series of discussion groups called "Exploring the American Idea." That year four experimental groups read and discussed 11 selections of outstanding American writing. Selections, made by a committee of Library staff members, included the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States and books by eminent American writers and historians. Designed to propound some of the important ideas on government and man's relation to it, this series was so well received that the Fund for Adult Education (established by the Ford Foundation) made a grant to expand the programme on a national scale. The New York City Library serves as one of the demonstration areas for the national project, revising reading lists and working out programmes combining books and films. In 1954-1955 there were 12 branch libraries with discussion groups on "Exploring the American Idea."

The Library also has developed Community Discussion groups and Film Discussion groups which are held on a regular schedule at branch libraries throughout the city. For the year 1954-1955, the theme of Community Discussion groups was the "United States' Responsibilities as a Great Nation." Background reading suggested by the Library for these groups included books on domestic

policy, international relations and the role of the United Nations in world affairs.

In recent years, the increasing use made by various community groups of 16 mm. film for disseminating information brought innumerable requests for film information into the New York Public Library. Consequently, in 1948 the Office of Adult Services began to build up a file of films which today has reached sizable proportions. The Library now undertakes to help groups in the selection of appropriate films from this file and to provide information as to where other suitable films may be obtained.

Following World War II, when many veterans and defense plant workers were forced to find new vocations, the Office of Adult Services met the need for vocational information by compiling a file of vocational literature and book lists for various fields of opportunity. This comprehensive file has been maintained ever since and today enables the individual to study a given vocational field or to find out what fields are open to him. While the Library does not attempt to offer vocational counseling, it does provide information on both private and public service agencies where such advice may be obtained.

A special area covered by the Library's Office of Adult Services is that of labour. Over the years, the trade unions in New York City turned to the Library for help in providing their members with information for their further education. As a result, the Library appointed a staff member just to assist trade unions in setting up and running their own libraries, and to offer guidance on how to turn out an effective trade publication, prepare a pamphlet or arrange a bulletin board.

Many branch libraries offer individual programmes and series of pro-

grammes designed to suit the needs and interests of their particular neighbourhoods. These are in addition to the discussion groups which are conducted on a Library-wide basis and emanate from the Office of Adult Services.

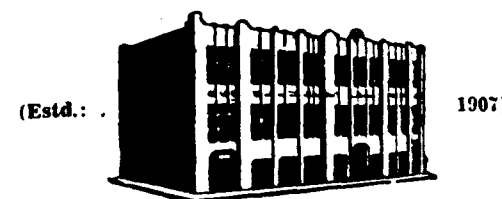
Exhibitions are another means which the branch library uses to further adult education. While book displays may predominate, many neighbourhood libraries arrange art exhibitions and shows keyed to a community interest. On a tour of branches, one may find exhibitions on many diverse subjects designed to interest library users and stimulate them to greater thought and wider reading.

Five times a year the Office of Adult Services issues a publication

entitled "Branch Library Book News." Actually, this is a booklist on a given subject, such as art, biography or music. Distributed through the branch libraries, this booklist is popular and widely used by patrons.

A weekly book talk over New York's municipally-owned radio station is another facet of the Library's adult education programme. Each week a librarian delivers a 15 minute talk on some book of special interest, or the work of a particular author, or a comparison between the works of several writers. This broadcast has a relatively wide and extremely faithful audience. At present, plans are underway for the Library to make limited use of television in providing the public with more information and education on the adult level.

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SPORTS

CRICKETERS FROM CEYLON

By N. S. RAMASWAMI

ONE of the greatest achievements of the Indian spirit is to be found in Ceylon. Mihintale raises an echo in the minds of both countries, for it was there that Buddhism was introduced into the island by the son and daughter of Emperor Asoka, that ornament of the Indian race. Polonnaruwa and Anuradhapura (which I must confess I have witnessed only within the circumscribed borders of the new stamps of Ceylon) are as much a tribute to Indian as they are to Ceylonese genius.

Despite the contemporary unfortunate unrest and turmoil, there is an intimate affinity between the souls of India and Ceylon. There have been wars, conquests and repulses, but nothing can efface the fundamental debt which Ceylon owes to India. But, without making any illtimed attempt at levity or jocularly and in full recognition of the relative importance of the two subjects, it may perhaps be said that on one memorable morning at Chepauk many years ago Ceylon paid back this debt of honour at least to some extent. If cricket can uplift the spirit of man beyond its earthly trammel the innings which Sathasivam played that day undoubtedly did so. It was less an effort at batsmanship than a magnificent epic.

The passage of time has fortunately removed from it the incidental encumbrances such as the mathematical total, the number of boundaries and perhaps even the quantity of "chances" so that it is possible to contemplate it in its purity, unhindered by extraneous considerations.

It certainly extended to beyond two hundred, and it is not quite inconceivable that the batsman offered some hopes to the fielding side. But these matter little or nothing in the light of the one blazing fact that it was one of the greatest innings of that epoch. Such strokes have perhaps not flowed from a bat since that magical day, strokes which combined lyricism, incisiveness and accuracy, disparate as these qualities may appear. But the batsman was certainly inspired that day, and when inspiration graces a cricketer he reaches out to the heavens.

My introduction to Ceylonese cricketers was under dramatic circumstances. A team from the island had toured India and had come to Madras for their last fixture hitherto undefeated. I remember that even Nissar and Amar Singh, the first and last great pair of bowlers to have opened for India, had failed to make any impression on them. They commenced their innings against Madras with such celerity and despatch as frightened the youthful partisan. But soon disaster fell on them. It was, I believe, Dr. Gunasekara (who had played for Middlesex) who was first to be bowled by Gopalan in an over which must be one of the brightest adornments of Madras cricket. He played forward, but lost his middle stump. There next entered Schockman, a vehement and burly left-hander. The next ball conclusively bowled him, uprooting his middle stump. Amidst great excitement, a tall player, N. S. Joseph, took his place at the crease. He

essayed a forward stroke to the third ball, which, however, defeated his defensive caution and again the hapless middle stump was violently struck. This was a moment of splendid drama. The Ceylonese were unable to recover from this catastrophe and were ultimately defeated.

This memorable hat-trick was amply avenged by Sathasivam's magnificent innings. But meantime another strain had made itself felt in Ceylonese cricket. F. C. Saram has been caviare to the multitude. His arts are not common or exhibitionist. But any careful student who watched him at the crease could not have failed to be struck by his scholarly, I had almost said, religious style. All art is fundamentally based on accuracy and neatness. It is on these foundations that it builds up its great effects, which, though they may appear contrary in spirit to the undervalued virtues of orthodoxy, are however dependent upon them. I have seldom watched a neater or more compact batsman than de Saram. He tore no passion to tatters; there was no magniloquence about his innings. The ignorant might have dismissed many of his strokes as common; there was always, however, about them an air of cultivation.

This batsman was completely unobtrusive; he made no attempt to draw attention to himself. He appeared out of place in a crawling and violent amphitheatre, suggesting rather the library or the cloister. There was an intimate, even antique, charm about him as he moved backward and forward with almost an apologetic leisureliness. As far as I can remember now, the only vehement stroke he made was the on-drive. No other attempt of his attracted attention and many of his innings must have been played in the midst of funereal silence. But for those who could see there was

distinction about it, the distinction of a scholar and a gentleman.

The last time I watched him in action at Chepauk there was none to do him or any of the other twenty-one players honour. When it is considered that Constantine was one of the players it is difficult to credit the people of Madras with that wisdom or sagacity with which they are frequently endowed by themselves or their admirers. There lumbered into the ground a great and vast figure, a ferocious cap surmounting a portly frame. It wielded a bat much as Polyphemus must have handled a log of wood. It took the place at the crease, looked about it for a while, probably admiring the clump of trees that adorn Chepauk, and then proceeded to heave a mighty six from an impossible position before retiring into the darkness of the pavilion. It emerged again into the sunlight, walking about the ground much in the manner of a sailor and was at last called to the bowling crease. Then, horror to relate, it proceeded to bowl slow leg-breaks. I must confess that the sight was excruciating. We, the twenty of us in the entire ground, had seen Constantine, one of the greatest fast bowlers in the history of the game, in action. The paradox was too much for us to bear.

These pages will probably be in the hands of the reader as he is watching a renewal of the ancient contest between Madras and Ceylon at the Corporation Stadium grounds. He is much to be envied, for he is likely to be provided with cricket which is likely to appeal to the intellect and to the senses. Ceylonese cricket has always been a benefaction and even though neither Sathasivam nor de Saram will be there there have been worthy successors. It is appropriate that they should be playing under the aegis of a great Madras cricketer whose hat-trick constituted my introduction to cricketers from Ceylon. They have signally recovered from that honourable ignominy.

FILMS

By V. P. SATHE

THE Film Federation Executive Committee met in Bombay last week. Fortunately it decided to revise its earlier decision and resolved to participate in the selection of State awards and in the prize-winning ceremony proposed to be held in Delhi in December 1955. The Federation's executive also decided to postpone the celebration of the Silver Jubilee of the 'Talkie' scheduled to be held in December to March 1956. The celebrations, it is learnt, would be held on a lavish scale; though no details appear to have been chalked out yet.

As Shri V. Shantaram, the President of the Producers' Guild was out of Bombay, the unity drive could not make much headway, though both Shri Patil and Vasan held informal discussions with members of the Guild as well as other representative organisations. Both of them are expected to make a bold and determined bid to achieve absolute unity in the film industry.

During his stay in Bombay, Shri Vasan addressed a meeting of the Film Journalists' Association on Saturday the 15th October in the afternoon on "The Film Industry And Its Future." He asserted that given proper support and encouragement by the Government and the people, the film industry would make speedy progress and occupy the first place in the world in the near future. He pleaded that though the Government was receiving a sum of about Rs. 12 crores every year from the industry by way of taxes the Government did not extend any adequate benefits to the industry. He depre-

caed the tendency among a certain class of people to look only to the evil side of the cinema and ignore the fact that the industry has done a great deal of good to the society. He asked the Government to include the film industry in the Five Year Plan.

Though Shri Vasan and most of the film people have been complaining against the Government's attitude, it appears that the Government is immune to all arguments and pleadings. But if the Government does take a positive attitude, it can really help the producers to make better pictures as is evident from *Patha Panchali* sponsored by the West Bengal Government. It would have been impossible to make a picture of such high artistic integrity and realism for any producer purely on a commercial basis; it was State finance that made the production of a picture like *Patha Panchali* possible. It is only by actively helping productions of this kind that the Government can help the industry to progress on the correct lines. Happily, *Patha Panchali* has proved successful even on a purely commercial basis. One does not know whether Shri Vasan and the Film Federation gave thought to this aspect of the problem; but, then Shri Vasan has never been anxious to get finance from the Government. He has been insisting only on reduction in taxes. Whatever may be their attitude, I think that the success of *Patha Panchali* raises several new issues which deserve consideration both by the Government of India and the Film Federation.

Picture of the week

K. Amarnath's *Baradari* is a routine costume drama glorifying Rajput chivalry. Loaded with action, melodrama and music, *Baradari* follows the popular pattern, and as such should have a fair response at the box office.

As a picture, it is just mildly amusing. The story, hackneyed in its form and substance, has hardly any refreshing note. The plot has a tendency to flag thanks to a long-drawn out prologue in which Murad, the head of State, after punishing an innocent tax-gatherer, leaves his only son to the care of the victim's widow goaded by the astrologer's prediction and the loosely knit triangular drama in which Ajit, the widow's real son, Chandrashekhar, the prince who is brought up as his foster-brother, and Geeta whom they love, are the main characters.

Ajit is the model character. The plot centres round the valour, heroism and sacrifice of Ajit who vindicates his Rajput blood by holding aloft the traditions of his father and winning the king's gratitude and repentance for the wrong that he had done to Ajit's parents.

The triangular drama between the prince and the common lover would have been more interesting had there been no stereotyped villain in the shape of Pran to dominate the proceedings. It is his stock-in-trade villainy that makes the story stale and deprives it of its possible refreshing tone.

It would be foolish to expect any realism in this sort of rural swashbuckling romance and melodrama. And yet, it must be said to the credit of producer-director Amarnath that he has fairly succeeded in giving the proper background and atmosphere to the story. Even the music is in tune with the story; and though most of the songs are out of place and some of them even hold up the tale, they have a haunting lilt and refreshing beauty of their own.

In fact, the music by Naushad is the most pleasant attraction of this competently produced and directed film by a veteran who has a flair for action-melodramas. The dialogue is rambling in the first half; but as the picture proceeds, the nar-

rative becomes compact and the climax is taut with plenty of action to hold the interest of the audience.

Among the artistes, Murad as the king gives the best performance. Geeta Bali, the versatile star, is at her usual best; but she has not much scope in the role. Ajit is improving with each picture. Chandrashekhar is impressive. Gope's comedy though misplaced would appeal to his fans. Pran is getting too much typed these days.

Baradari is thus the average picture which exactly fills the bill.

Personality of the week

In the death of Shri Govindrao Tembe last week in Delhi, the film industry lost one of its pioneer artists. And as most of the film personalities of today are almost unaware of his contribution to the films it is hardly surprising that the news of his death went almost unnoticed in the film world and the film press.

He started his life as a clerk, studied law and practised it before joining the Marathi stage. Shri Govindrao Tembe first came into limelight over fifty years ago as an outstanding harmonium player. Later, he revealed his genius as an actor, singer, dramatist and music composer. It was his tunes that were in no small way responsible for the success of Balgandharva's *Manapman* on the Marathi stage. In presenting classical music in lighter form Tembe was a pioneer. As he wrote lyrics and composed music he had an added advantage over other music composers.

It was but natural that when Shri V. Shantaram decided to produce his first talkie film, he should seek the help of such a versatile genius. It is worth remembering that in 1931 when he was fifty, Govindrao Tembe made his film debut as a writer, music director and artiste in *King Of Ayodhya* in which he played the title role opposite Durga Khote, composed music and wrote lyrics and dialogue

for the Marathi version. He composed for a number of other Shantaram films including *Jalti Nishani*, *Maya Macchindra*, *Stnhagad* and *Sairandhri*. Their association ended when Shantaram left Kolhapur and the Prabhat Studio was built in Poona. But for a few more pictures made in Kolhapur, Govindrao Tembe ceased to take interest in films; he devoted more attention to music and evolved an opera in Marathi. He was thus associated with films only for about five or six years; his last appearance on the Hindi screen, perhaps, was in Debaki Bose's *Seeta* in which he played the role of Valmiki and sang three songs in competition with such renowned Bengalee singers as K. C. Dey, Indubala and Mukhtar Begum.

Strikingly handsome and dignified in his looks, Govindrao Tembe continued to work even in his old age. Only recently his book on music was published; and he was felicitated last year on the completion of 75 years of age. He had been to Delhi to attend the meeting of the Central Audition Committee of All India Radio and it

was in a way at the post of duty that he died.

His musical contribution to the stage and the screen has earned for him a distinctive place in the culture and art in our country.

News of the week

The muhurat of Nav Chitra's bilingual social production, *Seeta* based on a popular Marathi novel *Shitlu* written by G. N. Dandekar, was held at Poona on Monday the 17th October 1955 by producer-director Raja Thakur. Usha Kiron will play the title role in both the Hindi and Marathi versions. Sudhir Phadke is giving the music.

The Wages Of Fear, the French film which won the Grand Prize at Cannes is being released in India. In Bombay it will have its premiere at Liberty on 28th October 1955.

Nigar has replaced Meena in the star cast of A.V.M.'s *Bhai-Bhai*; Raj Kumar has replaced Chandrashekhar in Mehboob's *Awaaz*.

Nalini Jaywant and Premnath are co-starred in Filmistan's *Chor* to be directed by I. S. Johar.

Edinburgh Film Festival

By JOHN LITTLEFIELD

(Member of the London Critics' Circle)

THE Edinburgh Film Festival differs from all the other international festivals in that its organizers give no prizes and entertain few stars. It is rather, a meeting-place for the film makers, the technicians, and all who are interested in the art of the film.

Here come directors, critics, and cameramen from literally all over the world. Here they talk and get to know one another—Russians, Poles and Czechs and other Europeans, as well as Indians, Chinese, Japanese, and Americans.

This year there were delegations from India and Ceylon, from the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. and from

Italy, the Netherlands, Sweden, Germany, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, and Poland. Famous directors present included Vittorio de Sica, the 1955 honorary president of the Festival; Paul Rotha; Jacques Tati; Thorold Dickinson; and Carl Dreyer.

About 200 films drawn from 38 countries were shown during the Festival, and to have seen even a selection of them (as I have done) is to have enlarged one's knowledge of the modern world and enriched one's imagination and understanding of things past.

For instance, I have acquired, through seeing "Hill 24 Doesn't Answer," a more vivid picture of the miseries and triumphs of the Arab-Jewish war. I have learned something of the slow, deliberate artistry of Chinese opera in the exquisite colour film "Liang Shan-Po and Chu

Ying-Tai." I have realized some of the problems of the men who search for oil, in "The New Explorers"; and I have obtained a vivid picture of the joys and sorrows of the poorer people of Naples in "L'Oro di Napoli" ("The Treasure of Naples").

The first Israeli film to be made in the English language and the first feature film wholly produced in Israel, "Hill 24 Doesn't Answer" won golden opinions at the Cannes Festival. Directed by Thorold Dickinson, one of Britain's finest film makers, it tells, largely in flashback, the story of four young volunteers, an Irish policeman, an American tourist, a Polish Jew, and a Yemenite girl, who perish in trying to hold Hill 24, thus claiming it for Israel, on the eve of the cease-fire. The hospital scenes, when the Jews are making a last stand against the Arabs in Jerusalem, are particularly fine. Also, the film introduces a new actress, Haya Harari, who will certainly be heard of again.

