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Swatantra
1955 - September - 10-31 to 3



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SWATANTRA

On Sale Every Saturday

Vol. X. September 3, 1955. No. 31.

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ON THE COVER:

Sir M. Muthiah Chettiar who inaugurated the Medical College Exhibition with Sir A. L. Mudallar viewing the exhibits.

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Subscription rates (including postage); for one year; inland Rs. 20; Foreign. £1-16sh., or \$8; Half-year: Inland, Rs. 10; Foreign, 18sh., or \$4.

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SWATANTRA

Vol. X. SEPTEMBER 3, SATURDAY 1955 No. 31

THE ATOM COMES OUT INTO THE OPEN

IN a multiplicity of senses, the International Conference on the Peaceful uses of Atomic Energy which concluded its two-week session at Geneva on August 20, has been unprecedented. No conference or congress on a scale so gigantic has been held within living memory. It has beaten even the much publicised meetings of the Big Powers in significance and importance. It marks, formally and inescapably, the moving of the whole world into the nuclear age. It is the beginning not of a mere Industrial Revolution but of a Cosmic Change. The Atom is going to transform the face of the world and has emerged as the greatest cohesive force in history.

This Atomic Conference was inevitable. President Eisenhower, as the representative of the nation which had made the greatest strides in this field, anticipated it 18 months ago when he suggested the setting up of an International Atomic Energy Agency under the U.N. Discovery of the growing possibilities of the Atom had gradually led to the realization over the last year or two that the atom, the smallest particle of matter known to man, had become too big and too powerful to be hidden any longer. Scientists and research students had worked behind heavily-guarded walls long and patiently, but they had reached a stage when conference and consultation with other scientists proceeding perhaps along different lines became imperative. Moreover, it was no longer a purely scientific

subject. The possibilities of the Atom reached out into so many fields of human endeavour that it could no longer be confined to the laboratory. At Geneva in these two weeks it was not merely the atomic scientists who conferred. It was a conference of chemists, engineers, biologists, metallurgists, geneticists, doctors, and specialists in agriculture and industry. At Geneva were gathered also businessmen from all over the world. For the Atom has come out of the laboratory into the field of industry and has become Big Business, bigger than anything that has become possible with steam or electricity. In fact, business in atomic fuels and reactors and fissionable materials has already started, with Britain well in the lead. Of the 140 exhibits from 10 countries in the Commercial Fair in Geneva, 50 were from British companies. America proposes to send radio-isotopes to 47 countries and has concluded bilateral agreements with 25 for exchange of atomic information. She has given a price schedule for the sale of uranium and heavy water. Britain has offered to construct atomic reactors in any country. And Mr. Ford has set up a million dollar fund from which awards are to be made for outstanding discoveries in peaceful uses of atomic energy.

The prodigious mass of information which has been poured over the 1500 official delegates and 800 observers from 73 nations opens out new vistas of progress baffling descrip-

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vice versa in a word which no longer stands in danger of being standardised as 'reseev.'

Half the charm of English, we are aware, has been the illogicality of its spelling. But it is heartening to hear that the battle has not been lost on all fronts. The movement to pronounce words as they are spelt is gaining favour especially in American films. We are long past the age of 'skedules'. We have reached

'antai' (anti) and 'nebobs'. 'Predatory' is invariably pronounced with the accent on the penultimate syllable.

Three bastions are still to be left to the *Chicago Tribune*—Tho', Thro', Thoro'. It is merely a gesture, not a gallant last stand.

Mr. Shaw may now turn slowly over on his back again and sleep, disillusioned, in peace.

Sotto Voce

★

FETISH NO CURE FOR FRUSTRATION



ON Independence Day the police opened fire in Bombay on an unruly crowd of anti-Portuguese demonstrators. Many people were injured. But, apart from conveying his regret to the foreign embassies in the city which were subjected to some harassment by the mob, the Prime Minister has not taken any particular notice of the action; much less has Mr. Morarji Desai's Government. In Patna, a few days earlier, some university students riding in a bus had refused to buy tickets and in the row that ensued the students of a local college joined in force and the police opened fire killing some and injuring others. There was a huge popular outcry. Promptly the local Government conceded a judicial enquiry by the Chief Justice himself.