Vittorio de Sica's new film, "L'Oro di Napoli," consists of five episodes of Neapolitan life, shot mainly in the streets of the city. I particularly liked the gay story of a pizza maker and his flighty wife, the moving little episode of a child's funeral procession, and Signor de Sica's gem of a performance as an impecunious Count with a passion for gambling.

One of the most notable films shown was "Ordet" ("The Word"), adapted and directed by Carl Dreyer from Kaj Munk's drama of the same name. This Danish masterpiece is a realistic film, shot mainly in Veders—Mr. Munk's own parish—dealing with the struggle between faith and fanaticism and ending with a miracle brought about by a child's faith and that of a man driven crazy by the intensity of his religious studies. Mr. Dreyer's direction and the acting of all concerned, particularly 81-year-old Henrik Malberg as the head of the family, and Brigitte Federspiel as his son's wife who is

brought to life again after dying in childbirth, won high praise.

One of Britain's most interesting exhibits was a 35min feature, "The Bespoke Overcoat," freely adapted by Wolf Mankowitz from the short story by Gogol, and set in the Jewish quarter of London's East End. It concerns the friendship of two old men—Morry, a tailor, and Fender, a clerk who longs for a new overcoat which will keep his old bones warm in winter. Morry consents to make the overcoat on the instalment system, but Fender dies before it is finished. The picture, largely shot in close-up is quite beautifully acted by David Kossoff as Morry and Alfie Bass as Fender. It is often touching, and has a gentle, macabre humour. Imaginatively photographed by Wolfgang Suschitzky, it was directed by Jack Clayton.

The U.S.S.R. presented its "Romeo and Juliet" film, notable alike for the beauty of its colour, the dramatic sweep of its action, and the lyrical dancing of Ulanova. Canada's contribution included "Blinkity Blank," another of Norman McLaren's interesting experiments in what he calls "intermittent animation," and the beautiful "Farm Calendar." From Australia came an amusing cartoon, "Letter to a Vandal Anywhere," and "Blue Ice," the story of the Australian Antarctic expedition.

"Munna" from India

India's feature film was "Munna," the simple and moving story of a child who runs away from an orphanage in search of his mother.

From the Chinese People's Republic came "The Letter with the Feathers," the story of a shepherd boy entrusted with the carrying of an important dispatch during the Sino-Japanese war. The United States presented "East of Eden" and Walt Disney's "The Lady and the Tramp" as its features, but also contributed a number of interesting shorts.

Other Festival memories include the crumbling icebergs of Denmark in the beautiful colour film, "Where Mountains Float;" the brilliant wit of an American cartoon, "Fudget's Budget;" and France's imaginatively-shot "Images Prehistoriques," a record of the paintings in the caves of Lescaux.

Awards

During the Festival, the David O. Selznick Golden Laurel Award, for the film thought to have contributed most to international understanding, was presented by Douglas Fairbanks Jr., to Matsutaro Kawaguchi, script-writer of the winning film, Japan's

"Ugetsu Monogatari"; based on a Japanese classic of 16th-century life.

The Golden Laurel Trophy went to Vittorio de Sica, whose work over the years was considered to have reached the highest standards of cinematic artistry.

The first Richard Winnington Award, to be presented annually in memory of this fine English critic to the director whose film, considered as a work of art, is voted the best shown to British audiences during the preceding 12 months, went to the Russian director, Donski, for his great trilogy on the life of Maxim Gorky.

The B. B. C.

THIRTY thousand records in the permanent recording library, sixty-three thousand books and a quarter of million illustrations in the reference library, more than half a million commercial records in the gramophone library, five hundred tons of music in print and manuscript in the serious music library alone and many more in the Variety library—all these things belong to the BBC, the biggest organisation of its kind in the world, which employs a staff of more than thirteen thousand five hundred people, including twelve full-time orchestras.

BBC television produces another impressive set of figures, with fifteen million feet of film catalogued into one hundred thousand different shots in the film library, a stock of two hundred thousand different "props", varying from the back end of a horse to a smoke machine, and for thousand costumes. The make-up girls at the studios use three hundredweight of cold cream and more than three hundred pairs of false eyelashes every year, and in constructing scenery the BBC uses annually half a million square feet of timber, seven hundred thousand square feet of wallpaper, one thousand gallons of

paint and forty-five thousand pounds of distemper.

The BBC with all these resources produces many thousands of sound and television programmes each year for listeners at home and overseas and broadcasts in forty-four different languages. News bulletins are an integral part of all its services, both domestic and external, and some one hundred and thirty are broadcast daily, more than half the adult population of the United Kingdom hearing one or more bulletins every day on either sound or television. A hundred and fifty journalists and fifteen cameramen work on sound and television news for British listeners, and a further hundred journalists cover the news for overseas, which is sent out in forty-one languages almost throughout the twenty-four hours. The Corporation employs thirteen full-time foreign correspondents, and there are also special diplomatic, Parliamentary, industrial and air correspondents. The continual flow of news into BBC newsrooms amount to about three hundred thousand words each day, nearly the length of "The Pickwick Papers," although the average length of a fifteen-minute broadcast bulletin is less than two thousand words.

ANDHRA DISTRICT BOARDS

By Dr. V. VENKATA RAO

(Gauhati University)

OF all the local authorities in the Madras and Andhra States, district boards seem to have become the Cinderella of provincial politics. While the district municipalities and panchayats have acquired a settled place in the political philosophy of the State, the district boards, although they have a history of nearly a century behind them have not got a secure position. At one time both Sri Rajagopalachari and Gopala Reddi seriously entertained the idea of abolishing them. Having failed to do that the political disciple of Rajaji now desires to mutilate them since they cannot be annihilated. It is reported in the Press that the United Congress Party in the Andhra legislature has decided to introduce indirect election to the district boards.

As early as 1870, it was suggested that elections to all the local authorities should be direct. This suggestion was partly accepted. The Town Improvements Act of 1871 provided for the election of a certain proportion of the members. But no such provision was made in the Local Funds Act of 1871 because the district officers were against the proposal. Therefore, all the members of the district boards then called circle boards—were nominated by the Governor-in-Council. In 1882, Lord Ripon suggested that the elective system may at once considerably be extended. But the Committee on Local-Self Government, 1882, in their first report opposed the proposal on the ground that the system had already been tried in regard to the management of the religious endowments but met with failure. While forwarding the report to the Government of India, the Madras Gov-

ernment adopted a sympathetic attitude and promised to introduce elections in the more advanced districts tentatively at first. In its final report, the Committee adhered to its earlier view and observed that "election based on English methods which did not succeed even in the towns is impossible in the rural tracts." Since the Government of India desired that it might if possible be introduced at least in some places, the Committee recommended that it might be tried in a few of the more advanced taluks. The Local Boards Act, 1884, therefore, authorised the Government to introduce direct elections to the taluk boards as and when it thought fit. So far as the district boards were concerned, the members were elected by the taluk boards. As it was not obligatory on the part of the Government to introduce elections to the taluk boards it was not done till 1909. Thus during the period 1884 to 1909, the members of the district boards were elected by the nominated members of the taluk boards. In 1909, direct election of a certain proportion of the members of taluk boards was introduced but the members of district boards continued to be elected by taluk boards.

In 1920, provision was made in the Local Boards Bill for the direct election of members of the district boards but the Select Committee dropped the provision on the ground that the relationship that subsisted between the taluk boards and district boards was such that the latter should consist of men selected by taluk boards. Sir P. Rajagopalachari, the then Member in charge of the Local Self-Government Department contended that the election of members of the

district boards by taluk boards would be conducive to the smooth working of the district boards, avoiding friction and conflict. But the distinguished Member had forgotten the fact that there was no correlation between taluk boards and district boards either in regard to their functions or powers. The powers that were vested in the district boards were powers of control and for the effective exercise of these powers, the district boards ought not to have consisted of the representatives of taluk boards.

Despite these facts, elections to the district boards continued to be indirect except in the case of the Nilgiris where there were no taluk boards. Public opinion, however, insisted that direct elections should be introduced for the district boards also. The Local and Municipal Conference, 1922, demanded that at least 50 per cent of the members of the district boards should be elected by direct vote. A Bill embodying this suggestion was also published in 1923 but it was not proceeded with. It was in 1929, that the Local Boards Bill proposed direct election of three-fourths of the members of the boards, the remaining one-fourth being filled by indirect election. The Select Committee, however, felt that the combination of two systems for the election of members of the district boards would bring into existence an invidious distinction among the members of the boards and therefore recommended direct election of all the members. Accordingly direct election for the district boards was introduced for the first time sixty years after they were established. Such a long time was taken because the bureaucracy hesitated to take a lead in the field of experimental Government. With the outbreak of World War II, the system of nominations was again introduced. In 1946, after the Congress came back to power, it abolished nominations and placed all the district boards under special officers. In 1948, the

Government made a proposal similar to that now proposed by the Andhra Cabinet, namely, to reconstitute the district boards with the members of the State legislature, other than Ministers, permanently residing in the district as ex-officio members and a few others representing the minorities and women. The proposal was denounced both by the press and public and was therefore given a decent burial. There is, however, a vital difference between the 1948 proposal and the present one. The 1948 proposal was a transitional measure but the present one is of a permanent nature.

Let us now analyse the implications of the present proposal. The proposal contains two parts. Firstly, until panchayats are constituted throughout the State, the district boards would consist of the members of the State legislature as ex-officio members. Secondly, after the constitution of panchayats in all the villages, the members of the panchayats would constitute electoral colleges for the election of members of the district boards.

The foundations of local self-government would be unsettled by the appointment of the members of the legislature as ex-officio members of the district boards. Further, the independence of the Minister for Local Administration would be annihilated because the Minister has to depend upon the good will of the members of the legislature and if the members of the legislature are made the members of the district boards he would not be able to adopt an impartial attitude in the administration of the department. This difficulty was experienced by all the Ministers for Local Administration when a substantial number of the legislature had something to do with local authorities. It follows from the above that the members of the legislature would become little dictators in the local authorities. In other words, favouritism, patronage and victimi-

zation of the local government personnel would be practised on a grand scale. The Minister for Local Administration having been reduced to nullity would become a disinterested spectator. Some of the local authorities are likely to receive the most favoured treatment. Finally, such an arrangement would help the members of the legislature to build up their influence in their constituencies. The purpose for which the Ministry for Local Administration was brought into existence, viz, coordination and control of the activities of the local authorities, would be defeated.

Let us consider the second aspect of the proposal, namely election of members of the district boards by electoral colleges consisting of members of panchayats. In favour of the proposal it may be argued that the members of the electoral college would be more capable than an average voter and therefore would pick up the strongest available person. Ambassadors are not elective officers and yet the head of the State is able to select eminent men to represent the State in other capitals. Further, it may be argued that members chosen in this way would constitute a body of men who had gained political experience in their own areas, men who had served in the panchayats or who had distinguished themselves in social service. Demagogues might win at the polls and get seats in the boards but they would not find it easy to cajole the members of the electoral college by oratory and promises. It may also be argued as Alexander Hamilton had done "Give all the power to the many and they will oppress the few. Give all the power to the few and they will oppress the many." Therefore in order to achieve safety the members of the district boards are to be chosen by the few and panchayatdars by the many. It may also be contended that this link between the district boards and panchayats would guarantee the permanence of the

panchayats which is envisaged by our Constitution.

All these reasons may appear to be sound but the question is how the system will ultimately work out. Experience clearly indicates that there will be too much of log-rolling. The real selection of candidates will not be made in the electoral college in open session but by a secret caucus of the majority members. It will be the result of deals which would not bear the light of day. Partisan service or the support of some financial interest without any other qualification will place many members in these bodies.

There is also another reason why indirect elections are undesirable. The local authorities have been brought into existence to give practical political education to the people of the country. This is possible only if there are direct elections. Political education of the people is very essential if the republican character of the Constitution is to be maintained. Therefore the most important means towards real self-government in the rural areas is by the choice of members of the district boards by popular election.

(Continued from page 5)

experience of residents even in the big cities, who have been plucky enough to round up a cat burglar at dead of night, to find all their urgent entreaties on the phone met with the wooden response of a sleepy voice, "Keep the man carefully; we shall come as soon as we get the van." You see the tradition of the massed attack is far too strong in the police force! All the same more power to their elbow, say I, even while I prudently pay my two rupees a month to the Gurkha—our private police force—whom we, law-abiding citizens of Mylapore, employ to watch our own backyards.

VIGNESWARA

DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM

By SHANTI SHRINIVAS

DEMOCRATIC Socialism is a disquieting phrase. The central doctrine of Socialism is that individual liberty should be completely subordinated to the interests of the community. The word 'Democracy', on the other hand, has always tended, thanks to careless and often whimsical usage, to mean a paradise in which the individual can serve the interests of the community best by best serving his own. Hence, according to one school of thought, Democratic Socialism is not merely a contradiction in terms but indeed a humbug, an inviting but treacherous snare set by the contriving politician whose ideological home is in darkest Socialism. It may at once be said that, if control over policy is the true measure of the influence of thought, this school is out of date.

Most democratic nations—and India perhaps more than most—are today very much alive to the need of State intervention in spheres once regarded as the exclusive preserves of private enterprise. The immediate cause is the growing necessity of redressing the grievances of economic inequality; in the last analysis, it is for the sake of maximising social welfare. Whether in fact, subtle points of principle are dangerously steamrollered by a sweeping application of the general policy by those responsible for administration in any country, it is for the people of that country to decide. The change of attitude has come over, but in actual practice it is impossible to formulate beforehand a delicately precise prescription of a mixture of Democracy and Socialism that will guarantee desired results. The spirit of experimentation, therefore, is necessary, and the only precaution to be taken is to ensure that this spirit is

not the mere outward appearance of a secret gravitation towards totalitarianism.

This essentially political issue is peculiarly concerned with the economic sphere. The connexion is well brought but by a brief review of the history of thought on the subject. The complete freedom of the individual, within the limits fixed by the law of the country, to choose to act in any manner he liked, which at present is sought to be abridged for the benefit of the society to which he belongs, is the cachet of the politico-economic philosophy called *laissez-faire*, (French words meaning *let go, act*). Two important principles of this philosophy are individual liberty of economic enterprise, in domestic affairs, and, in foreign affairs, a policy of free trade and friendship between nations. *Laissez-faire* held unquestioned sway roughly during the second half of the 18th century and the first half of the 19th. The publication, 1776, of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* brushed away the last strands of suspicion against its acceptance. From then on there was a manifest tendency towards individualism in the commercial field. And from the third decade of the next century, the infection spread to the political field in the form of liberalism contained in different versions in the works of Bentham, John Stuart Mill and Spencer. The repeal of the corn laws and adoption of free trade in England in 1846, however, was its high-water mark. After that, the influence of literature was turned in favour of governmental regulation and control by Ruskin and Carlyle. Very soon, Karl Marx appeared on the scene with his cannon fed with class-struggle explosives seeking to blow

the very foundations of free-enterprise capitalism to pieces. With the advent of T. H. Green at Oxford, in 1880, *laissez-faire* had begun to decline. In a sense, he also drove a nail into its coffin by piously advocating State intervention on moral grounds. The positive aspect of the role of the State slowly revealed itself and assumed significance. Various nations reacted variously. England saw the rise and growth of trade unionism and the Labour Party and the gradual establishment of the Welfare State with its "From-Cradle-to-Grave" motto. In Russia, a most spectacular and revolutionary change of the social order took place and Communism came to stay. In other countries, like Germany and the U.S.A., the governments started vigorously to guide and support industry, trade, commerce and agriculture. Although in most of them free enterprise as an economic policy was not altogether discarded, its postulates came to be redefined. In order to guarantee fair prize, maximum output and just treatment of labour, the captains of industry and the owners of capital must submit themselves to a certain amount of supervision and regulation by that dispassionate arbiter of rightful reward, the State. Again, economic planning need not necessarily mean collectivism. It can mean merely the adoption of a system of controls and regulation which is congruous with democracy and even essential to the maintenance of full employment at a stable level of optimum economic activity. For this latter enlightenment, Lord Keynes was chiefly responsible.

Thus we have reached a stage where State intervention is widely preached in theory and not disavowed in practice. This stage is a kind of half-way house between necessary legislation and total Socialism, between unfettered democracy and absolute regimentation. It is a compromise, not a contradiction, called Democratic Socialism. It aims at a happy balance between the fields of

public and private enterprise. Underlying it is the design of having the best of both the worlds. It depends on showing that a democratic national economy requires some degree of public control in order to escape the ugly consequences of a rabid scramble for private profit. Its logic is that public interest is not the same as private interests and that the latter can never supersede the former. We are more familiar with the name 'mixed economy' than 'Democratic Socialism.'

Besides the glaring iniquities of the discredited *laissez-faire* capitalism, like great economic disparity between the capitalists and the workers, the mischief of trade-cycles and the perpetration of class-antagonism, there are a few more sanctions for this experiment in equity and efficiency. True democratic feeling habitually denies the preeminence of particular persons. So, it is not willing to leave full control over important, dominant, basic industries in the hands of a few private people. Such industries by their very nature form the life-breath of an economy and should therefore be objects of national superintendence. Furthermore, an unplanned and uncontrolled economy has an inherent tendency to generate monopolies. Monopolies mean high prices and low output. Thus their prohibition is another democratic sanction for this experiment. A popular sanction which is expressed in very many ways is the so-called dignity of State control.

This experiment is now being conducted in our country in right earnest. The goal is to achieve that combination of prosperity, equality and stability which has so far been the elusive Holy Grail to the knights-errant of economics. It might fail,—only if either the Government is inept or the people it governs disinclined to co-operate. But, where the plasticity of human nature is the deciding factor, it is not really the office of the economist to make predictions.

hoped to enlist again against the enemy. There were organized escape routes (Charles Morgan makes a gripping play out of this fact in *The River Line*) across France and Spain, or Portugal or Switzerland; and now and then, people took off for England from aeroplanes put together by themselves from odd scraps of metal (pages 23-27, which are among the most thrilling in the book). But now and then a German agent tried to "escape" by one of these routes; pretending to be flamingly patriotic, his business was to find out how and by whom the Escape Route was operated, and if he got to England, do espionage there. So everyone arriving in England from Europe had to be suspected till his bonafides were established beyond a shadow of doubt. It was the work of the counter-intelligence department to check on all suspects.

Much of his material is drawn from this type of work, but Lt.-Col. Pinto has also put down in his book the complicated case of a beautiful Allied spy, whom he calls Louise, whose misfortune it was to fall in love with the very Gestapo officer she was asked to spy on; and the more than ironic story of the German girl spy who betrayed herself in the bed to which she had invited her lover without knowing that he was a spy himself. The author is never chauvinistic, and has a reserve of human sympathy behind the toughness which his vocation requires of him; therefore his narrative is neither sentimental nor shallowly glittering. Life is always present in its strength and weakness along with the mechanics of tension between the hunter and the hunted, and that, we think, should be to the credit of any security officer. Recommended to all innocents.—M.P.B.

WASHINGTON MEMORIAL TO GANDHI

Representative Emanuel Celler, the sponsor of the Washington Memorial for Mahatma Gandhi in a letter to Dr. P. G. Krishnayya, Indian editor and publisher says that very little progress has been made and wants Indians to take a hand in it. In his letter Representative Emanuel Celler said:

Dear Dr. Krishnayya,

Very little progress has been made here in building a memorial for Mahatma Gandhi. We have tried to get funds with which to erect a memorial building on a beautiful site of ground overlooking the main section of Washington, D.C. This land was donated by the Government and is worth a vast sum of money.

We cannot seem to get the American public sufficiently interested in this project. We have approached numerous National Funds as well as wealthy citizens but to no avail. Perhaps the so-called neutralism of

Nehru influences Americans in apathy and indifference. Americans have great admiration for Gandhi, but that admiration is not the love, affection and reverence that Indians manifest towards his memory.

Perhaps if the Government of India itself and its leaders were to start the ball rolling, by an offer of some funds to be matched by Americans, we might be successful. Frequently when I have appealed to my fellow citizens in this matter, they have replied "Why doesn't India come forward with monies," I tell them that India can ill afford to use money for anything but essentials. They then shrug their shoulders. Thus I have nothing save discouragement and disappointment to report.

Under the provisions of my Bill, the memorial must be established within a certain period. I secured the passage of a Bill extending the period of time and will do so again, if necessary.

Sincerely Yours,
EMANUEL CELLER.

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ON THE COVER:

Nargis, Hindi film actress, who was in Madras last week

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ACHILLES HEEL OF PROHIBITION

WITH the exception of India there is no country in the world where Prohibition prevails as law. Some years ago the United States introduced an amendment in its Constitution to enforce Prohibition but abandoned it after a temporary trial. Probably there is a regular philosophy underlying the legal sanction given to liquor over the whole world outside India. Modern Western civilization does not frown on the consumption of intoxicating beverages. It is only indulgence in excess that is condemned by it. Into the art of living itself as it is practised in the West, moderation enters as a valuable ingredient giving evidence of a discipline of culture avoiding the excesses of both asceticism and hedonism. This sort of discipline is the mark of the well-bred gentleman in most countries. By his influence and example social functions and the traditions of hospitality have been developed to permit a large measure of relaxation without lapses into licence. England in particular has specialised in a form of democracy that is very careful not to interfere with the food and drink habits of the people or their customary avenues of entertainment. The result is that with brief interludes when they have their own way without the State policeman butting in with his taboos, and amuse themselves as they choose, a general spirit of orderliness and obedience to law has become natural to them with an air of cheerfulness. In this way society at little or no expense has been furnished with a safety valve

protecting it against violent revolutions and disruptive conspiracies. Simultaneously the people have been civilised out of potential drunkenness with well-directed State measures to activate their lives in innumerable useful ways and eliminate out of them the worries and miseries arising from the wretchedness of poverty that are wont to seek escapist outlets in orgies of intoxication. In England there is everywhere liberty to drink but nowadays no drunkenness at all. Drunkenness has been exorcised by wise administration, while an almost national habit of moderate resort to liquor has enhanced the zest of living and contributed to its relaxations in the midst of the stresses of the modern age.

India, unlike the rest of the world, has chosen the path of Prohibition. In a country so full of unemployment and poverty and so grievously packed with miserable conditions of living, it is a brave adventure to release the people for unremitting continual musing on their own distresses of various sorts without any kind of refuge in temporary forgetfulness. In a country like India where the origins of alcoholism are not rooted in social fashion as in the West, one flies to liquor to get over sorrows that threaten to crush one in life. These have not been lightened for all the crores expended and proposed to be expended in the Five Year Plans. The Prohibition Enquiry Committee, in their report just published, want Prohibition to be enforced nationwide, with effect from April 1, 1958,

S. R. C. REPORT: IMPLICATIONS AND REACTIONS

By D. V. RAMA RAO

AN objective study of the States Reorganisation Commission's Report would show that while the Commission generally made a broadly sober and rational approach on the State level, its consequential recommendations have not been uniformly consistent or convincing.

The Commission after pointing out that "A majority of States in the Indian Republic are already predominantly uni-lingual" and that "linguistic redistribution of provinces has been an integral part of the Indian national movement—for nearly forty years" and that "It is only when the Congress was reorganised on the basis of language units that it was able to develop into a national movement" and further that "The Congress under Mahatma Gandhi realised that the same forces which worked for our national unity had also helped to develop the regional languages, which led to the integration of language areas," rightly rejects the narrow and dangerous concept of any region, even if predominantly unilingual, being viewed as the exclusive 'homeland' of a particular language group, and arrives at the conclusion "to recognise linguistic homogeneity as an important factor conducive to administrative convenience and efficiency but not to consider it as an exclusive and binding principle."

In short, where there are otherwise no compelling factors, the Commission has relied on the linguistic principle in consonance with the general consensus of opinion of the concerned people with regard to fourteen out of sixteen States recommended.

The Commission's recommendation

for a bi-lingual Bombay State, mainly due to the difficult issue of the status of Bombay city, is opposed, however by a major section of Maharashtrians who argue that if non-Bengali and non-Tamilian commercial interests in Calcutta and Madras respectively could have no apprehensions, neither need non-Maharashtrian interests have any even if Bombay were to be the capital of Maharashtra State. But the Commission points out that the Maharashtrians, although the single largest language group in Bombay city, are not in a decisive majority like Bengalees in Calcutta and Tamilians in Madras; besides, Bombay has always been the dearest city to all Indians who all alike take pride in its unique development and cosmopolitan nature. In the circumstances, at least the option could have been given to Maharashtrians to choose a separate Maharashtra State without Bombay city which then would have to be constituted as a separate State by itself; and in case of a Maharashtra State, Vidarbha, on the analogy of the proposed residuary Hyderabad State should also be given the choice of merging with Maharashtra now or later. Such a solution might go a long way in satisfying Maharashtrian opinion. It is highly desirable that in such an important matter the decision should be based on the general consent of the concerned people without leaving any impression of a major decision being thrust against their wishes.

The recommendation for the merger of East Punjab and Pepsu, constituting an integrated strong State at the border may appeal to most Indians, but a considerably large

section of Sikhs do not appear to favour the proposal; besides, the note of dissent by Chairman Fazal Ali regarding Himachal Pradesh merits due consideration. The case of Punjab is the knottiest to tackle because of the complications of the issue which are more communal than linguistic. Either a pattern or formula with regard to other spheres, on the lines of the recent Sachhar formula regarding script, would have to be evolved to allay Sikh apprehensions as to their position in a State with a preponderance of Hindus, or the issue of Punjab would have to be reconsidered because the border State can hardly be integrated or stable without the general support of Sikh opinion.

The recommendation for disintegration of Hyderabad is welcomed generally by all both in and outside Hyderabad except, perhaps, a section of Muslim opinion in Hyderabad. Since the Muslims constitute only ten to twelve per cent in Hyderabad State, not all of whom are against disintegration, it would be clearly unrealistic to brush aside the natural aspirations of ninety percent of the people concerned for the sake of the sentiment of some ten per cent or even less. The Commission, therefore, while recommending disintegration of Hyderabad, proposes safeguards for Urdu language. (The people speaking Urdu are fairly concentrated in Hyderabad and Secunderabad cities.)

The postponement of Visalandhra leaving the choice to residuary Hyderabad State comprising Telangana to merge with Andhra about 1961 has disappointed Andhras especially of the Andhra State but, as the Commission said, it is the wishes of the people of Telangana that are more relevant than those of the Andhra State in this matter. But the wisdom of the condition that residuary Hyderabad State could merge with Andhra, not by simple majority vote

but by two-thirds majority vote of the legislators is open to doubt.

This writer, it may be mentioned here, in an article in *Triveni* some two years ago wrote: "Had the bi-lingual problem been soundly and satisfactorily solved in time and had Hyderabad been disintegrated, adding Andhra, Kannada and Maharashtra areas to Madras, Mysore and Bombay respectively, quite possibly the agitation for linguistic States and the boundary controversies would have largely subsided. Mr. Nehru's contention that the disintegration of Hyderabad would upset the equilibrium in the South, without indicating even faintly as to why it should, has puzzled many and appears to have hardly convinced any. Since the major part of the country is comprised of linguistic units with the recent addition of Orissa and Andhra, and since there is a growing urge for the same generally on the part of the people of the remaining areas, there appears to be hardly any choice but to accept it." He pointed out how a rational reorganisation would result in about sixteen States; and stressed how the narrow and dangerous concept of a particular region or State being viewed as the exclusive 'homeland' of a particular language group was resulting in discriminatory domicile and language policies in some States, and suggested remedies for a sound solution of the bi-lingual and linguistic minorities problem, most aspects of which have been recognised by the Commission.

As regards the proposal for a united Karnataka State, the protest on the part of a section of Mysoreans is both recent and surprising and, to the extent it is based on sentiment, it can be, perhaps, met by naming the new State as Mysore-Karnataka; but if Mysore opinion proves decisively against a consolidated Karnataka State, the only alternative might be the retention of Mysore as it is, and the formation of a separate Karnataka which will not be smaller than

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Mysore, and providing the option of merger at a later date. The Indian Republic is big enough to constitute upto eighteen or even twenty units. Mr. Panikkar's note of dissent on U. P. seems to have hurt a section of U. P. opinion, but non-U. P. opinion generally seems to feel that it merits attention and, indeed, in view of the vast area and population concerned, it may not be disadvantageous even to the concerned people to have five instead of four Hindi Units.

Thus while the recommendations, for the major part, on the State level are generally realistic, the Report appears to be both irrational and inconsistent with regard to readjustment of State boundaries at and below the district level.

The Commission says: "In our scheme of reorganisation we have adopted the district as the basic unit for making territorial readjustments" "any adjustments below the district level should be made by mutual adjustment." The Commission stated that it departed from the above rule only in the face of other compelling factors. But no convincing reasons are shown for taking the district as the basic unit; nor is the existence recognised of extreme disparities in size and geo-physical characteristics of districts. For instance, while there are districts which are a few hundred square miles in area, on the other hand, there are districts like Koraput in Orissa which is ten thousand square miles in area and is actually bigger than the present Travancore-Cochin State. In the absence of otherwise compelling factors, the linguistic principle should, and could easily have been logically pursued even, perhaps, on the basis of the village as the basic unit.

Further, even in the absence of otherwise compelling factors, the Commission has departed from the rule of treating the district as the basic unit in several instances such as ceding Kollegal taluk of Coim-

batore to Karnataka, Chandgad taluk of Belgaum to Bombay, Kasargod taluk of South Canara to Kerala, five taluks of Travancore-Cochin to Madras, etc., on linguistic grounds. The Commission, instead of tackling the whole of Bidar district in Telangana (residuary Hyderabad State) which was never asked for, and tackling Telugu areas like Alampur and Gadwal in Karnataka, and Sironchi in Chanda in Vidarbha, could have satisfied Maharashtrians, Kannadigas and Andhras of the concerned areas by adding the Telugu areas of Bidar, Raichur and Chanda districts in residuary Hyderabad, and ceding the Maharashtrian and Kannada areas of Bidar to Bombay and Karnataka respectively.

Similarly, the Commission's failure to consider on merits the claims of Orissa to Seraikella and Kharswan and that of Andhra to portions of Ganjam and Koraput has satisfied neither the Oriya nor Andhra opinion especially of the concerned areas. The Commission's plea of the need for providing a corridor to Bihar in case of inclusion of Seraikella and Kharswan in Orissa is hardly convincing because if special reasons exist as in the case of Darjeeling, the Commission after mentioning the same could have at least included the areas in Orissa and provided a minimum necessary corridor to Bihar. In dealing with the Andhra claims to portions of Ganjam and Koraput in Orissa also, the Commission while admitting that the main ground for inclusion of Parlakhimidi in Orissa was the wish of the Raja of Parlakhimidi (which Zamindari has since been abolished), and while referring to the correspondence between the Government of India and the various Committees omits to refer to the fact that the Government of India, after an impartial and careful consideration, was definitely against the inclusion of Berhampur and Parlakhimidi area south-east of Rishikulya-Godahada and Mohuri Hills

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and Koraput in Orissa. (Letter D/26-11-1932, Paras 34 & 35, No. 15/32 Reforms Office) dispenses with the case of Berhampur and Parlakhimidi areas on the ground that Telugu is spoken only by about 15 percent in the Ganjam district as a whole, which is irrelevant since the whole of the Ganjam district is not claimed by Andhras but only about one-sixth area of the district (about 700 sq. miles including Parlakhimidi plains and the coastal strip including Berhampur, Gopalpur and Chatrapur towns) contiguous to the Andhra State, the figures of which area alone —(out of a total population of about three lakhs, about two lakhs or two-thirds are Andhras)—which were readily available to the Commission, could be relevant.

One gets the impression that in cases such as the claims on Bihar and Orissa, the Commission was somewhat escapist and fought shy lest a decision on merits might hurt the sentiment and prestige of one State or the other. Even so, the best solution would have been to settle the issues impartially on merits, making good any loss of territory to Bihar by an adjustment with its adjoining new Hindi unit or units which would present no linguistic difficulty. This is suggested because when a readjustment of State boundaries on a comprehensive, rational and India-wide basis is being done, the opportunity should not be lost of having a final decision on merits of the case with regard to any area, big or small, on the broadly accepted principle of linguistic homogeneity, in the absence of other imperative factors. Otherwise widespread dissatisfaction and frustration is bound to result among the concerned people in that injustice was done, and lingering animosities perpetually nurtured. It should be noted that fric-

tion between different language groups is much more acute at or below the district level in border bi-lingual areas than on the State level.

It is odd that while tackling major issues on the State level and several consequential issues also below the district level, the Commission should have recommended vaguely, in some cases only, adjustment by mutual agreement, without even suggesting any definite principles of procedure or *modus operandi* to do so; and in the absence of such principles of procedure, it may be next to impossible to expect any rational mutual adjustment, especially when all States and sections of opinion are not equally reasonable. Indeed, the fact that most of the existing States, while claiming areas from adjoining States on certain principles deny, however, to apply the same principle so far as claims on their own territories are concerned, and the equally deplorable fact that the first reaction to the Report on the part of even several eminent leaders is one of exclusive concern as to how their own claims were met rather than one of objective assessment of the general over-all picture, goes to show that mutual adjustment is hardly possible in most cases in the prevailing atmosphere, and attitude of even responsible sections.

No doubt, however rationally boundaries are drawn, there would be bi-lingual areas on either side of a State boundary in many cases; but an impartial decision on merits would go a long way in satisfying people, besides reducing the linguistic minorities problem to the minimum. Further, even after rational fixation, the Government of India may do well to take steps to ensure recognition of specific bi-lingual taluks, or districts if the areas are big enough.

A MEMORIAL TRIBUTE TO KIDWAI

By P. D. TANDON

IT looks a little strange, but it is true that Rafi Ahmed Kidwai was discovered after his death. When he had left us, we realized the full stature of his personality. The genuine-mourning all over the country and spontaneous tributes that were paid to him made many people ask, "Was he really so great?"

People knew Kidwai as a mystery man, a mischief maker, a good administrator and an able organizer. But more than any other thing, he was a very big-hearted man. He could be as generous to a foe as to a friend. He silently used to support so many individuals and families all over the country that now they feel orphaned. This gentle soul passed away on October 28 last year and the light of hope was extinguished in many a home.

He collected big sums of money for his party, his friends and for everybody who sought his help. He spent very little on himself. Whenever his clothes were worn out he would plainly tell his friends. "Don't you see that my stock of clothes has now gone down? What are you going to do about it?"

He collected enormous sums of money for others. He helped so many people in constructing their houses, but he had no money to build his own village home. The Prime Minister rightly observed that he was so busy in building the houses of others that he had no time to think about his own.

His generosity was proverbial. No one hardly ever returned from his home disappointed. He was always more keen to oblige his opponents, their relations and their friends than

his own admirers. One day the son of a U.P. Minister, who did not belong to the Kidwai party in the U.P. Congress, went to Rafi Sahib and told him that he had been trying to get a phone for two years previously but was not successful. "Is that so, my dear young man? How is your father? Remember me to him. You go home and do not bother about the phone. You will have it."