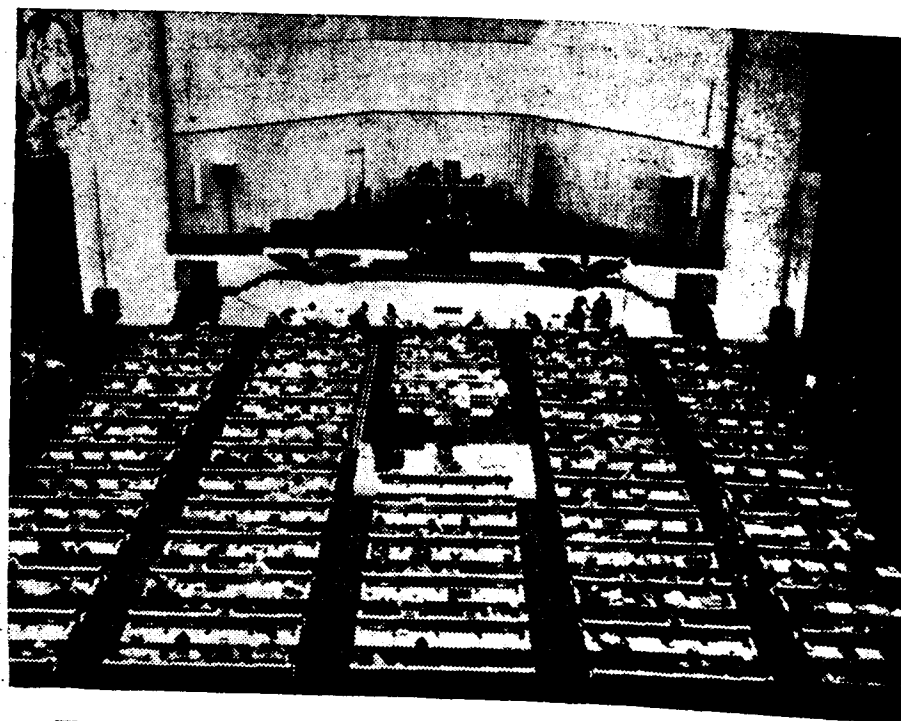
The Prime Minister was in a tower-

ing rage with Patna, not because of the rioting and the shooting and the hullabaloo but because of the reported insult to the National Flag. After much digging for detail, all I could find was that at an Independence Day meeting some disgruntled students had insisted that the National Flag, which had been hoisted, should be hauled down or flown at half-mast. Nobody took serious notice of this at the time, even though the local Congress Secretary denounced it as the mischief-making of the enemies of the Congress. The students' champions, including those who sported the Congress label, merely shouted him down as the policemen's apologist.

They heard the distant rumble of Mr. Nehru's wrath but sought to persuade themselves that it was a

passing squall. When it was known that he was coming to Patna they were less sure. They began feverishly executing crab-like movements for rehabilitating themselves. All Patna turned out to receive the Prime Minister in the mood proper to those who were awaiting the visitation of the Avenging Angel—except a crowd of students, who came as petitioners and subdued demonstrators. And then and there Mr. Nehru plied the rod of punishment on their flaming behinds with a ferocity which reduced them (and the bystanders) to pulp.

"Those who insult the National Flag are traitors and should be punished as such. I don't care if ten thousands or ten lakhs of people have to die for maintaining the honour of the National Flag. I don't care if India is destroyed in upholding the honour of its National Flag." Before this raging tide of molten lava the student Chartists and their hedge-lawyers fled. When the



UN Secretary General Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld addressing the Conference.



The Swimming Pool Reactor fuelled by liquid uranium as distinct from the solid metal, which was one of the exhibits at the Industrial atomic exhibition at Geneva.

September 3 1955

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INDIAN AFFAIRS:

By SARANGA

—PARLIAMENT AND THE POLITICIAN
—POLICY ON THE PRESS REPORT
—THE BANK AWARD
—SECOND THOUGHTS ON STEEL

DUE to a combination of circumstances, the debate on the Press Commission's Report in the Lok Sabha did not illuminate the quality of the Indian Press but of Parliament and the general quality of its membership. The debate followed the discussions on the Companies Bill, in which there was a wholly one-sided declamatory tone throughout; the Finance Minister who opened the debate with a criticism of Right Wing opinions had to redress the balance by defending the few concessions still left for company managements. The debate on the Press confirmed the fact that most members were prepared to make generalisations about evils everywhere, real and imaginary, without a shred of evidence to support them and without regard to the virtuous side of our institutions. The average politician (and what an average!) seems to feel that everywhere else rot has set in and the sores of the body politic are only awaiting his healing touch through high-sounding legislation. To accept anything as good in our social fabric is to acknowledge that there is no scope for reform by legislation. Such acceptance would leave an uncomfortable void in the politician—in a psychological sense. Carried away by the exuberance of their faith in themselves, members of the Lok Sabha made unfounded statements on the floor of the House which have been pointed out, along with the disconcerting fact that such excessive interest of parliamentarians in the Press was not shown in replying to the Press Commission's ques-