When the young man returned to his home town from Delhi, he found that men of the telephone company were working at his house. He was very pleasantly surprised. He narrated the story to his father. He said, "My son, that is Rafi Sahib. That way he is wonderful."

I know another story about telephones. One day Kidwai met a top ranking political leader at Bombay and told him that he would like to meet him. He told Kidwai that there was no need to see him. He could hardly be of any use to anybody. "Go and meet your friend, Jawahar," he snapped. But Kidwai was not the man to give way. He said, "You give me your phone number. I will ring you up." The leader again sarcastically remarked that he was not a Minister and phones did not follow him wherever he went. "What? No phone at the place where you are staying? It is surprising that you should not be on the phone when you are in Bombay."

Kidwai left for his place without any further talk. When the leader reached home in the evening, there was a phone for him. Kidwai rang him up and said that he was coming to see him. Referring to the inci-

dent, the leader said, "How can you escape such a man?"

Kidwai was a speed-maniac. Most of his drivers were perhaps amongst the best that could be had in the country. He would excuse many things in a chauffeur, but not "slow speed." He used to pull his driver by the collar of his shirt if he went below sixty. This was the normal speed for him. One day the car was running at a speed of forty or fifty miles per hour only and Kidwai said to his driver "Why don't you stop the car? I might as well go in a bullock cart."

Once he was badly involved in a car accident. His injuries caused considerable anxiety. When Gandhiji heard this he went to see Kidwai. After making a few solicitous inquiries the Mahatma asked rather lightly, "Rafi, do you think that all the work in the U.P. will stop if you do not drive so fast?" Kidwai blushed a little and said, "Bapu, I have got into a bad habit."

Kidwai's house was a perpetual guest house. People without any notice would land at his place and make themselves comfortable. Needless to say they were well looked after. Kidwai was not only a big money-distributor, but a job-giver too. The person to whom he wanted to give a job, he would tell "Look here! This will not do. You come and stay with me until I have provided you with a job." And those who abided by his suggestion got what they wanted. When I first heard of this, I was not prepared to believe it. But later, I knew it for a fact.

Kidwai was a man of very sound commonsense. He instinctively came to decisions and later rationalized them. He had a lot of political acumen which baffled his opponents. It was almost impossible to anticipate Kidwai's moves on the political chess-board. He was a seasoned player on the political field and his judgments were uncanny. Mischief

was ingrained in his nature. Without mischief, he found life dull and boring. One day some one complained to Nehru against Kidwai's manoeuvres in a certain matter. Nehru promptly replied, "But do you not know that Rafi can't live without mischief?"

One institution which Kidwai helped till the last day of his life was the *National Herald* of Lucknow. He took genuine interest in the paper without expecting anything from it. In the case of newspapers most people give less and take much more from them. But it was not so with Kidwai. He gave so much to the *Herald*, and took so little from it.

He was deeply interested in the functioning of a newspaper and had a nose for news. Mr. K. Rama Rau, former editor of the *Herald*, wrote: "I always called Mr. Kidwai a capital news editor, at any rate a first class chief reporter. He had his finger on the pulse of the public. He had an extraordinary news sense. He knew all that was happening in every political camp. He could tell what was happening at the headquarters of the Muslim League better than the League leaders in U.P. A man of his intellectual awareness and political liveliness could be a prolific source of news for the gatherer thereof. And it was my privilege to meet him as often as I could for the purpose. A ten-minute talk with him meant two columns of excellent copy."

Kidwai was a staunch Congressman, but there was no bigotry or orthodoxy about him. His unconventional conduct would often baffle his admirers, and more so, his rivals. He supported Subhas Bose in the Congress presidential election against Dr. Pattabhi who was the official Congress candidate. And then he supported Dr. Pattabhi against Sri Purushothamdas Tandon. He campaigned for Kripalani against Tandon when Patel and other Congress bosses supported Tandon. He delighted

in creating good-natured mischief and in being unconventional.

He dislike red tapism. He was never lost in files. Most of the business he transacted on telephone and walked about like a man who had no responsibilities. He always gave the impression of being carefree. Yet he was India's best administrator. The Food Department which proved to be the grave yard of several reputations was very cleverly handled by him and he solved India's food problem as by a magic wand.

Kidwai was reputed to be a great schemer, and a strategist par excellence. His brain worked in a peculiar way. For the most complex problem, Kidwai had simple solutions to offer. He was a man of unique courage and great vision. In the later years of his life his one move shook the confidence of his followers in him as a politician. This was his joining the K.M.P.P. along with his friends, and then walking back to the Congress, leaving his many comrades high and dry. Kidwai who used to be a formidable political force in the U.P. till 1950 lost considerably in influence in later years. But much more than what he lost as a party leader, he gained as an administrator.

Kidwai was a man of few words. There was no pose about him. He

had no trace of communalism in him. He was the one Muslim leader who had major Hindu following. He was interested in the results of his adventures, but his interest in endeavour was not less. He knew how to be tactful and genial after victory and how to laugh at himself when he was out-manoeuvred. He was not interested in 'isms' and theories. His sharp, acute mind knew how to untangle the most tangled political knots. His warmth for his friends never lessened, whatever the circumstances. I remember how he used to send me letters in his own handwriting from prison in 1944 asking me to take them to various persons and collect a charkha for some one in the Jhansi jail, a dhoti for some admirer in the Benares prison—something for this man and something for that. He used to operate most successfully even from behind the prison bars. But he did everything casually. He never felt that he was doing something big in helping others. A close friend of his admirably wrote. "The most remarkable thing about Rafi Saheb was that although he had such a tender heart and was of a highly emotional nature, he would never show it. He was always casual and undemonstrative about everything, great or small, that he did in life and he even died in a casual way."

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KAPILAR: A TAMIL APOSTLE OF EQUALITY

By A. V. SUBRAMANIA AIYAR

WHEN there was commingling of civilisations in the Tamil country in the early centuries of the Christian era, the caste system slowly took root but not without resistance and protest. The earliest Tamilian who voiced this protest was Kapilar. He was a fervid apostle of the doctrine of equality of men. He did not recognise superiority or differences based on birth, which was of the essence of the early caste system. He has left a single poem called 'Kapilarahaval' in which he preaches his doctrine with intellectual vigour and high poetic flavour.

This Kapilar should not be confused with the SANGAM period poet of that name or with Kapiladevanarayanar, whose poems are found in the eleventh Thirumurai or the Saivite religious canon. Kapilar is certainly anterior to the tenth century A.D. Probably he belonged to the fourth or fifth century A.D., though nothing definite can be said.

The poem is in the form of an address by Kapilar to certain Brahmins who refused to recognise his right to be initiated into the Vedic lore of a twice-born. There is a tradition that a Brahmin by name Bhagavan married beneath his class a woman named Adi and begat seven children of whom Kapilar was the youngest. The story is that according to an understanding all the children were discarded by the mother and left at the place they were born in and these were picked and brought up by different persons. Kapilar grew in the house of a Brahmin, who wanted to perform his Upanayanam when he came of age. The other Brahmins of the place objected on the ground that the boy who was a foundling of an unknown caste, could not be ac-

cepted as being entitled to Vedic initiation. The story is that the boy, who was inspired by the grace of God, challenged them by addressing this poem to them and succeeded in convincing them that he was entitled to be treated as a twice-born. This is the set-up of the poem. It is difficult to accept such accounts but it is equally difficult to completely reject ancient traditions like this. Though they may not be literally or historically true, they have a definite significance. There is nothing improbable in such unions against social conformity or the casting away of the off-spring. Such things happen even in our own times, even in advanced countries of the West, as pictured with considerable pathos by Pearl S. Buck in her recent novel "The Hidden Flower."

As for the poem itself, it is not a long one. It is brilliant in language and powerful in argument. The poet prefaces his speech with certain ordinary philosophical concepts and then asks why there is no caste, no Brahmins among foreigners such as the Chinese, the Greeks and the Singhalese, Burmese, etc. He then points out that it is character that determines whether a man is high or low and not birth. The poem then refers to Vasishta, Satya, Parasara and Vyasa of Puranic fame and queries whether they, who were born of women of low station, did not become great sages by learning the Vedas and leading a saintly life.

Kapilar then preaches the doctrine of equality in fine lines. He says:

Does it rain for a few only?
Does the Wind exclude some
while it blows?
Does the Mother Earth refuse to
bear the burden of all?

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Does the Sun decline to shine on some?

Later, he declares his faith in words of simple beauty: "There is only one community and one caste. There is only one God. Birth and death are common to all, which none can avert." He concludes with a clarion call for virtue. He asks men not to swerve from the wisdom of their ancients, give freely to those in need, avoid untruth, larceny and killing and pursue the path of Dharma. Only virtue and beauty of conduct count, not birth, sings the poet.

Kapilar was a theist and a sage. He was a believer in the fundamentals of Hinduism. It was his deep religious and spiritual nature that made him rebel against caste and proclaim the doctrine of equality of all mankind. His poem is a grand remonstrance against inequality and a passionate

plea for a human approach to religion and ritual. Kapilar's teaching was later followed by the Tamil Siddhars who were also theists and who in their poems denounced caste and rituals. The commonly held notion that ideas of equality and social reform have been the result of the impact of Western civilisation on the people of this country is a misconception. They existed from the days of Kapilar right through the centuries among sections of the people. If, in spite of it, deep conservatism and caste distinctions have to exist, the reason has to be found elsewhere. The deep-seated feelings and prejudices of the group-mind are somewhat elemental and irrational in their nature and change only slowly. They cannot be argued or legislated out of existence by zealots.



Panel of judges in the Dalda Quiz Competition, who met at the Hotel Imperial, New Delhi, on 17th October, 1955. From left to right the judges are: Mrs. Hannah Sen, Colonel Amir Chand, Mrs. Pushpa Sarin (Chairman), Mrs. S. Natarajan and Mr. Nirmal C. Ghosh. After the judges had declared the solution, they were entertained at a cocktail party by Mr. Michael Abrahams and other Managers of the Hindustan Vanaspathi Manufacturing Company Limited, the promoters of the Competition.

THE SECOND FIVE YEAR PLAN: PROPER APPROACH NEEDED

By C. RANGARAJAN

PLANNING, as a means of economic development, is essentially a concept of the twentieth century. Planning helps to build the economy in such a way that the nation can secure the maximum benefits out of the available resources, reducing to the minimum any waste of men and materials. A correct estimate of the resources available and a proper scheme of priorities are therefore the two things needed to make a plan sound and effective. The weakness or the strength of a plan very largely rests on the decisions taken on these two issues. A wrong assessment of the resources or an incorrect scheme of priorities may lead to more uneconomic waste than an unplanned economy.

Talks about the Second Five Year Plan are gathering momentum every day. The Planning Commission and other allied bodies have already met and we have been given a fair idea as to what shape the future plan will take. The Second Plan, it is pointed out, will lay stress on industrial development in as much as the First Plan had concentrated on agricultural progress. This is a point which deserves some consideration.

The life of a nation does not exist in water-tight compartments of five years. It is a continuous flow. Indeed, to talk of the First Plan as an agricultural plan and the Second one as an industrial plan is to ignore this fundamental fact. The Second Plan must not only follow the First but must also flow out of the First. The Second Plan must try to consolidate what has been achieved under the First Plan and see how the nation can put to increased use the projects

that have already been constructed. We have built our multi-purpose irrigation projects at a heavy cost and a duty is cast on the planning authorities to find out how by judicious expenditure they can maximise the returns per rupee spent on these projects. This will necessarily mean spending more on works allied to these projects; but this has got to be done to enable the nation to get the full benefit of these projects. This is always the case with reference to what they call the indivisible factors of production. To make a brake as it were with what has already been done in the field of agriculture and to spend money in a different sector may mean a waste of part of the money that has already been spent. The Planning Commission would have the relevant figures about every one of the projects and they must explore the possibilities by which these projects can be put to better use before they embark on a policy of increased expenditure in the industrial sector. No nation can jump all on a sudden from an agricultural plan to an industrial plan.

The next important consideration is about the financial resources available. We are told that the Second Plan will spend in all about Rs. 6000 crores out of which roughly about Rs. 4500 crores will be in the public sector which is nearly twice the amount fixed for the First Plan. Even the Finance Minister feels that it will be 'very, very difficult' to raise an additional Rs. 100 crores per year by fresh taxation. Any fresh taxation is bound to bring about resentment even from people who are highly 'plan-conscious.' We are also told that the Government may take re-

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course to deficit financing to the tune of Rs. 200 crores per annum which will come to Rs. 1000 crores for the whole plan period. It is pointed out that during a period of increased investment expenditure, deficit financing even to the extent of Rs. 1000 crores will not result in an increase in the general price level. It becomes very difficult to acquiesce in this conclusion. The contention that nearly one sixth of the amount needed for the whole plan can be secured by means of deficit financing without producing a considerable increase in the price level does not appear to be convincing. In this connection, it has to be borne in mind that many of the undertakings on which the expenditure will be incurred now will take another five years or more to give their full returns. There must be a certain amount of re-thinking on the part of the Planning authorities on this question of deficit financing. It may also become necessary on the whole to depend upon foreign aid to a larger extent. Putting all these together, one doubts whether the planners have not been too ambitious in their proposals. It is true that the basic principle of pri-

vate finance that one should stitch the coat according to the cloth available does not hold good in the case of public finance. But, it is equally necessary to remember that there is also a limit to the capacity of the Government to raise revenue.

It seems that the cottage industries would come in for special attention under the Plan. This is really an encouraging sign, coming as it does from a body which has not so far taken to these industries kindly. But, protecting and developing cottage industries is more a question of industrial policy than anything else. It should be understood that any amount of subsidy from the Government will not make these industries flourish, unless it is accompanied by a courageous policy of the Government to protect these industries by finding for them a secure market free from competition of the large-scale mechanised industries. If it is going to be mere financial help, these industries will be swept of their feet the moment the subsidy is withdrawn. What is needed is to find for the products of these industries a 'safe market.' We know the controversy that raged over the handloom industry in this country. The industry is now resting on the financial aid given by the Government and it is bound to face the same crisis which it did a few years ago, as and when this aid is withdrawn. These subsidies are at best only palliatives. If the Government really wishes to help the cottage industries, it must state what it is going to do to find a market for their products and these measures should form part of the Plan.

'A plan is what a plan does' and the planned targets can be achieved only when we have adequate financial resources. The chief merit of the First Five Year Plan was that it was realistic. It was cautious without being conservative. Let us not sacrifice this merit in the Second Plan.

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THE POLITICS OF OVERLAPLAND

By ANDREW ROTH

IT was a striking and historic fact that of two annual conferences recently concluded at the seaside resorts of Bournemouth and Margate, it was the Labour women who were better dressed at the big formal dance! This was most dramatic testimony of the "overlap" which is beginning to dominate British politics—the lower middle class in fact or in ideology which is coming to dominate both parties.

The fact that the Conservative's dance resembled more the annual "do" of a provincial Rotary club than the hunt ball of the county gentry was a tribute to the striking success of Lord Woolton, who has just retired as party boss, in broadening the social base of the Conservative Party.

The fact that Labourites were so well dressed testifies to the success of the 1945-51 Labour Government's Welfare State in pushing up the economic level of working people. Since then full employment, and more particularly the opportunities for overtime has enabled Britain's working people to keep up with the increased cost of living under the Conservatives. Hugh Gaitskell has correctly pointed out that a substantial proportion of British working people have been "Americanized" in that they desire increasingly broad opportunities within this society rather than a basic change in society.

It is the harnessing of these two elements, the traditional lower middle class, and the newly-prosperous working class which is the primary problems for the successful British politician or political party. Labour

swept into power in 1945 because it carried the hopes not only of the working class but of a substantial portion of the middle class for a "new deal." But its very assistance to the working class through the Welfare State created the basis of its own defeat by making the worker lethargic politically while frustrating certain sections of the middle class.

Prewar, Britain's social pyramid was steep. There was a big gap between the black-coated, umbrella-carrying chief book-keeper or assistant manager and the mechanic. The one was better-spoken, better-educated and was buying his own semi-detached house in the suburbs, instead of living in a subsidized house built by the local council. The Welfare State and particularly full employment and its opportunities for overtime have brought working class earnings up to where they overlap considerably over those earned by the lower middle class. There is a forest of TV aerials over the council houses, the most modern of which are very nice indeed.

It is the indignation of Britain's lower middle class with its comparative loss of status that has provided the Conservative Party with the momentum for its postwar comeback. The traditional white-collared classes and small shopkeepers generally voted Conservative prewar, as did the large obsequious section of the working class. But they had no place in the Conservative Party machine run by the aristocracy, big city industrialists and county squirearchy. When Lord Woolton opened the doors of the local Conservative associations to

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them, they rushed in with their complaints of heavy taxation, restrictions and working class insolence. It is to this class in particular that Aneurin Bevan—especially since his attack on Conservatives as “vermin”—is the bogeyman.

The 1955 Conservative conference at Bournemouth was important because it was the first time that this new postwar addition to active Conservatism made itself fully vocal. There was the middle class lady, apparently suffering from the absence of maids, who demanded that the State stop giving school children free milk and cheap lunches and use the money saved to reduce purchase tax on washing machines. The greatest indignation was mounted over the story of a man with a thoroughly middle class £1500 a year income who lived in a subsidized council house and refused to purchase it when offered, saying the mortgage repayments would make it difficult for him to run a car, vacation abroad or send his child to a private school. For council house inhabitants to have middle class aspirations without accepting middle class burdens is “scandalous.”