tionnaire (to which only three replies had been received from among them).

This quality is not a weakness of the opposition groups. If it were, it would be understandable, because a person who gets elected on radicalist slogans may justifiably be a demagogue. But there is no excuse for the party in power, which could well have chosen intelligent and sincere men, to contain such elements. There is only a handful of well-informed deb

sion's Report, a summary might have helped busy men to keep their perspectives right. But any politician worth the name should have known at first-hand what fare he gets in the newspapers, how varied in quality they are and how objective in respect of contemporary affairs of which he has independent knowledge. It was not flattering to the working journalists—on whose behalf many tears were shed—to be told that the product they were putting out was not of quality. One need not go to the Press Commission's chit to the Indian press which, with all its shortcomings, has indulged in less sensationalism and cheap stunts than anywhere else. Standards have, perhaps, declined but it is a moot point whether the cupidity of proprietors has been more responsible for this result than the craving for publicity of the vain politician, in or out of office.

The Minister for Information and Broadcasting, Dr. Keskar, rose admirably to the occasion. He took care to emphasise that the Commission's Report was not in the nature of an award. In trying to put checks on what may be malpractices or what may be monopolistic tendencies, the Minister warned against infringements on the rights of the Press to speak out what it considers proper. He scored only a technical point when he declared that freedom of the Press does not consist only in attacking Government; the answer is that free criticism alone constitutes the true test of such freedom. The freedom contemplated is only against the executive and its existence is best recognised only when the executive's actions can be freely criticised.

On all the other issues, Dr. Keskar was quite fair. He pointed to the inevitability of newspapers becoming a large-scale industry but emphasised that though there was a tendency to combine into chains, there was no question of monopolies exist-

ing at this stage. On the question of granting working journalists the powers and rights of workmen, he was of the view that their conditions of work should be settled not purely by statute but by themselves through collective bargaining. It was only logical to have said so because it corrects the impression prevailing among journalists that Government would do everything to raise their status. On the question of the price-page schedule Dr. Keskar admitted that great complexities prevented an early decision, showing that there was no dogmatic approach to this very difficult question.

The Gajendragadkar award on the Bank Employees' dispute brings to end a long-drawn-out controversy, which precipitated a cabinet crisis last year. At the moment, this aspect is not so prominent in the discussions of this subject but most people realise that there has been a final vindication of Mr. V. V. Giri's stand. Mr. Giri was shown to be fully justified in the attitude he took even when, soon after his resignation, his successor was able to secure a *de novo* inquiry by a high-powered Commission. On the major issues concerning the Government's decision on that occasion, and "the infirmities in the approach adopted by Government", this Commission has been very frank. It says: "The fact that an award is defective and can be easily improved upon, would, in my opinion, not be sufficient justification for interference by Government under Section 15. In other words, the fact that Government, or in fact another judicial officer might, on the merits, have taken a different line and might have made different provisions would not always or necessarily constitute public grounds." Elaborating on the subject, the Commission says that new factors, if any, could have been taken into consideration when the life of the Appellate Tribunals award ex-

SIR M. VISVESVARAYA

Sir M. Visvesvaraya is now ninety-six years old. He belongs in age to the generation of Ranade, Gokhale, Tagore who, to the young people of today, are fading pictures on the walls of grandfather's room. But he belongs, in spirit, to this age, to us, now... for he thought and planned fifty years ago as we are thinking and planning now. The following article is based on an interview he was kind enough to grant

SANTHA RUNGACHARY

HE is an old man and probably he won't be with us very long. Anybody less like an engineer cannot perhaps be imagined. He looks like a scholar, a writer, a poet. A Court poet. There is an extraordinary delicacy about the contours of his face. As a young man he must have been a man of almost remarkable beauty of countenance.