The traditional, governing class leaders of the Conservatives are uneasy about what the *Economist* describes as the “tinge of fanaticism.” But they are still able to keep it smoothly under control, with the help of Sir Anthony Eden’s winsome political sex appeal.

Labour Under Control

The control of Labour’s Rightwing leaders is fully as effective. Labour Party conferences are more democratic in that resolutions and offices are put to the vote. But where the trade unions represent five of the six million votes cast, the result is a foregone conclusion—as in the case of Aneurin Bevan’s contest with Hugh Gaitskell for the Treasurership, which Bevan lost, 5-to-1. Of the 28 seats on Labour’s National Executive, all but the 7

seats elected by the constituency parties are, in fact, within the gift of a handful of trade union leaders. In fact the trade union vote itself is dominated by the two big general unions—the Transport and General Workers Union founded by the late Ernest Bevin and the National and General Workers’ Union headed by Tom Williamson.

Both in drafting committee and from the platform, the Rightwing leaders used their power in an unprecedentedly cynical way to steamroller the Left. In the drafting committee the Rightists encouraged the emergence of “lunatic left” opposition resolutions which would ensure crushing victories for the alternate Rightwing policies. For the most part cranks or inarticulates were called from the floor. Although 40 minutes were found to debate the expulsion of a handful of Trotskyists, no time was found to discuss colonial questions, presumably for fear that anti-colonial Fenner Brockway’s leadership of rank and file opinion would be demonstrated.

The violent and cynical anti-Left position which has hardened in the Labour Party is the result of the emergence of Labour’s own petit bourgeoisie. This is the labour-manager or labour-technocrat or bureaucrat in the big general unions. Picked usually for his efficient response to the demands of the union bosses, he scarcely ever has to respond to the demands of the workers he is supposed to represent because they scarcely ever attend union meetings. Thus a small army of bureaucrats runs the 1,400,000-strong T & G W U and the 850,000 strong N & G W U general unions, dependent for their lower middle class level of living largely on the favour of the top union leaders. Because of their sprawling, cumbersome organization they are particularly anxious to avoid industrial conflicts and furious with any militants who “stir up” strife, as the Communists and other

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leftists have done among the bus-drivers, dockers and others.

Conflict of Leadership

Because of the complete domination of the Labour Party by these non-militant trade unions, the principal interest at the Margate conference of Labour was over whether 72-year-old Clement Attlee, who has recently suffered a stroke, would be succeeded by 67-year-old Herbert Morrison or 49-year-old Hugh Gaitskell.

Both, in putting themselves forward for the succession made effective speeches, claiming they were Socialists. But even in doing so they proved themselves to be social reformers instead. Thus Herbert Morrison claimed as “Socialism” the removal of London Transport from private control in 1931; by the same token the T. V. A. should rank as “Communist.” In his most moving effort to win popular support Hugh Gaitskell made it clear that his Socialism aimed primarily at equality of opportunity rather than social ownership of the means of production. Both emphasized the need to carry the majority of Britons in any further stage of reform.

Although Gaitskell’s assertion of faith was very warmly received, the greatest reception was that accorded Aneurin Bevan, on the very day he was defeated, 5-to-1 by Gaitskell for the Treasurership. This spasmodic enthusiasm for Bevan is understandable on several levels. He is the most brilliant old-fashioned orator in the Labour movement and can rekindle the old feelings of radicalism and socialist fundamentalism which motivated people in the simpler ’30s. At the same time he is the symbol of protest. His determination to fight for the Treasurership despite certain defeat shows that he alone challenges the big unions’ diminution and insists that the Labour Party exists to carve out a so-

cialist society. But after a speech is over many thinking Socialists come away wondering why he has not been more specific about how to build that society. Also why he tends to surround himself with people whose vocal Leftism seems to be belied by their willingness to drop leftwing journalism for better-paid jobs on Rightwing newspapers.

Unless a severe economic crisis shakes Labour out of its ‘Americanized’ or ‘petit bourgeois’ outlook Bevan seems consigned to the ineffective rebelliousness which characterised Churchill in the ’30s. There is more opportunity for 39-year-old Harold Wilson, formerly a Bevan lieutenant, who has just chaired the committee which prepared the Wilson Report attacking the Labour Party’s archaic organization. “... in its frank self-criticism,” the *New Statesman* editorialized on October 15, “the rank-and-file member sees hope of a leadership which is both politically imaginative and professionally competent. Mr. Wilson not only tops the constituency poll; his committee has also been permitted to touch the levers of power. And this, to a frustrated membership, is an important augury of change; once there is a serious attempt to overhaul the party organization, other changes must follow.”

Harold Wilson’s chances are better at the moment than those of Aneurin Bevan for another reason. Although of a modest background, he has considerable educational achievements and thus has the polish which appeals to those influenced by the middle class outlook. Unlike Bevan he tries to win people instead of attacking them unnecessarily. Fundamentally he is a technician, an economic technician turned political technician. And the technician can appeal very widely, to the petit bourgeois as well as to the working class.

WHAT PRICE INDIAN CITIZENSHIP?

By AMRITA RANGASWAMI

"The silent acquiescence in things as they are, the hopelessness, the patient endurance of a vast, overmastering fate, has turned to hope, to expectation, to the will for something different. The vision of a better and juster time has entered alive into the souls of men, and a desire, a longing for a purer freer condition has moved every heart and has alienated it from the existing state of affairs . . . Call this, if you like, a fever paroxysm, but it will end either in death or in eliminating the cause of the disease."—HEGEL.

THE Indian citizen was standing on the wooden bridge, leaning against its not very high wall and looking down at the rushing waters below. It was a dark night, save for a thin moon, trying to shed a pale light through the dark shrouds of clouds, smothering it with their blackness. It was a still night, for it was late and the little town that sprawled on one side of the bridge slept, and the thick forests on the other side seemed to sleep too, for there was not a whisper of a breeze and not a leaf stirred.

The citizen could not rest for his thoughts denied him even the uneasy peace of a few hours of sleep. All the bitternesses of the past years seemed to rise within him and become a lump as big as a man's fist in his throat and the roar of the waters below were loud in his ears.

He was born in Karachi in 1927. He was the only child of his father, who was a well-to-do merchant trading in silks, satins and the like. In short, he was, as known in those parts, a *sareewalla*, and he had a big shop with bright lights that winked and

winked and invited the passer-by and a big grim house in a quiet locality forbidding the passer-by to so much as dare to look in.

In his boyhood the citizen loved to watch the huge ships sail in and out of Karachi harbour. He loved to roam the wharfs and soon learnt the names of ships and the distant lands they came from and the busy ports they visited. Like any other boy of his age, he promised himself, that some day he would travel all over the world and see all those wonderful places. He told his father one day and his father said "son, finish your B.A. and I shall send you to England."

The boy's mother died when he was ten years old and in time he learnt not to miss her. His father never married again and each was all the other had.

When he was in High School, that incident happened which served as a fuse to detonate a chain of like incidents in sharp angry bursts of unhappiness and despair. On that day the fates moved him into the orbit that was to take him inexorably to the end.

It was nineteen forty two. India was in a ferment. The whole country seethed with indignation and here and there there were outbursts of violence, that could not be quelled by arrests or lathi charges.

Hartal was ordered in Karachi. Students spilled out from the classes, and he, the citizen of our tale, ran out with the rest. "Down with the British," they cried, "Quit India!" The procession soon swelled into thousands, became a surging mob. The

citizen could still remember—could see through the blur of tear gas and time the red face of the white sergeant bearing down upon him. He could still remember the sense of shame and anger that engulfed him, that he should stand there helpless, be beaten and not resist. The first humiliation is always unforgettable, it persists in our memory with the stubbornness of a blood stain that will not be washed.

"Some day," the citizen whispered to himself that night in the uneasy quiet of the hospital, "some day my country will be free and then woe to the man who insults a citizen of India."

He passed his B.A. when he was twenty. His father was making plans to send him to Oxford. "My son," he proudly told his friends, "is leaving for England for higher studies." It was decided he would leave in September that year.

Early in July the trouble started. At first it was but a whisper—a mere hint of the roaring, raging storm to come, a killing in some quiet road, a kidnapping in a by-lane. These went unchecked.

Slowly it grew. Men were stabbed in broad day light and women were dragged away shrieking. Goondas broke into houses and robbed and burned. The holocaust of 1947 had begun.

At first the father was utterly unaffected. "Why should I leave the place of my birth and leave all my possessions and earthly goods behind? I am too old to begin afresh in a new place amidst strangers. I shall harm no one and no one will harm a poor old man." The boy was silent. He felt that running away would be an act of cowardice.

Staying in Karachi now became dangerous, but still the father was optimistic. "This trouble will die down," he said. "You will leave for England in September and surely I could manage to live on somehow.

Moreover, who is to look after my business?" But the trouble did not die down, instead it assumed menacing proportions.

In August, when India attained Independence, the massacre was at its height. The son came home one day to find his father lying in the hall—his throat cut. The same day the shop was burnt.

The youth felt that he could not be a citizen in this place—it was no longer India. And so he joined the crowds trekking their long, weary way to India—to lead an honourable life as citizen of a great country, that was now free at such great cost to herself and her people, after centuries of slavery, decades of ignominy.

In Delhi, the citizen trudged the streets in search of employment. Everywhere hungry men like him had gone earlier and the refusals he had to take were sometimes polite, sometimes not.

One day he saw an advertisement in the paper which asked for a teacher, graduate, male, to teach in a school in Kandy, Ceylon. The post was temporary. But, can man strike a bargain with his stomach to wait for a time?

He applied for the situation and was asked to come. Before he left he received a notification from the Government to the effect that he was to get an immediate compensation of Rs. 2000 only. Rupees two thousand as compensation for what? The murder of his father for which he could not even get the satisfaction of justice, or for the flourishing business that would have been his, or for their house where he was born, where he grew up and dreamed a young man's dreams, or for his grand plans of higher studies abroad that were wrecked but a month before their fruition, or for his lost faith in law and government as a protector of property and persons? He entrained for Ceylon.

He had always imagined Ceylon to be a friendly land, a land of smiling people, gay crowds, of dark girls in loud sarongs singing the funny Sinhalese songs in their peculiar sing song way. The Ceylonese, he felt, were his kin.

Arriving in Ceylon, he felt an out-cast. He could not understand why there was so much animosity, so much hatred against the Indian. At first he was puzzled and then angry. "India is a free country and its citizens are no longer slaves. Why should they not be treated with more respect? But he stayed on, choking back his own emotions and battling with his anger which threatened to burn him up in its red hot flame.

At the end of two years he was asked to go, not because the post was being abolished or that his work was unsatisfactory. "Citizens of India are not permitted to extend their permit," he was informed by a court official. One Minister went so far as to make a speech that all those troublesome Indians who would not go back would be thrown into the Palk Straights. The citizen did not wish to be thrown into the sea. He embarked for India.

At the last moment he found he was not allowed to take all his savings home. He stormed into the Indian Consulate and raved about freedom and citizenship and the honour of the country, etc. The Consul, however, was calm. "The agreement has not been implemented," he pointed out. "In a few months, we hope, things will settle down." Despair tugged at the citizen's heart as he walked out.

Back in India he travelled constantly. Sometimes he had a job, most times he had not. He saw temples—those sculptures on rock and wood that inspired awe and a breathless admiration in the beholder—for which India was famed and honoured. He saw the vast cities, the huge buildings, the new indus-

trial plants that were springing up like mushrooms everywhere in the country over-night, that were proud proof of their independence, their progress. He saw the mighty rivers and the silent peaks that spoke eloquently of the majesty of India. But the honour of the country was not in their keeping.

He satisfied his urge to travel by taking little steamers that went to Rangoon, Singapore and Penang. Everywhere it was the same. The Indian could be insulted with impunity. In some places he was liked but never respected.

He remembered his last night in Nepal. It was a frosty night and he was sitting beside a roaring fire. He was warm and comfortable. It was then the Gurkha beside him spoke. The citizen had not been listening to the talk. It must have turned to India. "Indians, bah!" said the Gurkha. "Too much talk!" And he spat. The flames danced red before the citizen's eyes and he rose unsteadily to his feet. An unreasonable anger pounded at his brain, his blood thundered and his hands knotted themselves into fists ready for action. But his mind reasoned and asked him if the honour of his country would be vindicated by the unnecessary death of a Gurkha, who was, after all, his countryman?

He was in Delhi when he heard that India was at last roused—at last showing some spirit and fighting for her possessions in her own peculiar way. He joined the Satyagrahis on their march to Goa. "Bharat Mata Ki Jai", he cried and felt better than he had felt for years. "Goa Chalo."

But what was this? The Indians were not to hit back. They were not to fight back, for what would the world say?

On the fateful day, he marched with the rest of the lambs going to the altar. The Portuguese started

shooting. "Lie down," came the order from the Indian side of the border. They lay down. The citizen could see a soldier out of the corner of his eye. He was lying in an easy chair with the gun cradled in his hands. Was that a drink by his side? It seemed to be a picnic.

An unearthly rage possessed the citizen and he stood up. That act perhaps saved his life for immediately a shot riddled his legs. "Crawl back," the leader shouted and they crawled back—he dragging his bleeding legs painfully. The Satyagraha was over. The fight for freedom had not been an exhilarating experience. It had been, instead, an hour of humiliation.

He was taken to the hospital and one leg was amputated. They had fitted him with a wooden leg and today he had officially been declared fit and set free to go—he knew not where.

All day he had wandered about the town and he heard that the martyrdom of his brothers had been in vain. India, mild India, that had endured the shame of centuries of slavery, patient India, that had waited hundreds of years for its freedom, could wait for some more time for that bit of its country called Goa.

He had walked to the bridge—his wooden leg making a mournful clatter on the planks—and stared down into the water—all the horror of the past and the hopelessness of the future staring him in the face. Standing there, on the edge of his life, he looked back with distaste on the past and peered into the beyond trying to learn what lay there. The waters rushed below, calling, calling his tormented soul to rest in peace. The citizen turned to find the hand of a policeman at his shoulder. "I have been watching for a long time," the policeman said. "What are you doing here?"



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AL-BEIRUNI: MUSLIM CHAMPION OF HINDUISM

By J. VIJAYATUNGA

TODAY when unity finds so few champions and differences are emphasised, it is refreshing to cast our eyes back to the eleventh century when a gentle scholar, Al-Beiruni, spent his lifetime in making a valiant effort to get the Muslim world of Afghanistan and Iran and Arabia to accept the wisdom of India without bias. His magnum opus, "India" was the fruit of fourteen years of study and travel, fourteen years which he spent between the court of his patron, Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna, and India. The places he has mentioned are Attock, Jhelum, Sialkot, Lahore and Kashmir. But so intrepid a traveller as Al-Beiruni must have covered a greater part of northern India.

The purpose of his "Book of India" which is a source history of almost encyclopaedic value was: "to afford the necessary information and training to anyone in (the Muslim world) who wants to converse with the Hindus and discuss with them questions of religion, science or literature on the very basis of their own civilization."

Greek culture was known to the Arab world, but Indian culture not so much. This was due to a misunderstanding as to what was loosely termed Hindu pantheism. Al-Beiruni tried by his writings to prove that beyond the pantheistic conception was the Absolute. His aim was to prove that Hindus too "were enjoying the help of God" as he put it. He pointed out that in Islam too what the masses believed was somewhat at variance with the true Islamic teachings. By such comparisons he wanted

to establish the monotheistic view of Hinduism

He also presented the scientific aspects of Hindu culture and tried to establish common standards for Indian and Greek and Muslim viewpoints. When we consider that all this pioneer work was attempted at a time when the educated minority was indeed a minority and when there were wars between Muslims and Hindus we realize the magnitude of Al-Beiruni's undertaking and the measure of his achievement.

The "Book of India" which is both a documentary and a store-house of all kinds of lore consists of eighty chapters. In the first Al-Beiruni makes preliminary remarks about the land and the difficulties he had to overcome during his travels. He goes on to express his deep appreciation of Indian culture and repeats the reasons for writing the book. Chapters Two to Eleven contain discussions on religion, philosophy, and kindred subjects. Chapters Twelve to Seventeen deal with literature, metrology, usages and allied subjects. Chapters Eighteen to Thirty-one are on geography, cosmography and astronomy. Chronology, astronomy and related subjects occupy Chapters Thirty-two to Sixty-two. (Astronomy was one of his favourite subjects.) In Chapters Sixty-three to Seventy-nine he discussed manners and customs, festivals and all manner of subjects. Chapter Eighty is devoted to astrology. Indeed considering the difficulties of travel and material-gathering at that time this eighty-chapter book of India was not merely a monument to scholarship but also an unprecedented gesture towards East-West understanding.

Always, whether he was discussing Islamic mysticism or Greek philosophy or the Hindu Puranas Al-Beiruni's purpose was to find a bond between the Muslim world of his day (the Afghan empire of Mahmud of Ghazni in particular) and the rest.

Unlike Akbar, Mahmud, Al-Beiruni's patron, did not consider himself an Indian. He was a conqueror out to add to his empire. His designs were imperialist and he had the imperial outlook. For Al-Beiruni then to strike this note of conciliation was almost a gesture of defiance of his patron. With Masoud, Mahmud's son, his relationship was friendlier, and his *Kanun-el-Masoudi* (dedicated to Masoud the First) was without doubt a labour of love. But that is not to say that Sultan Mahmud was an interfering despot who demanded of Al-Beiruni what we would call today, "propaganda." Al-Beiruni was free to write, come and go as he pleased. Sometimes he accompanied Mahmud on his campaigns; but more often he undertook his travels alone. In Ghazna his house was the meeting place of visiting Indian scholars, Brahmins, and even traders. He wanted to learn from all of them.