"There is nothing remarkable about my life," he said to me, "except that it has been long."

No, there is nothing remarkable about Sir M. Visvesvaraya except that throughout the length and breadth of India wherever engineers gather even today, his name is mentioned in some context or other in tones of deepest reverence and admiration, and he has dammed, channelised, diverted, controlled or utilised the waters of every river from the Tungabhadra to the Tapti. And the Krishnarajasagar dam holding the mighty Cauvery on leash has come to stand for the high watermark that engineering genius has reached in India. That alone, said Gandhiji in 1927, could perpetuate the name of Sir M. Visvesvaraya in the annals of engineering achievement in India.

Yet, unbelievable as it may sound, he had almost mismanaged his very first assignment as an engineer, which was to construct a



A 'modern' in a victorian drawing room.

pipe syphon across a channel carrying water from the Panjra river to Datarti. The year was 1884 and young Visvesvaraya, twenty-four, was Assistant Engineer in the Public Works Department of the Government of Bombay. He had asked that the work be kept in suspension till the monsoon was over and had received by way of an answer a stern memorandum from the Executive Engineer to get on with it. "The Assistant Engineer," concluded the memo, "is beginning his career badly

as regards energy and obedience to orders." Fortunately, however, young Visvesvaraya did not remain long in positions in which he had to receive orders. Early in his career he was picked for promotion after promotion and one special assignment after another over the heads of senior

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for Mysore was gigantic. It was to be prosperous, beautiful, completely self-contained and self-maintaining. He gave himself unsparingly to realising this ambition. With the money

is all that M. Diem is being asked to do at this stage. The Western Powers have already made clear to Mr. Diem that in opening talks with the Viet-minh he would not be committing himself to anything irrevocable, and that the West and the international commission would back him to the utmost in trying to prevent Communist fraudulence or subversion during the election period." This summarized the *démarche* made by the three Western powers at the end of July.

By that time Britain had had its fill of M. Diem because, instead of acting on earlier advice to begin talking to the Viet-minh about elections, attacks had been launched on the truce supervision commission with the clear connivance of M. Diem's police.

Britain is deeply concerned about M. Diem's violation of the Geneva agreement and the propaganda opportunities it gives the Viet-minh, indeed the justification for a Viet-minh-inspired rebellion in South Viet Nam.

Such a violation of the promise of free elections in Viet Nam weakens the whole world-wide strategy of the West. Provided the forms of beginning to talk to the Vietminh had been observed, it would have strengthened the Western position in demanding free elections in Korea. If granted, this would mean almost as certain the loss of North Korea to the Communists as free elections

would mean the loss of Indo-China to the non-Communists. If the Chinese continue to refuse, it would put a better gloss on the West's apparent intention of deferring, at least, the elections for South Viet Nam.

The refusal of M. Diem even to talk about elections rather embarrassed the Foreign Office because it undercut British strategy in Europe as well. You could scarcely expect the Soviets to grant, in East Germany, a free election which they were certain to lose if *your* side appeared to be winking on the promise of a free election it was certain to lose.

Above all, Britain has been irritated that the "Three Awkward Men of Asia" should have handed the initiative back to the Communists. On August 11 the Peking Foreign Ministry issued a statement which called for a Far Eastern conference "with the broad participation of Asian countries" to discuss Korea and Communist China's proposal that all foreign troops should be withdrawn. The Foreign Office, and most expert observers, are convinced this would increase the threat of war because the Koreans, "the Irishmen of the East" would soon be at each other's throats. Even if the deferring of a conference at this stage is a real contribution to peace, it is hard to explain it to a world coming to expect great things from conferences "at the summit."

THE STOCK EXCHANGE

II. INSIDE THE RING

By S. NARAYANASWAMI

Alipur Jail, he had a vision of his destiny, which was to bring about a complete transformation of his life as a whole. His acquittal followed a series of tortuous proceedings, the tone of which was elevated only by the inspired advocacy of the defence counsel, C. R. Das, who concluded his arguments with this almost prophetic peroration: "... long after the controversy is hushed in silence, long after this turmoil, the agitation, will have ceased, long after he is dead and gone, he will be looked upon as the poet of patriotism, as the prophet of nationalism and the lover of humanity. Long after he is dead and gone, his words will be echoed and re-echoed, not only in India but across distant seas and lands ..."