Al-Beiruni was born at Khorasan in September 973 and died at Ghazna in 1048 having outlived his royal patron, Mahmud, by eighteen years. He was, to begin with, attached to the royal court at Khorasan. The last king of that dynasty, Mamoon Khwarezm Shah, was himself a scholar. He was also the brother-in-law of Mahmud, having married the latter's sister. There is a record of Al-Beiruni having stayed at the court of Shams-ul-Maali Qabous, Amir of Gurgan, about the year 1000 A.D. He was at Khorasan, however, between 1010 to 1017. He was there when Mamoon was assassinated and the city captured by Mahmud. After that he accompanied Mahmud to Ghazna and lived there intermittently between 1017 and 1031.

It was probably during this time that he wrote the biographies of Mahmud and his father as well as the history of Khorasan. But so versatile were his interests that he must have kept up his writings on many diverse subjects simultaneously. For that time he could easily have been described a scientist, for he not only discussed the various theories of the movement of the sun and earth and stereography and dygraphy but even explored the possibilities of tapping water by artesian wells. The one outstanding characteristic of the man was the utter absence of extremism in his views. He was always willing to weigh the point of view of those who held views different to his. He brought to bear the scientific, analytical spirit on everything he touched, whether it was astronomy, cosmography or cartography.

Astronomy was his favourite subject and the contemporary Muslim world considered him the greatest astronomer and mathematician. Indian scholars referred to him as "Sagar"—the Ocean of Knowledge. His works on astronomy alone consisted of the following: (1) A treatise on the determination of the lunar stations (Nakshatras). (2) The Khayal-Alkusafaini, with certain references to Yoga. (3) The Arabic Khanda-Khadyaka (similar to the one already mentioned). (4) A description of the Karanas. (5) A treatise on various systems of numeration. (6) The Key of Astronomy, weighing the pros and cons of the sun rotating round the earth theory and vice versa. (7) Several books on longitude. His mention of Alkarak has led scholars to conclude that he had studied Ahargana, an Indian treatise on a comparative study of Arabic and Iranian dates. We must remember that at that time many Sanskrit works had been translated into Arabic though Al-Beiruni several times complains against faulty texts and careless copying. Among those

books translated from Sanskrit into Arabic which Al-Beiruni studied before he began a proper study of Sanskrit himself were: Brahmasiddhanta or Sindhind: Khanda-khadyaka or Arkand: Charaka (Medicine): and the Panchatantra. He also had recourse to the Arabic translation of the *Karanasara* of Vitieswara. Having studied Charaka, he himself translated a Sanskrit treatise on venereal diseases into Arabic. He also translated Varahamihira's "Brihatsamhita" and "Laghuajakam."

In addition to his "Book of India" he made separate translations of Kapila's *Samkhya* and Patanjali. He was the first Muslim to study the Puranas and he left commentaries on Vishnu Dharma, Vishnu Purana, Matsya Purana, Vaya Purana, and Aditya Purana. He had studied the Gita and the Mahabharata and Ramayana. Dr. Edward Sachau, the

well-known orientalist and translator of Al-Beiruni, has said of him:

"His system of chronology and astronomy was more complete and accurate than had ever before been given. His communications from the Puranas were probably entirely new to his readers, as also the important chapters on literature, manners, festivals, actual geography and the much-quoted chapter on historic chronology."

One must agree with Dr. Sachau that Mohammed Ben Ahmed Abu-Reihan Al-Beiruni was "a champion of the truth, a sharply cut character of highly individual stamp, full of real courage and not refraining from dealing hard blows when anything which is good or right seems to him to be at stake."

Today everyone is looking out for things that divide people instead of those which unite them. Al-Beiruni did exactly the opposite. How badly we need Al-Beiruni's in the world today!

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THE POETRY OF G. SANKARA KURUP

By HRDYA KUMARI

INDIAN poets and writers, however great might be their contributions, seldom get beyond the narrow domestic walls of their regional languages. In modern times only a few poets like Tagore and Sarojini Naidu have been able to reach the reading public throughout India. The others remain confined to a limited circle of readers and the country as a whole is left unaware of many of the best elements in its thought and song. Though the need for making the various Indian literatures better acquainted with one another has been felt very keenly, not much has been done yet towards such an end.

It is against this background that one feels tempted to survey the poems of G. Sankara Kurup. They have the life and power that belong to genuine poetry. While remaining true to the country's poetic traditions they have broken new ground in thought and style and enjoyed the expansiveness of a wide intellectual horizon. It is a misfortune that the works of this Malayali poet remain practically unknown outside the south west corner of India.

G. Sankara Kurup popularly known as G has published a large number of lyrics extensive in range and scope. He has sung about stars and flowers, about human joys and sorrows, about India and the wider world. But whatever his theme all his poems are marked by a noble and ardent inner mood. In this mood the components of which are contemplation and tenderness, the poet's heart responds to the world with sensitive receptivity. The essence of his theme yields itself to him with a generous delight. In his poem on

the Sunflower, we are neither shown the golden beauty of the flower, nor are we allowed to breathe its subtle fragrance. But we can feel the love that burns through it, the tender pulsation of response from the higher life, the ecstasy of the transient moment and the poignancy of inevitable death. In beauty and purity this poem equals some of Shelley's love poems. Even when the poet deals with themes like the poverty that cankers the land or the thoughts of an Indian soldier far away from homeland, the same ardent mood engulfs them and awakens the mind to a corresponding plane of intensity and tenderness.

Like Wordsworth, G is a poet of impassioned thoughtfulness. Therefore it is in his power to unite in the reader's mind thoughts and feelings in a deep and quiet joy. A poet like Burns, or to take Malayalam literature a poet like Changampuzha, can touch the source of our tears and smiles and waft us about in airy wreaths of music. But the mind in its totality does not yield to them as it does to the best in Wordsworth or Tagore. The poetry which appeals to the emotions only, may be a stimulant or a sedative, but it is not the nourishment for which the soul hungers. In G's finest poems like the song of the Star, the song of the Sea, etc., the entire mind is given an experience which it treasures. G's poems seldom shake the soul, but like a calm, inflowing tide they come in and immerse it. The Wordsworthian 'depth without tumult' is their characteristic.

G is a poet of nature—especially in his earlier poems. He is inspired not

only by love of nature's beauty but also by a feeling of the oneness of life. At first he loved nature with a bubbling delight in her loveliness, but soon this attitude evolved into a deeper and stronger love. The poet yearned to become one with the life of the flowers and the winds and to lose himself in this identification. He says:

"Sleeplessly I will keep watch in the stars,
And loudly weeping rush in the tempestuous wind
Thro' the lovely crescent I will love
the sea and thro' the sea, the crescent I will kiss
What delight it is
To change from body to body and
play about in nature."

From this identification there grew a mystic faith in nature and the poet came to believe that this Universe is the expression of a completeness. Without such a faith, the poet says in the song of the Lotus

"I who was born in sleep
Might have lived in sleep
And dying might have lost myself in sleep."

It is this devotion to life and beauty as revealed through nature that is a marked characteristic of G's poetry. His thoughts and sentiments are palpably tinged with it, though of late he is not very regular in lighting the lamps in nature's temple.

Though G's approach to nature is akin to that of Wordsworth, his poems on nature do not equal the "Tintern Abbey" or the "Intimations of Immortality" in spiritual quality. It may be because he could not bring to bear upon nature the intense 'Tapasya' that Wordsworth did. Wordsworth, disappointed in his social and political hopes returned to nature like a tired child to its mother and dedicated to her the best and the deepest in himself. Such a self-abandonment is extremely difficult for an Indian poet who lives in this

most thrilling period of his country's history. India's struggle for freedom, the unique message of Gandhiji, the dawn of Independence, the awakening of Asia, the first stirrings of a great social revolution, the suffering and the joy involved in all these phenomena are the atmosphere in which G has lived and grown. The mighty music of humanity often breaks in upon the profound melodies of nature. The idealism inspired by the latter is often disturbed by the challenge of the former. Wordsworth succeeded in reconciling the "still sad music of humanity" and the deep notes of mystic universal life. The problem of this reconciliation still remains a challenge to G. If he succeeds in this fusion in the deepest levels of consciousness, his poetry will gain an inner strength true to the traditions of Indian literature. No doubt the quiet strength and the spiritual generosity of his poems dealing with social and political themes are dependent not only on his love of humanity but also on his faith in universal life. But one desires to hear this note more strongly and more joyously. The comprehensive power of an individual philosophy is only struggling for life in G.

G's poetry is characterised by the feeling of vastness it creates. The horizons of our vision expand in the company of his imagination and a majestic world opens before us. The earth and the sky, the eternal lovers, hold hands and gaze at each other in an ecstasy of bliss, the wind rushes about in an unceasing quest of the beloved, the sea dances to the music of intense love, the crescent moon shyly approaches her beloved, the star twinkles in the rapture of self-dedication while it slowly burns down to ashes, and Time the serpent in a frantic search for its shelter glides round the worlds which are shells sucked empty by it, while the blue winged sky hopefully sits hatching over those hollow shells. In this world

the reader's mind is thrilled to feel a primeval spaciousness and freshness.

At home in such a vast world, the poet does not show the same mastery when he deals with the familiar day to day joys and sorrows of the heart of man. Being a lyricist he does not possess the detached curiosity necessary for such themes. But even in this difficult field he had some remarkable achievements like, 'Breathing Pyre', 'Master Mason', 'Pair of Sparrows', etc. 'Breathing Pyre' is an articulation of the feelings in the heart of a dutiful wife who is lost in grief at the death of the man she loved in her secret heart. It is a powerful recapturing of a mental situation saturated with pain. 'Master Mason' is a monologue of an old mason, who, legend says, killed his gifted son in jealousy. This poem is a subtle analysis of the conflict of love, jealousy and regret in a father's heart. The mutual love of a peasant couple and the sad but brave fight they put up against fate is the theme of 'Pair of Sparrows.' But such poems are few among the many volumes that G has published.

In spite of this scarcity of concrete human situations in G's poetry, a warm humanism pervades most of his poems dealing with political and social themes. They assert his faith in the dignity and worth of man. They bring the message of the brave dawn of a Tomorrow when the high stars shall tremble and turn pale and the lowly grass along with the tall trees shall get their full share of the new dawn's gold. It is not a scientific Socialism that stirs G's enthusiasm but a warmer, kindlier faith in human nature and the future of mankind. He is a patriot proud of Kerala and more proud of India and his prophecy has been fulfilled: "There will come, certainly come the day when the world will be all attention to the words of my country." There is nothing of a narrow minded arrogance in G's patriotism. It is

tempered with a healthy faith in internationalism. He sings of the day when the races shall mingle in the 'One world' that will rise. The clarion call of ardent nationalism we can hear in some other poets, but the credit of pioneering the idea of Internationalism in the poetry of his language belongs to G. Sankara Kurup.

As in thought, so in style also G is a poet with a strong individuality. He has confirmed a new trend in Malayalam poetry—that of concentrated expression. The poetry of his great predecessors was eloquent and abundant, full of long descriptions of scenes and situations and outpourings of thoughts and feelings. But a change has begun to take root in Malayalam, a change from richness to preciousness, from luxury to economy. To a considerable extent the responsibility for this transition rests with G. He began his work under the spell of Vallathol, the present Poet Laureate of Kerala, but soon he broke free of its power and coming into his own mode of expression established a style which has nothing of Vallathol's limpid sweetness or leisurely liquid notes. A deliberate economist in the use of words, G has in all his poems discipline, sufficiency and energy, for which he has readily abandoned the creamy smoothness that is often associated with poetry. His diction is a combination of classical discipline with romantic suggestiveness. Along with restraint and stateliness there is in it the magical power of suggestion also. This balance saves him from the danger of overgrowth and formalism.

G is pictorial without being descriptive. One cannot get from his splendid paintings like that of Krishna in Vallathol or Vasava in Asan though here and there pictures painted in delicate can be found. The pictorial is used by G not to aid description but to give a concreteness to

he wishes to convey. When he says "The victorious Aurangzeb wound his rosary round the neck of his country till she was stifled" or "Gone is Kerala. It has become a bow broken into three, the bow string of her culture has become loose," he gives us pictures which do not arrest us on the surface but convey to us the inner suggestion and significance. A poet who prefers metaphors to similes, G has written many poems which critics have christened 'symbolic'. His symbolism has been the butt of all the criticism that a new literary technique will naturally provoke. A study of his famous poems like 'The Quest,' 'My Wedding,' etc., will show that symbolism is not an intellectual exercise with him but a way of ideation natural to his genius. In most of his poems G uses symbols which can easily be grasped.

G's poetry though lyrical in its subjectivity is not very lyrical in its melody. On the strings of Dravidian metres Changampuzha has played various bewitching airs with easy efficiency. Such crystal strains are rare in G, though here and there in poems like 'The Proclamation,' 'Bamboo and the Sea,' 'Song of the Traveller,' etc., the musical Dravidian metres yield to his genius. In

his translation of Tagore's 'Urbasi' he has done justice to the 'profuse strains of unpremeditated art' in the original. But to G's way of thinking to the types of emotions and impressions he receives and conveys, a deep simple music is the most suitable and it comes to him effortlessly. Not many Malayalam poets have used the Keka—a Malayalam metre with the advantages of the blank verse with such mastery as G or have evoked from it so many varieties of the same deep fundamental note.

G's poetry has borne ample fruit in the last thirty seven years and it is still full of promises for the future. There are critics who desire to make poets into public relations officers, there are others who want them to work in departmental stores, there are yet others who feel uncomfortable in the company of tall men and are delighted with dwarfs. Were such unhealthy tendencies to take root in our cultural life the result will be no master spirit, no determined road but equally a want of books and men. It is through poets like G that a country's genius discovers some of its finest elements. Through their songs they bring nearer to each other the kindred points of heaven and home and open new vistas for the mind of man.

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MARVELS OF THE ELECTRONICS AGE

By HAROLD HILLIARD

A COMIC-STRIP world of fantasy is about to become a world of reality. Just around the corner are such things as a Dick Tracy type of two-way wrist radio . . . an aircraft which will fly in greater safety in zero-zero visibility than today's plane does under much less hazardous conditions . . . a car with a built-in "brain" to operate without a driver, a model of which already has been successfully tested.

Close to perfection are "Battle eyes," which will permit an army commander sitting at a desk hundreds of miles away to have a ringside seat on the battle lines. On the way is a tubeless television set, no larger than a cigar box, which will supersede the cumbersome consoles of today, and control pictures on thin flat screens in one or every room of the house. Tomorrow's TV set will also have a special button so instantaneous opinion polls can be taken on any current controversial subject.

Another miracle attachment will make the TV set the control centre of the home. The housewife sitting down to her morning coffee break will be able to check visually on junior's whereabouts outside, on whether baby has settled down for her nap in the nursery and if the dog in the basement is staying out of trouble. When she returns to the household chores, her appliances will be motorless and noiseless—from the vacuum cleaner to the washer.

Already perfected and demonstrated is a new communications machine which could send a facsimile reproduction of a large dictionary around the world in two minutes. An atomic electric battery, with a life of 20 or

more years, has also been demonstrated.

This was the world unfolded to me in a sky-level Manhattan interview with one of the most outstanding practical visionaries of our time. He is General David Sarnoff, chairman of the board of Radio Corporation of America and "mayor" of New York's fabulous Radio City.

Sarnoff is the man who, in 1916, startled his superiors at the Marconi Company—for which he then worked—by conjuring, in an inter-office memo, the home radio. He is believed to be the first man to do so. It became a reality four years later. Sarnoff is also recognised as "the father of North American television"—a title bestowed 10 years ago by the U. S. Association of Television Broadcasters. TV in its present form was envisioned by Sarnoff as far back as 1923, also in the form of a memo to his superiors in the 500,000,000 dollar electronics empire he now bosses.

So Sarnoff, when he speaks, is no idle crystal ball gazer; no ordinary mortal enjoying the free luxury of a wild fling into fantasy. He combines the qualities of prophet-extraordinary with knowledge possessed by possibly no other man. He knows what one of the world's largest electronics research teams of scientists is doing and thinking. He didn't enjoy this latter privilege when he made his most famous predictions, forecasting in 1916 the home radio and, in 1923, television. Which makes those predictions all the more remarkable.

Sarnoff spoke to me of the future with the zest of a youngster enthusing over a new toy.

He declared, "The sum total of our ignorance is greater than the sum total of our knowledge. In fact, there will be no time when all new things have been discovered, and the researcher can relax."

He recalled a recent statement of his, which pinpoints the era into which civilization is moving: "The electric age which followed the steam age is now being superseded by the electronic age." He told of how electronics already have given much of the world television, and of how the research which developed TV has now fanned off into so many new directions that a whole rash of completely unrelated by-products are shaping up for the future—at an accelerating tempo.

Sarnoff believes that "half the battle" of finding a new product of research is for someone in authority to express the need for such a product. He has such faith in this belief, in fact, that he has established what is almost a small order catalogue system of ordering new "firsts" from RCA laboratories. Closest to his heart are three he has asked the Corporation's "David Sarnoff Research Centre" at Princeton, N.J., to perfect by the time he celebrates his 50th year in radio, two years hence.

Already, perfection of one of the three is assured. It is a magnetic tape recorder, an invention of rather limited direct interest to the general public. However, there's an indirect interest to the general public. However, there's an indirect interest, as it is expected to bring revolutionary changes to the moving picture and television industries. It will instantly record the video signals of TV on an inexpensive tape, just as music and speech are now recorded on a phonograph disc or tape. The tapes could be used in the home or theatre at any time. Any number of copies could be made instantaneously, and copies preserved for historical reference. Or the images

could be cleaned off and the tape used over and over again.