Coming out of jail, Aurobindo was a changed man on a changed scene. Aurobindo Ghose, the flaming apostle of nationalism became Sri Aurobindo, the seeker of Light. He did not, of course, try to recede from the political struggle. But it was not like old times. The edge of resistance had been blunted by the bludgeon of repression. The response to his appeals at weekly meetings was visibly feeble and the people's

morale was at a low ebb. He himself was inwardly occupied with problems of self-conquest as could be gauged from his spiritual and metaphysical writings in the *Karmayogin* and the *Dharma* which he started after his release. He felt that the people were not ready for the revolutionary programme of his conception and the appointed leader was yet to come.

"All great movements wait for their God-sent leader, the willing channel of His force, and only when he comes, move forward triumphantly to their fulfilment. The men who have led hitherto have been strong men of high gifts, and commanding genius, great enough to be the protagonists of any other movement, but even they were not sufficient ... Therefore, the Nationalist Party ... must wait for the man who is to come ..."

Sri Aurobindo lived to see that man come and go. His journey in politics was a brief but luminous chapter in the history of Indian freedom. From the seed that he sowed grew the plant nurtured with the blood and tears of martyrs and patriots into a mighty tree which began to bear fruit in 1947.

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A view of the Western Gateway.

trade built around the base. Considering the exposed position it occupies on the bare hill-top, it is remarkable how well the Great Stupa has withstood the ravages of time and the elements for well over two thousand years.

However, the crowning beauty of the stupa are the four richly carved gateways, called the *toranas*. Undoubtedly, these are of the greatest historical and artistic significance. In form, however, they are obvious imitations of earlier wooden structures, carried out in stone and dating from the second century B.C. They are of almost unvarying dimensions and arrangements and are the work of carpenters rather than of masons. It is a great wonder, however, how they

were executed in stone. The gateways rest on two square pillars. The two jambs are surmounted by two great capitals decorated with dwarfs, lions and elephants. These latter in their turn support no less than three lintels, slightly curved, projecting on the two sides.

The elaborate carvings on the gateways depict scenes from the life of the Buddha and his disciples and important events in the history of Buddhism. Most of the scenes are artistic compositions and differ considerably on the four gateways. The grace and luxuriance of them will move even the most unaesthetic sensibility. The subjects represented also give a very striking picture of the religious and domestic life of the period and of the buildings, costumes, arms, instruments, utensils and ornaments in use in those days. Though the carvings exhibit considerable variety in their composition and technical treatment their style is generally maintained at a

relatively high level. They are manifestly the work of experienced artists who had learnt how to portray their subjects in natural and convincing groups. No brush of artist, no rhapsody in words can ever do justice to the magnificence of the ornamentation.

THE spell of Sanchi is also heightened by a large number of shrines and monasteries. A striking structure is the Chaitya Hall, standing directly opposite the Southern Gateway. Here in this hall, as in structures of this type in other places in India, the devout and faithful gathered for religious performances. Close by is an ancient shrine which on first sight gives one the impression of being a Hindu temple. How-

LIFE . . .

THE DELUGE

TODAY never

One day he said frankly before his daughter and his tenant: "I don't like you two getting chummy . . . I don't like it at all . . . I hope the tenant will vacate," he continued, speaking as if to himself.

"I don't want to be your tenant any longer, sir. Your daughter is going to marry me . . ."

"Why, father? What is wrong with him? He is earning a decent salary—Superintendent in the A.G.'s Office. Also writes short stories . . ."

"Don't say you marry me because you like my short stories," the young man put in.

"I won't say that even if you want me to," she said. "My stories are better. I am a writer of unpublished stories, you know . . ."

"I'll send them in my name . . ."

Readers may note that the conversation was carried on in a confident mood, the father's consent apparently being taken for granted. There seemed to be nothing for the father but to arrange sundry affairs. He could do nothing but to sign on the dotted line . . .

★

WHEN the wedding pipe and drum have played and the acknowledgments have appeared in the dailies, the chronicler must stop. Perhaps he is expected to dwell on the triumph of true love; to point out that though the course of true love did never run smooth, the goal is nevertheless achieved and the prize won.

For more than one reason, the chronicler cannot enter into any dissertation on this point, for he is the young man who got married.