Sarnoff's second request is for something with sweeping possibilities for home. It is an electronic air-conditioner, a motorless, noiseless machine which probably will be cheaper than the existing electric types. Once mastered, it is expected by Sarnoff to open the door to the development of electronic washers, refrigerators and every type of household appliance, maybe including a noiseless power mover.

Sarnoff's third request is for an amplifier of light. "We have, as you know, amplifiers of sound, but no true amplifiers of light," he explains. "When it comes, it will eliminate the need of a picture tube in a TV set. Then, with the use of another new electronic marvel, the "transistor," the present-day TV set will disappear, to reappear as a small control box on an end table, flashing programmes on screens placed throughout the house.

The end table control box will contain the tuning and volume controls and station selector. It will adjust the picture to any size desired and switch to black-and-white or colour pictures. It will be reduced to almost vest-pocket size because of the transistor, a minute valve the size of a kernel of corn. This will replace the 20 or more tubes of TV sets as well as radio tubes. This laboratory curiosity of five years ago weighs less than a piece of candy-coated chewing gum.

It's the transistor which is opening the door to miniature electronic units of every description, including the two-way wrist radio. RCA already has built and demonstrated more than 30 experimental models of electronic apparatus using transistors. Included are pocket-size radio receivers, portable single-channel TV receivers and junior-sized car radios. Furthermore, the valve is expected to permit the development of new

kinds of electronic equipment heretofore impossible because of economic or technical obstacles and such difficulties.

Fantastic but true is the driverless car which RCA already has demonstrated. It's another product which owes part of its success to the amazing little transistor. Yet, while it is scientifically practical, the economics and logistics remain to be worked out, because it outmodes even the newest super highway. The super highway is its sphere. But before it comes into use, super highways must be ripped up and control cables laid in the roadbeds.

The cables will set up a magnetic field of a certain frequency, to be picked up by coils in the automatic car. This enables the vehicle's electronic brain to steer it along a prescribed route; to stop it when approaching a metal obstruction—in other words, prevent it from colliding with another car; and to turn it out of its original lane into a second lane, to pass another car moving at a slower speed.

Such a vehicle thus should be accident-proof. While travelling on a superhighway, the driver can be relieved of the monotony of steering, and take time out for a snooze. He can be fresh to take over manual control of the car when he wishes to leave the super highway. A five-foot test model already has been put through rigid tests with flying colours by the inventor. He is Dr. V. K. Zworykin, RCA's pioneer television scientist—the man who brought to reality Sarnoff's 1923 dream of commercial TV.

Dr. Zworykin also is the creator of the instantaneous opinion poll idea. He is working on a method to equip the standard home TV receiver with a button which, when pressed, will register a vote of "yes" or "no" at the TV station. Listeners and lookers can give their reactions to programmes and issues of the day in a nationwide push-button poll—N.N.F.

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PST 149

SPORTS

C. K. NAYUDU

By N. S. RAMASWAMI

I REMEMBER that the late Sir Robert Denniston contributed an article to a sports magazine in Madras on the controversy of "leg-theory" on the ground that he hated to think that that print alone should not have discussed that vitriolic subject. This is a principle—which, if only most essayists are honest, they will admit is the "onlie begetter" of most of their lugubrations. The fundamental enemy of literature is the formal occasion, the set event that clamours for a commemoration in the public journals. It is significant that the greatest poem in the language was occasioned by an unhappy and forlorn poet happening to hear the nightingale sing in Hampstead.

"My heart aches, and a drowsy numbness pains

My senses,"

but in a sense different from that of Keats.

Let no reader think that these somewhat peevish remarks are an unsuitable introduction to a panegyric on Col. C. K. Nayudu, which is my immediate purpose, on this his *shasthiabdapoorthi*. In one sense it is superfluous to praise him.

"What needs my Shakespeare for his honoured bones,

The labour of an age in piled stones!"

But there is this satisfaction that in praising him we praise ourselves. According to Emerson the soul is dyed the colour of its leisure

thoughts. By the same token a people may be known by the nobility of its sports and pastimes. The Indian race has many achievements to its credit, but not the least significant of them has been that it took to its heart the eminent cricketer. It was its hopes and aspirations mirrored in this gallant player. He has indeed been a Representative Man.

The years before 1947 are now the age before the flood. But if only in the interests of history it is necessary to obtain a proper comprehension of their spirit. The fact of political servitude may be bitterly lamented, but there were some compensations in life. India was still the land of oriental pageantry. Every "native" court was an Arabian Night's Entertainment. There was much stupidity, as when a feudatory ruler was credibly reported to have prepared a cup of tea for Viceregal consumption by using currency notes as fuel. On the other hand, the light of common day had not descended on the land. People lived, moved and had their being in unselfconscious knowledge that they were acting as part of a pageant. The true representative of this epoch was Col. Nayudu.

The history of Indian cricket has been curious in that its first "age" (a term frequently used in the textbooks) was really and truly princely. Its progenitors have been Prince Ranjitsinhji and later Prince Duleepsinhji, in whose hands batsmanship was regal. Nothing must serve the former except that he should "invent" a new stroke, but

such prerogatives are no more than to be conceded to a prince. The inheritance was nobly sustained by the nephew, who perfected the art of slaying the slow bowler. One had in one's mind's eye a vision of an autocrat peremptorily ordering a prisoner to execution.

The princely tradition found its last exponent in Col. Nayudu, who, it is pertinent to remember, has passed most of his life in the courts of princes. He was not born to the purple, but he grasped the sceptre of cricket. Every moment of his on the field was instinctively graceful. The multitudes cheered him to the echo because, when set in his assault, he scattered the bowling before him like chaff. But in the midst of this romantic violence there was enthroned a princely composure, which was perhaps not without amusement at the ease with which the throngs could be roused by trifles. Nonchalance was the central note of Col. Nayudu's cricket. I remember the almost incredible disdain with which he caught Townsend one-handed at point off Amar Singh in the Madras Test against Jardine's team. The field was a lost one even before the match started, a disciplined army against a mob of brilliant but temperamental and unsteady players. There was, however, no disquiet on the brow of the captain. He could not have been more self-assured if he had been gaining an innings victory. That casual catch brought the heart into the mouth of the suffering multitude, but the fieldsman himself was uncannily unperturbed. The thought of failure never entered his mind.

It is, I believe, an error to insist unduly on the sixes of Col. Nayudu. For, to do so implies that he was a slogger. On the other hand, Col. Nayudu was an accomplished and suave batsman well grounded in the fundamentals. A naturally forceful batsman, hits out of the ground came

instinctively. Every batsman knows that there are many occasions when he himself is surprised at the strength and vigour of his shots. When Col. Nayudu played a stroke, he put all his strength behind it and the result was a soaring six. I do not believe that he consciously violated the doctrine about keeping the ball on the ground.

It is more material to recall his orthodox strokes, the powerful drive from mid-off to cover, and above all those positively electrifying late-cuts with which he almost played the ball from the gloves of the wicket-keeper and sent it careering towards the boundary. A merely muscular batsman could not have wielded such a stroke of thrilling delicacy. Yet, the paradox is that Col. Nayudu's name will always be associated in the public mind with those rather vulgar strokes the sixes.

A princely player with a regal style, one who gave freely of the riches of his genius so that the Indian public was drawn to cricket as nothing else in those early stages could have attracted it, Col. Nayudu is entitled to the gratitude of India. I do not propose to encumber this column with statistics, for the score-board is often an ass. It has never been a reflection of the genius of this remarkable man, an ornament of a memorable epoch. He has bestowed on his compatriots infinitely richer prizes, the supreme gift of a princely style, one who overcame the limitations set by the game to the ability of man with regal disdain.

"... He was, indeed, the glass wherein the noble youth did dress themselves."

He set the tone to an entire age and an entire people. We shall do well to pay him our thanks as he completes a memorable period in life.

FILMS

By V. P. SATHE

BY now *Jhanak Jhanak Payal Baafe*, *Shri 420* and *Insaniyat* have been released almost all over India; only *Insaniyat* remains to be released in Bombay. All these three pictures have been ambitious, costly ventures; all of them had aroused very high expectations and had been publicized on a grand scale. The first trade reaction in the case of each of them was surprisingly bad; but the latter reports belied all fears and proclaimed them successes.

More than the artistic merits or details of the pictures the box office success was of paramount importance. For, if these pictures failed—and failed at the box office, the industry would have received a great set-back. Now, at least there should be no doubt that these pictures would bring back their cost and an appreciable profit.

The year which began with *Nagin* and *Azaad* and climaxed with *Shri 420*, *Jhanak Jhanak* and *Insaniyat* can only be described as a memorable year.

And as Shri S. S. Vasan said at a meeting of film journalists *Jhanak Jhanak* and *Shri 420* are the pictures of which the industry could be proud. Technically, he said, both these films are as good as any Hollywood films. I would go further and say artistically even most of the Hollywood technical films cannot come up to the standard of Shantaram's *Jhanak Jhanak*. Shri Vasan did not say anything about *Insaniyat*, but one expects that picture also to have the technical excellence of foreign films.

Picture of the week

Thanks to Hollywood monopoly, seldom do we get a chance to see outstanding pictures produced in Europe or Japan. It is only when an enterprising distributor like Shri Kapur or Shri V. V. Purie bags good foreign films and releases them in India, that we do get an opportunity to see pictures like *Bicycle Thief*, *Yuktwarisoo* and *The Wages of Fear*.

The Wages Of Fear which is being shown at Liberty (Bombay) this week, won the grand Prix at Cannes Film Festival in 1953. It is a French picture based on a popular novel which has been translated in English. It was directed by H. G. Clouzot, one of the progressive and most talented French directors.

The Wages Of Fear is a very realistic film; and without the usual crime, chase and fights, it is more thrilling, suspenseful and nerve-shattering than any Hollywood crime thriller. Even Hitchcock's pictures appear to be tame when compared with this film.

The story opens in a drab, hot, sultry central American village steeped in the misery of poverty. The only jobs available are controlled by S.O.C. Oil Company. As a result the oil company holds all the power. The town itself is inhabited by the oil company's workers, their families and out-of-job whites who come there hoping to get money so that they can go back home but never do so. A local bar is the centre of attraction where Mario, the hero, Luigi his partner, Linda, his girl, meet. The beginning is rather dull, but significant for the manner in which it portrays the drab and utterly hopeless life of the people. The arrival of Jo, who becomes friendly with Mario, adds little spice to it. For, Jo seems to have money; though it turns out that he is no better off than others. Jo tries for a job in the oil company but fails.

Later, when the oil wells are on fire, and the road is blocked, four volunteers are summoned to drive two trucks loaded with nitro-glycerine, a highly explosive stuff, over three hundred miles on an impassable road to extinguish the fire. Each one of them is offered a reward of 2,000 dollars; and many jobless whites, young and old, turn up to offer their services in spite of the dangers involved. For the reward would ensure their return to homeland and as such is worth any risk.

Ultimately Mario, Jo, Luigi and another man are chosen and their nerve-racking perilous journey is unfolded foot by foot with such power and suspense that it keeps you on the edge of your seat, watching the progress with shuddering nerves. The journey in which they face death at every turn is graphically portrayed; it brings out the cowardice and courage inherent in man and while one feels triumphant when they overcome dangers, one feels equally sorry when one after the other, three of them die—two in the explosion of the truck itself, and Jo after an accident. When Mario, in utter exasperation, drives his car over Jo stuck in the muddy oil, and later weeps as Jo dies in his arms, one is struck by the inherent contradictions in human nature.

Mario succeeds, gets his reward; but, alas, he too meets the same fate as his comrades in the end. The impact of the entire film which is cleverly built up by director H. G. Clouzot shot by shot, scene by scene, is just terrific and it cannot be properly expressed in words. One has to see the film to feel its full impact. It deserves all awards; and it should serve as a model for direction.

Personality of the week

Speaking at Madras, David volunteered to work free in an 'ideal' story, provided such a story was forthcoming. Though this is the first time he

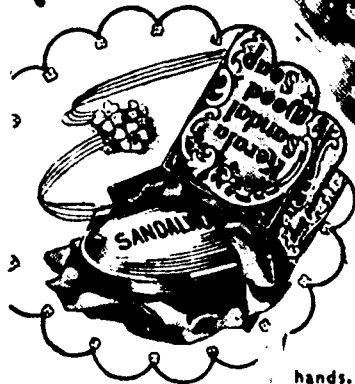
made such an offer publicly, I, for one, know that he has worked almost free in several pictures out of consideration for his friends who, he knows, are earnestly trying to make good films. Indeed, David is a strange kind of artiste. If he is called to work on a purely professional basis, he would not work for anything less than his market price; but as a friend, he would not question the price at all. That apart, the first 'idealist' film in which he worked free as a guest artiste was People's Theatre's *Dharti Ke Lal* produced about ten years ago. As the picture was made by a non-profit making public organisation he agreed to work free then; and hence his offer at Madras is not at all surprising.

David, a graduate in arts and law of Bombay University, began acting in films in the thirties. He was mostly associated with producer Bhavnani. In 1941, he started free-lancing after his success in *Naya Sansar* and during the last decade and half, he must have given scores of notable performances. His latest acting triumph in *Boot Polish* won him an award.

Apart from the screen, David has taken keen interest in the stage and in athletics. As for the stage, there cannot be any show or function without David being called upon to act as the compere. He is the film world's best commentator; he is also the best humourist. For, David's jokes are famous in the film world. Though he always cracks a joke and speaks in lighter vein, David is essentially a serious man who takes a serious interest in many social activities. He is a voracious reader and has the best private library amongst film stars; he appears to be a confirmed bachelor.

Not only his sporting offer is worth consideration but the views expressed by him also deserve serious consideration.

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- VETO FOR VIDARBHA
- TIME-SCHEDULE FOR THE STATES
- MORE RUSSIAN KNOW-HOW
- POLICY ON PROHIBITION

WITHIN three weeks of the publication of the S. R. C. Report, it has been demonstrated that its major proposals have to be thrown into the melting pot again. The Congress Working Committee gave the first indication of future policy by making it clear that the Report would not be implemented like an award though it was drafted like one, and that "the final decisions arrived at should represent the general consensus of opinion." Contrary to expectations, there was no appeal by the Committee even for acceptance in broad terms of the S.R.C. Report. The appeal for the avoidance of an "agitational" approach has been successful, showing how exaggerated were the earlier fears of violent controversies or demonstrations. The Working Committee's open-minded approach has been closely followed by discussions with the leaders of Western India over the question of Maharashtra and though there are many obstacles to agreed solutions, the perfunctory character of the S.R.C. proposals have been well demonstrated in this search for a new formula. The question of the future of the Punjab is also open, even if we do not attach much importance to the High Command's discussions with the Akali leaders, which raise problems of political conciliation than States reorganisation. Finally, the new Madhya Pradesh which seemed least controversial of all is by no means an accomplished fact. These developments have empha-

sified the essentially political character of the problem and the poor guidance received from the S.R.C. Leaders of Samyukta Maharashtra have two alternatives to the S.R.C. proposals open to them—the creation of a Marathi-speaking State without Bombay City but including the proposed Vidarbha or a demand for the merger of Vidarbha also in Bombay so that the Gujaratis thus outnumbered may seek separation if they so desire. In either case, Vidarbha now holds a key position which it is likely to exploit to the best and the S.R.C.'s contribution to the problem is the addition of this new complexity by the recognition of Vidarbha's claims to separate existence, in spite of its small population and its linguistic affinity to the adjoining areas. The S.R.C., which seriously put forward proposals for the integration of the services and for joint Services Commission could not, curiously enough, hope for the successful working of the assurances under the Akola and Nagpur pacts for the protection of Vidarbha's interests. It now seems too late to go back on these concessions, unless the Congress High Command is definitely persuaded that such a small State is not desirable and that the needs of Indian unity require that the more prosperous areas should share their wealth with the less fertile regions around. It would be wrong to recognise now a right of veto for Vidarbha in joining Maharashtra, if it is otherwise feasible. In a parallel situation, it was possible to-

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effect a *modus vivendi* between Rayalaseema and the rest of Andhra and it is unfortunate that instead of striving to unite people who have a common stake in a culture based on a language, efforts should have been made to widen the rift.

Maharashtrian leadership has been undoubtedly deficient all along and it is still doubtful whether it will prove equal to the present occasion; but Maharashtrian Congress leaders outside Vidarbha, are certainly on trial. If they give up their claims to Bombay, they will certainly be charged with acquiescing in the theory that the cosmopolitan character of the city would be affected by its being in Maharashtra, when Calcutta and Madras have not so lost their special importance. The way out may be to add Vidarbha to the proposed Bombay—which must satisfy both linguistic claims and bilingual theories without inviting opposition from the Bombay City interests.

The value of the S.R.C. Report, however, would lie in the sense of urgency with which it has compelled all these interests to reach quick decisions. The time-schedule drawn up by the States Chief Ministers' Conference in New Delhi this week will further emphasise the urgency. Without some such compelling reason, boundary controversies will never cease. The deadline for the establishment of the new States will be the middle of the next financial year. The government of India is expected to announce its decisions in January which will leave enough time for carrying through legislation and completing the preliminaries to the creation of the new States. The Conference of State Chief Ministers has shown agreement on the application of the principle of uniformity in the future status of States (except for the centrally administered areas), which involves the abolition of the institution of Rajpramukhs. The

plea of the Part C States to continue as such looked pathetic by the side of these vital decisions. The question of the functioning of legislatures between the establishment of the new States and the formation of the new legislatures after general elections would not prove a serious problem because reorganisation will affect only the six (or seven?) new States. It is almost certain that the Second Five Year Plans for the States will not be altered because the projects will remain the same. It may be that when the attention of the public is diverted too much to the questions of boundaries, these questions would become secondary.