But he will certainly point out the moral of the story to bachelors, who are probably fearing matrimony as children fear to go in the dark. The moral is this: Choose rooms carefully. Otherwise you may get married.

FOOTBALL CROWD

THE late afternoon sun

Warmed the animal's vast
areas of skin and black fur;

And through its close-celled solid
mass

Ran the fever of a dog towards
dinner time.

It shook itself, gluttonously,

And bared its multif

throwing of rubbish in public places etc. These should be attended to and should be stopped first by the Departments concerned both in villages and towns. It is uncivic and nobody seems to realise that it is these habits that cause spread of diseases like T.B. Big sowcars living in mansions do not see the importance of keeping their streets clean. Authorities concerned do not seem to realise the importance of putting a stop to or preventing street urchins and beggars picking up and eating morsels of food and remnants from used up plantain leaves thrown in rubbish bins. India must be ashamed of such things going on in her towns. What will a foreigner think of us when he sees such scenes occurring daily near big hotels and marriage houses. Besides being an unhealthy habit it does not speak much for a country which is spending a colossal amount on the second Five Year Plan which is supposed to eradicate poverty and unemployment. Poverty is one of the great causes of T.B. Unless the people have enough food to

eat and enough of clothing to wear and a proper abode to live in, the B.C.G. campaign is not going to do any good to our country. It is better to leave these things to individuals. I may add here from personal knowledge the effect that B.C.G. Vaccine has on some people. The other day while going in a bus I saw a child of 6 to 7 years with protruding eyeballs. On questioning the parents what the cause was and asked if nothing could be done for it they promptly told me that the best eye-specialist could do nothing for it and that it was the after-effect of B.C.G. vaccine! The Ministers and Heads of Departments would do well to find ways and means to rectify these long-standing economic evils prevailing in our country. There is a lot of talk about the Five-Year Plan. Poverty and unemployment have not been eradicated, on the other hand they are on the increase. There cannot be any social welfare state unless ignorance is removed and people are taught the right ways of living.

A CITIZEN

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(L. to R.) Mr. Thiagarajan, Mr. Dakshinamurthy, Mr. Pakkiriswamy Pillai, Mr. Kowal Singh, Chief Commissioner, Pondicherry State, Mr. Edouard Goubert, Mr. Chandrasegara Chettiar, and Mr. Mohamed Yusuf. Standing behind are (L. to R.) Mr. Ramesh, Assistant Secretary to the Council, Mr. V. S. Mathews, Chief Secretary to the Government of Pondicherry, and Mr. S. V. Sampath, Secretary to the Council.

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On Sale Every Saturday

Vol. X. September 10, 1955. No. 32.

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SWATANTRA

Vol. X. SEPTEMBER 10 SATURDAY 1955 No. 32

COMPANY LAW AMENDMENT

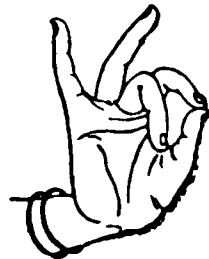
FEW items of legislation have been launched on such troubled seas as the Bill to amend Company Law. On fewer indeed has public opinion expressed itself with such force and with such acrimony. One could not conceive of such knowledgeable criticism on the floor of our Central Legislature say some 15 years ago—even if we strip the proceedings of fire-eaters' performances. In the past only small pockets of legislators used to speak on such enactments—then with strong bookward propensities—and such speeches were the signal for the large body of legislators sitting back with eyes closed and treating it as the hour of relaxation.

Company Law Amendment has been the subject of cursory or detailed scrutiny, evidence-taking and report over 7 or 8 years. The Company Law Commission brought out its report in 1953. It is about the most comprehensive document on the subject in recent years. The digesting of this report by Government and the drafting of the Amending Bill took its customary time and the bill was placed before Parliament early last year. A Select Committee was appointed to go into the Bill. The 649 tedious clauses, apart from a Penelope's web of annexures and schedules which comprise this ponderous Bill, appeared too much of a Labour of Hercules to be taken up early. Besides, on the more controversial clauses there was the inevitable complement of Rightist, Leftist and Middle Course views. The Bill went officially through the filter of a Select Committee and unofficially

through the filter of Congress Parliamentary Party's ad hoc Committee, (consisting—among others—of Congress members on the Select Committee). There was a struggle between the doctrinaire and realistic

In Kathakali

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symbols of quality

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—CONGRESS POLICY ON GOA

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