The announcement by Shri K. D. Malaviya, Minister for Natural Resources, that a team of Russian experts would visit India to offer technical advice on oil exploration is yet another example of the growing collaboration between India and Russia in economic development which Western (and some Indian) observers view with disquiet. There is no reason why India should not avail herself of such offers of technical assistance or supplies needed for economic development and it is significant that there have been few big gestures of assistance in such strategic fields like steel and oil from the Western Countries. India had to accord a special position to the three oil refineries in order to encourage their establishment and it is generally believed that Western oil interests will not show an active interest in drilling for oil. That is where Russian offers may, in this country, create impressions far more favourable than the particular circumstances warrant. It seems that the Russian leaders—judged by their offers to Egypt and to Burma—would do these things in a big way in the future. Marshal Bulganin's visit to New Delhi will, it is believed, give more indications of this readiness of the Soviet Union to take a hand in

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the development of India and other Asian countries. So long as the terms are attractive, there is no particular reason for India not to accept them—for ideological or other reasons—though the fundamental principle of not relying too much on outside help would always remain.

While the Malaviya delegation to Russia has been greatly impressed by the techniques in oil extraction, the Indian Steel delegation, which has submitted its report to Government this week, has also returned with praise for the strides taken by steel technology in the Soviet Union. These reports are perhaps expressed in such warm terms as almost to imply that Western technology is not superior. But this reaction was to some extent inevitable when Western propaganda during the cold war had gone to such absurd lengths as to imply that the Soviet Union was bungling all the time about her technology. The restoration of perspective was quite necessary even if the West should continue to remain unfriendly to the Communist countries. It is perfectly understandable to us that Russia should have achieved successes in steel and oil technology just as she has been able to develop nuclear energy on her own. If there is to be a cut in Russian armaments, as a result of the 'thaw', Russian supplies of materials to the backward countries may be stepped up to an extent which should seriously concern Western statesmen.

The report of the Prohibition Enquiry Committee recommending nation-wide prohibition by April 1, 1958 would not come as a surprise since nothing else was expected considering the composition of the Committee. The case for prohibition is not new but it has always been overstated by its zealous supporters. There is a mixture of moral fervour and self-righteousness in these arguments for the enforcement of prohibition. Its economic benefits to the

poor in areas where the policy can be successfully enforced need not be disputed. But should it become an inflexible rule for all—the special exemption for military personnel is also recommended to be withdrawn—so as to disintitle addicts or those who would offer medical grounds for drink?

The whole trouble arises from the fact that any case for a tolerant view of the matter is immediately interpreted as a plea for indulgence in drink. Strict enforcement alone can ensure the success of prohibition policy and the real question is not only whether some States should forego revenue from liquor but also whether they should devote much time and money on implementing prohibition when they have a task of economic development and education to carry out. They may be able to do better if they can concentrate on carrying out temperance measures for the masses than in erecting a system of vigilance in a country where illicit manufacture is easy and an extensive law-breaking tendency may be fostered in trying to enact stringent laws purely based on notions of right conduct. This is an old argument which has not grown stale.

(Continued from page 5)

The Committee clutches forlornly at "the prohibitory and inhibitory teachings against drink which have prevailed for centuries." Alas, poor Adullamites! They forget that we live in a progressive secular State. We are being exhorted by the most high to disregard the dead hand of the past, to strain every nerve to be first in the race for change, above all, to scorn all prohibitions and inhibitions as inimical to the flowering of personality. You cannot invoke the precepts of Sanatana Dharma for enforcing Prohibition and declare in the same breath that you will destroy Casteism.

VIGNESWARA

OCTOBER

"BRIGHT October was come, the misty-bright October," sings the English poet in ecstasy. We of a different climate may well deny the tenth month in the calendar this paradoxical panegyric. With us it is rather a harbinger of delights to come, the all too brief season of winter, or as it is perhaps more proper to describe it, the absence of summer, than a source of felicity in itself.

October coincides with the autumn in the text-books, but the truth is that its characteristics are far different in our country. No South Indian can, as Thomas Hood did, see

"... old Autumn in the misty morn
Stand shadowless like Silence,
listening
To silence."

The excellent reason is that here this month is not misty, unless the thin film which falls like a curtain between earth and sky at twilight is to be so considered. Nor is it possible to emulate another poet who, while he looked "on the happy autumn-fields was transfused with gentle melancholy as he thought of "the happy days that are no more."

In contrast, the south Indian October is direct and plain. When it departs from this its usual characteristic, it descends to a temperamental alternation which is very trying at least in the cities. There are many different ways of considering the phenomenon of rain. It may be "gentle rain from heaven", to which Portia likened the quality of mercy. It is also permissible to complain with Feste that "the rain it raineth every day," a dirge which assumes even sinister undertones. But, whatever its essential nature, it generally announces its advent sufficiently in advance, except, that is to say, in the month of October. The

citizens of Madras experienced this bewildering abruptness in the early days of the month this year.

One moment the entire heavens are blue, a breath-taking blue. In passing, I may add that the proper manner in which to admire this quality (for it most certainly deserves to be admired for all its commonness) is to peep at the sky through the branches of a slender tree. The vivid colour, as it is fitfully observed through the tossing and waving leaves, appears to strike one full in the face. The specks of blue espied through the slender and graceful tracery are more vivid than a vulgar comprehension of the entire sky "at one glance," as the saying is. To return to the contrairities of October, the heavens are even alarmingly empty one moment except that a careful examination reveals a speck of cloud on the distant horizon. As it approaches closer, it appears to be turning and tossing within itself as if it were a creature writhing in torment. It is not long before it assumes a positively menacing quality. In an incredibly short period it overruns the entire expanse having overgrown prodigiously. It then incontinently begins to rain. I have observed many times that this alternation takes no more than fifteen minutes. Meanwhile, pedestrians in cities, who had sallied out in the false security of the cloudless sky, find their persons deluged and their clothes plastered by no means ornamentally with dirt by passing automobiles.

October rain belongs to a special category. While its abruptness does not endear itself to mankind, its fugitiveness is playing. It is mainly reluctant rain; it appears to descend with an air of apology. It seldom lasts long and it has no objection to "co-existing," in the current political

jargon, with sunshine. It is well known that Tamil children are taught to consider this juxtaposition as indicating the marriage of the fox and the crow.

It is perhaps when rain is falling and the sun is shining together that October has most to offer. It is gentle rain rather as if a celestial fountain was spraying water on the earth; a moderation which compares with the brutality of the summer rains. So, it is quite possible to watch its progress from the height of the house-tops to the ground. Each drop is an object of exquisite beauty as the rays of the sun pass through it. It then becomes nothing less than a rainbow in itself, its colours radiating themselves all around. It is melancholy that all this exquisiteness is quite destroyed as soon as it reaches the earth. There is probably some allegory in this sad decline; one moment a thing of glory, fully appealing in its diminutive form as any famous Chinese vase, and the next a part of an indistinguishable mass in the gutters.

It is a rewarding experience to watch the onset of an October night in the country. It is heralded by a brief, all too brief, period of twilight, when a great hush falls on the earth. The tall trees are still transfigured as if into gold in their topmost branches as they receive the rays of the westering sun. Then, in a moment, so abruptly as to deceive eyesight, there occurs a pageant of nature. The sun sinks rapidly in the west, its expiring beams colouring any cloud that may be floating on that horizon. Suddenly the hills, a component part of any rewarding landscape, lose their identity and become a shapeless mass. The trees become commonplace. Darkness comes striding in like a bold conqueror. Another day ends and the approach of winter is hastened to that extent.

It is as a herald of winter that October is best considered. There is no abatement in the fierceness of the

sun, but it is borne willingly in the knowledge that November and December will abate its severity. Nevertheless, it is not without its own independent charms. Every month is an integral part of the cavalcade of nature which, though having eyes, most of us do not see. The Englishman in Italy sighed to be in England now that April was there. This preference of his has not met with the general acceptance of his countrymen. I have often thought that it is in November or December that an Indian exile must often think of home. But he will be well advised to return in October when the great pageant of winter commences even if fitfully. We shall on second thoughts, do well to honour and cherish this month of October.—N.S.R.

(Continued from page 7)

Mr. J. V. Somayajulu, President of the Andhra Chamber of Commerce, addressing the gathering, pleaded for the encouragement of the dramatic art.

Dr. Arunachalam, Director of the Cancer Institute and Mrs. Nallamuthu Ramamurthi also spoke on the occasion.



Srimathi K. R. Thilakam as Sakku Bai in the Telugu play of that name.

New Books

WAITING FOR THE MAHATMA. BY R. K. NARAYAN. Methuen, London. 9s 6d.

ABOVE even his other gifts as a novelist, we think we should prize Mr. Narayan's courage. His artistic courage is of the highest order. Few novelists deny the temptation to be fashionable, to swim with the writing current of the day. Even fewer writers dare bypass or ignore the advances mankind is making all around them in doing or thinking. The success of Somerset Maugham, for example, while it entertained us and dissected men and women with feet of clay, showing up contradictions, flaws, and heroism and wickedness, malice and good nature, always unexpectedly occurring, turned, in the hands of those who wrote after his success, merely into prolific instalments of ineffectual writing. He was imitated, he incited, one's own experience was thought of and organized in his terms, he was even unashamedly borrowed from; but the result was nearly always the same,—what Mr. Maugham himself was never guilty of—tedium. And to illustrate the point that few artists, are content to leave their work without traces of the hectic intellectual activity around them, we have *The Burning-Glass*, a play by one who is a novelist using the drama form for slighter themes.

Without this courage, Mr. Narayan would not have written *The English Teacher*. Apart from its emotional depth, its mild but eternal saga of the voyage of mutual discovery that a man and a woman make and the delicacies of pale colours in which the portrait is painted, we have always admired it because Mr. Narayan wrote it at all. It must have required a rare courage to withstand the pressure of all the novelists in English before him, and, not shrink-

ing, triumph in the magnificent close when the English teacher hears the anklets of his dead wife preceding him up the stairs, and the sweet smell of jasmine—her favourite flower—taking the air captive.

Mr. Narayan's next novel, *The Financial Expert*, was a bit of a disappointment after that—it was bound to be. For one thing, it was too neatly planned, and we also felt that Mr. Narayan's humour had taken a rather whimsical turn, which not merely exercised a disproportionate influence over the writing, but seemed to have arranged an ending too symmetrical with the beginning.

Waiting for the Mahatma is a worthy successor to *The English Teacher*. Here again, courage was required; to bring within the framework of a novel about two other people the colossal figure of the Mahatma. We do not pretend to know how Mr. Narayan has done it, but he has taken nothing from the stature of the Mahatma and, at the same time, has kept his boy-hero Sriram and his adorable Bharathi in the prime places of our affection and interest. Nor is Gandhi aloof or inhuman; he strikes terror into those who come within his extensive orbit, but it is a very healthy kind of terror; he casts his stupendous shadow over almost every page of the novel, but it is a benevolent, protecting shadow that, while he lived, he cast over our stricken land, healing it and vitalising it with his own inexhaustible force. This, surely, is no minor feat. Even in the pages of Mr. Nehru's *Autobiography*, it is Mr. Nehru's Gandhi that we see; we see the Master only through the eyes of the disciple and hear him translated in Mr. Nehru's idiom; but in *Waiting*

for the Mahatma, the Mahatma himself is present, waiting for us, waiting to bathe us in the everfresh spring of his heart and spirit as he did when he walked up and down this our country. The art of Mr. Narayan is so competent that it is not Mr. Narayan's Gandhi that comes to Malgudi and draws the frog Sriram out of his well and sets him, squeaking a little, in the fierce blaze of a national awakening but Gandhi himself, as we all knew him, everyone's Gandhi, India's Gandhi. Thus will the artist always triumph over the biographer. His is not the truth of one man, but of many.

Mr. Narayan appears to have taken note of the 'Homeric truth' to which Mr. Aldous Huxley draws our attention in one of his essays. The sailors of Ulysses lose some of themselves to the Sirens at sea (or is it to some monster?) and when, in the evening, the survivors reach land, they set about satisfying their hunger and thirst before they weep for the comrades they will not see again. Even tragedy must wait till the body is nourished and rested. Sriram's appetites are always with him, whereas Bharathi seems to live on fresh air and sacrifice. When Sriram goes to his grandmother from months of underground activity, he arrives too late; she is already dead. But he is hungry, the corpse must wait till he goes across to the shop he had frequented as a boy and filled himself with plantains. Just in this place, perhaps because we are already familiar with the device, Sriram's action seems to be preordained by the craftsman in Mr. Narayan. Nothing very much in verisimilitude is gained by it; death can bear almost any amount of concentration we bestow upon it.

Mr. Narayan's background is a flaming period in our history. Gandhi had made his impact on

the apparently lazy, indeterminate and emasculate stuff of India, and was miraculously shaping out of it a weapon too sharp even for the armour of an empire. But though the change was miraculous, it was not radical; there was stuff inside the stuff; India had slept, Gandhi had woken her up. Mr. Narayan realises this; his history is, therefore, not superficial. Malgudi is transformed from the self-contained and complacent little town of the English teacher or the Financial Expert into a national bastion, one of a national series of fortifications, and Sriram of Malgudi is a gladiator in a national arena; yet Sriram is any Indian boy, and Malgudi any small Indian town. It is Sriram's luck to have been born at a certain moment and to have been used by great forces, but he has life without Gandhi's communication of power, and Malgudi is part of India's landscape, whether fortified under Gandhi's generalship or not. Therefore Mr. Narayan's world is new, yet old; fresh, yet ancient as the hills; rooted deep in the soil of India, yet sprouting the tenderest of leaves all the time.

We are proud of this book. It fixes for ever a period of national life dear to us. Gandhi will be eternally young and near to us in its pages. Its heroine has the sharp tongue of the women of India, and she is also, like them, utterly devoted, full of good sense, inflexibly determined to get her man, and then equally determined to love him and look after him to the end of her life. Its hero is any one of us, ordinary till love lifts him out of himself, forces him to discipline himself, conquer his impatience and climb from desire to tenderness. Mr. Narayan's humour has also made a welcome return from whimsicality to gentleness, perhaps because he too had to wait for the Mahatma.

M. P. BHASKARAN

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.

Casteism

Sir,—In your issue of 15th October, Saranga writes under the heading 'Indian Affairs':—

Under the auspices of the Indian Conference of Social work, a seminar has concluded in Delhi which had for its subject Casteism and Untouchability. It was claimed that the seminar was almost unanimous that these two things were evil—a case of preaching to the converted since there is no one in public life who would dare dispute it. The real trouble has always been in the gap between professions and practices among those who are convinced of the evil and of the difficulty of convincing those who because of lack of education, or due to their sheltered lives, are difficult to be convinced. (Emphasis mine)

In the same issue, Vighneswara—who appears to have constituted himself into a super oracle laying down the law with a finality which can arise only out of a self conscious omniscience—writes:

Mr. Nehru is now slowly and painfully rediscovering India. But he is still far from discovering his own self. . . . He (Mr. Nehru) roundly declares that the 'Away with the Brahmins' cry in the South is certainly a reaction against the attitude of Brahmins in past. That is the kind of poppycock which only omniscient authors of universal history, can talk. The Tamil Brahmins' attitude in the past was no more bedevilled by the superiority complex than that of Mr. Nehru's own Kashmir Brahmins . . .

Caste is four thousand years old, the current isms under forty. Caste founded on one of the deepest emotions of man the social animal. And though the infant eyes of the West with the purified eyes of the newly littered pups may not perceive

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it for another century or two, caste by birth is a stubborn reality, even as forfeiture of caste by lack of breeding is. (Emphasis mine)

Comment is superfluous. Such utterly irreconcilable views appear to be possible only in this country. The humblest man in this country has a right to differ from, and criticise, Mr. Nehru but is there any need to resort to cheap invectives and spiteful criticism?

A. SUBBIAH

Nature Cure In Second Five Year Plan

Sir,—The first Five Year Plan accepted the basis that "all progress in public health depends ultimately on the willing assent and cooperation of the people and their active participation in measures intended for individual community health protection."

In this connection it is well to remember that Gandhiji was convinced after years of reflection and experience that for good health all that was necessary was to live according to the laws of nature in regard to diet, fresh air, exercise, clean surroundings and a pure heart.

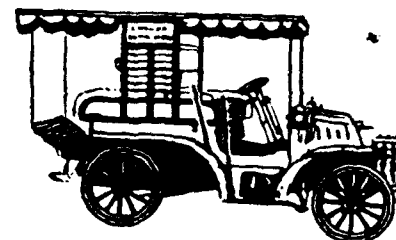
The efforts of the authorities have been feeble in promoting the indigenous systems of medicine in India due to our foreign rulers. In the first Five Year Plan the emphasis has been on an approach completely western. Medical systems which have survived the ravages of modern man and his machinery of destruction have a definite constructive contribution to make in free India.

The immediate need is for the Government of India to form an expert body to implement the recommendations of the Planning Commission before the first Five Year Plan period runs out and explore the great potentialities of the system. The Health Minister of India, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, owes it to the nation to evolve methods to rationalise the system of nature cure, a science which will admirably suit the health needs of the poor, ignorant masses of India. If it is understood that nature is the best credit the complete and rational eradication of some diseases which are not cured by allopathy or other systems of medicine, we will have a measure of the vast potentiality of this unique system to serve and save all- ing humanity. K. SUBRAMANIAN

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